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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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MURRAY PEABODY BRUSH GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

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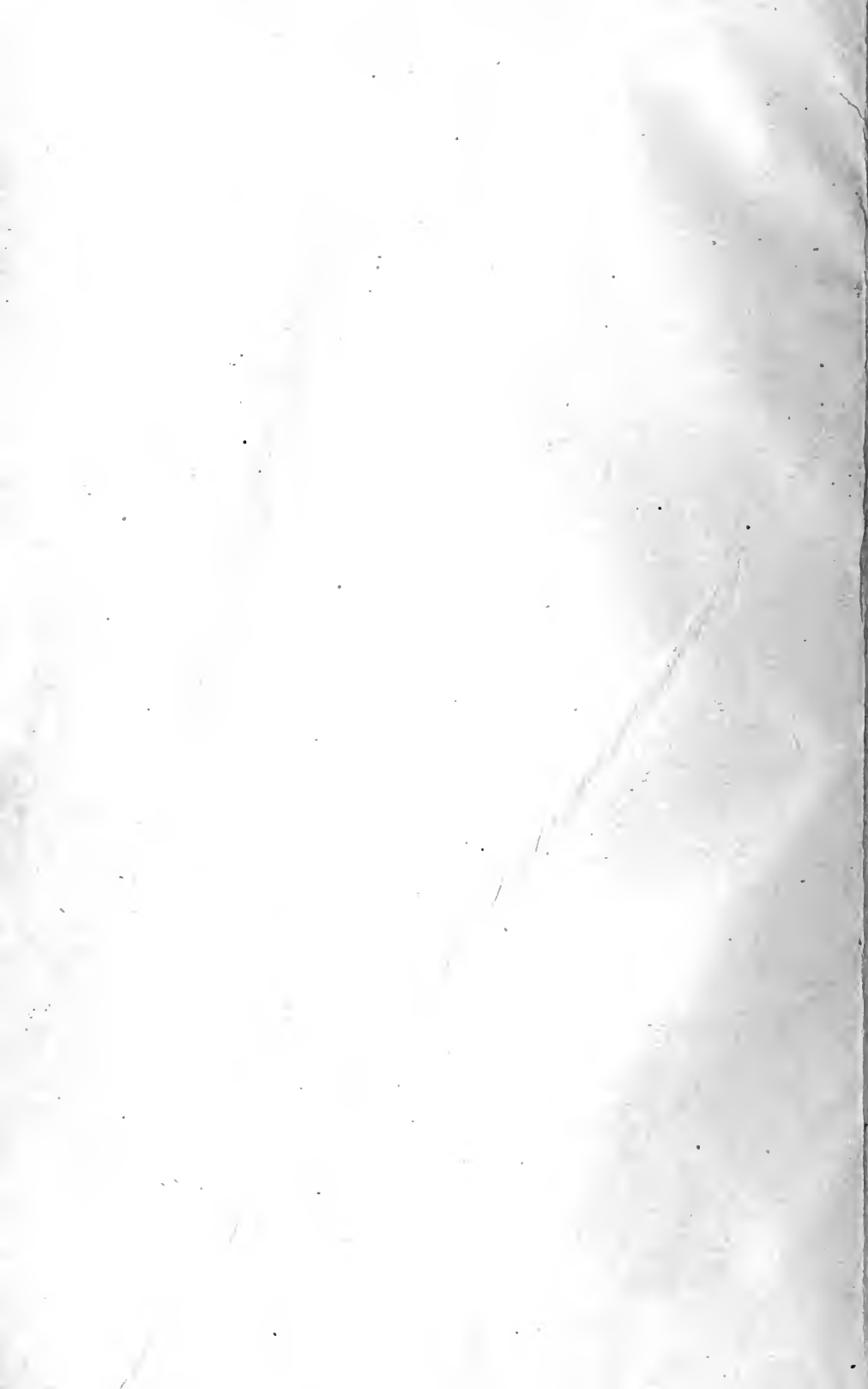
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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXIV

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STEFAN GEORGE AND THE REFORM OF THE GERMAN LYRIC

In recent years the most powerful literary tendency that has been making itself felt is the revulsion against the realism of the last half century. The development of the Irish school of romanticists has had an important influence and the growth of the little theaters in this country is intimately connected with the revival of romanticism. Germany, too, has a large group of neo-romanticists who have been deluging the literary market with fantastic tales and tenuous dramatic productions. But none of these has outlined so careful a program or insisted with such vigor upon the acceptance of his principles as Stefan George, the Rhinelander. Born in 1869, he has the most vigorous years of his life already behind him, and yet it is but little more than a decade since Richard Meyer directed the attention of the public to his work. To speak of a public is rather to exaggerate the number of his readers. They are still relatively few and the seven or eight collections of his verse by their very outward aspect—binding, paper, and printing—appeal only to the select class which he wanted to reach. Indeed the poet is himself responsible for the scant attention which has been paid to him. With Olympian aloofness he wished to speak only to those whom he admitted to his guild and keep all others at a safe distance. Again and again he expresses his contempt for the mob, which, of course, includes the grubbing literary critic with his insatiate greed for unearthing sources and discovering “influences.” To be sure, this pose, for thus it must be called, does not proceed from sheer scorn of the masses as such, but because he feels that the socialistic and collectivist tendencies of the day are of their very nature inimical to individual artistic creation. “Niemals war wie

heute eine herrschaft der massen, niemals daher die that des einzelnen so fruchtlos." ¹ The poet must grow and develop far from the noisy babble of the world marts—*ein Talent bildet sich im Stillen*; the merest suggestion of professionalism in literature is a withering influence for delicate poetical growths. So George complains that the true poet is a thing of the past: "Die gestalt des dichters scheint den Deutschen ganz verloren gegangen zu sein. Es giebt jezt nur den gelehrten, beamten, bürger der gedichte macht und das schlimmste: den deutschen litteraten der gedichte macht." ²

It was such considerations that impelled George and his disciples to gather behind closed doors and withhold their productions from the baneful influences of shallow literary critics. The meagre output of the school was published only for their own enjoyment in the privately printed *Blätter für die Kunst*,³ which George proudly calls "die einzige dichterische und künstlerische *Bewegung*." The great mass of this is still inaccessible to the general reader and only selections have been reprinted in the three small volumes of the *Auslese* ⁴ by the venturesome Berlin publisher Bondi. The works which did not appear in the *Blätter für die Kunst* and the *Auslesen* were printed only in small editions. Even the publication of these volumes does not represent an abandonment of the earlier principles of an art for the few as the preface of the second volume explicitly states: the circle of the select has merely increased in size so that reprints and larger editions were desirable.⁵ Indeed, George credits himself with having defeated the realists and

¹ *Auslese aus den Blättern für die Kunst*, II, 22.

² *Auslese*, II, 15.

³ Published 1892 ff. by Bondi in Berlin.

⁴ Vol. I, *Auslese aus den Jahren 1892-1897*; Vol. II, *Auslese, 1898-1904*; Vol. III, *Auslese, 1904-1909*.

⁵ George's reserved attitude toward the masses is tempered by the admission that at times flashes of inspiration can be seen in the humbler man.

"Nur manchmal bricht aus ihnen edles feuer,
Und offerbart dir dass ihr bund nicht schände."

Teppich des Lebens, Vorspiel, p. xiv.

"Manchmal kommt es dass in einem volke weisheit'n dämmern für die das neue wort und die neue geste noch nicht ausgebildet sind. Das sind dann in der tiefe gewühlte erze die nicht ans licht gefördert werden können." *Auslese*, II, p. 21.

inaugurated a new era of poetic creation: "alles was heute unsere jüngste dichtung ausmacht (hat) hier seinen ausgang genommen oder seine anregung empfangen. Die bemängelnden richter entlehnen hier ihre maasse; die übriggebliebenen der wirklichkeitsschule glauben sich in den schönheitsmantel kleiden zu müssen und die hüter der alltagslebendigkeit schreiben 'stilvolle' sonette. Was man noch vor zwanzig jahren unmöglich gehalten hätte: heute machen bei uns Dutzende leidliche verse und Dutzende schreiben eine leidliche rede, ja das neue Dichterische findet wenn auch in der zehnfachen verdünnung öffentlichen und behördlichen beifall. Damit ist ein teil der Sendung erfüllt." *

What is this mission that he thinks he has partially fulfilled? As far as the form of his work is concerned he shows an intimate relationship with the French Parnassians. Like them he strove to regain the polished form which had been lost through the centrifugal forces at work in the naturalistic productions; like them he was unalterably opposed to unchecked subjectivism, slipshod or repeated rimes and all looseness in poetic form. The ending of the line seems to have engaged his attention particularly and nowhere in German literature has such a variety of riming syllables been used. He goes to the extreme of maintaining that a rime once used loses its value for the poet and should seldom or never be repeated. The inevitable result of such an exacting rule was that innumerable obsolete words had to be resuscitated and curious compounds invented to satisfy the demands of the rime. He went to the extent of composing in Middle High German for practice in strict metrical form. But even then George found it impossible to obey to the letter the rules which he had himself formulated. The metrical forms in his poems show far less variety, the four line stanza of four or five feet riming *abab* or *abba* being the favorite. His most recent volume consists largely of poems in unrimed lines of five feet, mostly iambic pentameters. Whatever may be the deficiencies of his work through over-artificiality it cannot be gainsaid that he has enriched poetic diction by his revival of obsolete and Middle High German words.

Equally severe is he in his dicta respecting the content of the individual poem and the forms of poetic writing. A poem should be abstracted from the world of daily endeavor, free from theories

* Vorwort, *Auslese*, 1904-1909.

of life and problems of state and society; it should be simple and clear and present objectively one single picture without the reflections and personal opinions of the poet. Wherever George has consistently adhered to this principle he has succeeded in creating lyrics of the greatest delicacy, particularly in his nature poems, as, for example, in the much quoted lines beginning: "Komm in den totgesagten park und schau," which are so highly praised by Hofmannsthal. But this relentless application of the principle *L'art pour l'art*, this complete withdrawal into the rarified atmosphere of superworldly observation; the excessive condensation of the sentence attained through an inordinate use of genitive phrase; coupled with the demands made upon the reader's attention by a text almost bare of capitals and marks of punctuation—all this tends rather to obscurity than the limpid clearness for which the poet strove.

Not only did George draw narrow boundaries within which the lyric poem must revolve, but he also restricts poetry almost entirely to the lyric category. With the novel, especially the novel of the realistic type, he has no patience; "litterarische Reportage, Berichtserstatterei" he scornfully calls it. Toward the drama he maintains a more conciliatory attitude, but believes the stage of the present day to be barren of poetic productions. The drama has reached a point where, in his estimation, the dramatists are chewing their cud, existing on that which has been handed down through the generations and that they are writing for a theater with a tremendous machinery demanding plays written expressly for it. "Was wir jezt als bühnenwerke sehen ist bei den mindern schöpfungen eine verarbeitung nach dem muster der alten tragödie; bei den besseren ein lyrismus der zufällig in die gesprächsform gegossen wird."⁷ It is the disuse into which verse has fallen in dramatic writing that is largely responsible for this condition: "Von einem halbgebildeten volke liess man sich belehren der vers habe die schauspielkunst vernichtet; man gewöhnte sich rhythmen zu sprechen gleichsam um entschuldigung bittend und verlor damit jeden festen grund."⁸ And so he sees the hopes for a rebirth of

⁷ *Auslese*, II, p. 14. Compare also the remarks on the drama in *Blätter für die Kunst*, erste Folge, dritter Band, and *Auslese*, III, p. 10; likewise those of Karl Wolfskehl, *Auslese*, III, pp. 66-70.

⁸ *Auslese*, II, p. 14.

the drama founded upon a restoration of the verse to its old place. To build the foundations for this new drama, for the drama receives furtherance rather through the coöperation of a group of poets with the same ideals than individual effort, he inaugurated a *Bühne der Blätter für die Kunst*. The object of this dramatic society was to give amateur performances in private houses in which particular attention should be paid to simplicity of grouping, æsthetic movements and to recitation ("abrichtung der stimme zum hersagen der neuen rhythmischen gebilde," *Auslese*, II, 13). George lays great stress upon this last point because the mannerisms arising from the stereotyped stage recitation have made all oral performances of poetry unrhythmical.⁹ Specimens of dramatic compositions probably produced at these private performances may be found in the *Blätter für die Kunst*, as, for example, *Die Aufnahme in den Orden, ein Weihespiel*,¹⁰ perhaps actually given at the initiation of a new member of the group.

George feels that it is his mission to recreate the world in a poetic sense, to develop a new power of joyous artistic contemplation. This conception is embodied in symbolic form in the *Vorspiel to Der Teppich des Lebens*. To the poet brooding in deep sorrow over his work there appears an angel strewing flowers—Art, and a dialogue ensues during which the poet seeks and receives consolation. He longs to regain the exaltation of youth and pleads stormily for Art's gifts so that he may overcome the discouragement of his isolation; but the angel gently restrains him with the admonition that his wishes are too wild and confused to be granted:

"Gewährung eurer vieler kostbarkeiten
Ist nicht mein amt: und meine ehrengift
Wird nicht im zwang errungen, dies erkenn!"

A strange intermingling there is here of confidence and joy in the ultimate success of his task and of terror at the difficulties that beset his path. Prayerful admiration of Hellenic art is contrasted with romantic pictures after the manner of Nietzsche in *Zarathustra*, as when he surveys from a mountain the mass of humanity struggling toward an unknown goal. It is the longest of his poems and the most obscure, but it contains the essence of his wishes and hopes for their fulfillment.

⁹ *Auslese*, II, 42.

¹⁰ *Auslese*, II, 42.

A careful study might reveal a strong Nietzschean strain in George's work; and indeed it is in one sense essentially that of a romanticist. The ever recurring *Sehnsucht nach der Sehnsucht*, the insistence on the unity of the arts, the glorification of night and sorrow; all this recalls to us the early romanticists. The list of his translations, which includes Rossetti, shows strong leanings toward this school and it is no mere accident that he, like Novalis and the Schlegels, is an ardent Roman Catholic. But, on the other hand, the avoidance of multiplicity of detail, the preference of classic outlines to the wild confusedness of a Brentano makes us hesitate before assigning him to his place.

Not all the members of the school let themselves be bound by George's narrow delimitation of the field of composition and we find Max Dauthendey writing novels and short stories like the rest of the professional litterateurs of the day. In George's review of the influence of his teachings on the literature of the present he refers somewhat bitterly to the defection of several of his disciples: "Man vergesse auch nicht dass die grenze des erreichbaren noch fern ist und dass die von diesem kreise abgesprengten die sich noch nicht zur gänzlichen entwürdigung ihrer muse entschliessen konnten vergeblich des beifalls harren. Das giebt denen die den tempel verlassen haben, in den vorhof ja auf die strasse geschritten sind eine mahnung sich wieder ins innerste zurückzuziehen, und alle die es mit unsrer kunst und bildung ernst meinen, werden sich der goldnen Blätter-regel aus der zeit ihrer morgenfrühe erinnern: 'dass nichts was der öffentlichkeit entgegenkommt auch nur den allergeringsten wert hat' und dass nur eines not tut: "ein weiter-schreiten in andacht arbeit und stille."¹¹

None of the followers of George has done more than remotely approach him. Hugo von Hofmannsthal had only a distant outward connection with the school and has since gone his own ways. The inordinately self-centered Max Dauthendey's work is slipshod and uninspired in comparison with that of his former master. Richard Perls gave promise but died early, and of the others Paul Gerardy and Karl Wolfskehl perhaps stand out as most gifted. With these poets are associated also the artists Melchior Lechter and Ernst Gundolf, of whom the first prepared most of the decorations for the *Blätter für die Kunst* and the published works. How

¹¹ *Auslese*, III, *Vorrede*.

lasting the influence of the school will be remains for the future to tell.¹²

Smith College.

TAYLOR STARCK.

SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

III. THE EPIC CHARACTER OF HENRY V

In the play of *Henry V*, why does Shakespeare feel so intensely the limitations of the stage? The Choruses express this feeling very fully.

Can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?
O, pardon!
Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts.
(Prologue-Chorus to Act I, 11-15, 23.)

¹² The following bibliography of works and articles on George may be acceptable since it is at present difficult to gather information about the poet. The literary histories of Albert Sörgel, Kummer, and Vogt and Koch, and L. Lewisohn's *The Spirit of Modern German Literature* also contain short articles:

Kuno Zwyman, *Das Georgese Gedicht*, Basel, 1902; Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Über Gedichte," *Neue Rundschau* xv (1904), 129-139; Franz Dulberg, *Stefan George. Ein Führer zu seinem Werke*, München, 1908; E. Bertram, "Über George," *Mitteilungen der literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, Dortmund, 1906, III, No. 2; G. Brandes, "Stefan George: Neue Poesie," *Wiener Zeit*, October 9, 1903; H. Ubell, "Stefan George," *Das literarische Echo*, 1904, pp. 1201-1204; E. Felder, "Stefan George," *Die Gegenwart*, 1904, No. 52; K. W. Goldschmidt, "Stefan George," *Das literarische Echo*, 1906, pp. 1493-1500; B. Baumgarten, "Stefan George," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1907, Vol. 128, pp. 428-469; F. Wegwitz, "Stefan George," *Westermanns Monatshefte*, July, 1911, pp. 659-664; W. Scheller, *Die Gegenwart*, 1912, No. 23; F. Kuntze, "Die innere Form der Lyrik Stefan Georges," *Kunstwart*, May, 1913, p. 280; E. Bertram, *Mitteilungen der literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, VIII, 1-23; H. Benzmann, *Die Lichtung*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 485; Marie von Bunsen, "Stefan George: der Dichter und seine Gemeinde," *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, 1898, No. 2, Sonntagsbeilage; H. Eick, "Drei Briefe über Stefan George," *Hamburger Correspondent*, 1908, Beilage No. 23; W. K. Stewart, "The Poetry of Stefan George," *The Dial*, LXIII, 567-570; Ludwig Klages, *Über Stefan George*.

And so our scene must to the battle fly,
 Where—O for pity!—we shall much disgrace
 With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
 Right ill-dispos'd in brawl ridiculous,
 The name of Agincourt. Yet sit and see,
 Minding true things by what their mockeries be.

(Prologue-Chorus to Act IV, 48-53.)

Thus far, with rough and all-unable pen,
 Our bending author hath pursu'd the story,
 In little room confining mighty men,
 Mangling by starts the full course of their glory.

(Epilogue-Chorus, 1-4.)

Shakespeare had commented humorously in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* upon the lack of reality in stage-presentation. Here he is troubled also by the lack of grandeur.

The dramatist was not oppressed by the inadequacy of scenic representation in the earlier *I Henry IV*. There the action shifts about between London, Northumberland, Northern Wales, and Shrewsbury. In the later *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* we readily accept the transportation of armies over much greater distances than in *Henry V*. Here the short journey from London to Southampton is carefully indicated:

The King is set from London; and the scene
 Is now transported, gentles, to Southampton.
 There is the playhouse now, there must you sit.

(Prologue-Chorus to Act II, 34-36.)

One explanation of the passages cited is that the dramatist has gradually come to feel the unreality and inadequacy of stage-presentation for the large movements of a historical play. With the exception of his portion of *Henry VIII*, *Henry V* is the last drama of Shakespeare that sets forth well-authenticated English history.

Henry V was quite certainly written in 1599. Ben Jonson's comedy *Every Man in his Humour* was acted in 1598. The doctrine that comedy must "show an image of the times" was plainly implied in this realistic play. That the characters were at first given Italian names was a foolish following of the romantic fashion of the period, and English names were afterwards substituted. We know not when the Prologue was written that was first printed in 1616. This Prologue expresses the demand for realism in comedy

with great force; and it may well be aimed at some of Shakespeare's plays which contained the romantic audacities that Jonson disliked. The Chorus of *Henry V* seems to receive especial notice. Jonson will not

with three rusty swords,

And help of some few foot and half-foot words,
 Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,
 And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scars.
 He rather prays you will be pleas'd to see
 One such to-day, as other plays should be;
 Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,
 Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please;

 But deeds, and language, such as men do use,
 And persons, such as comedy would choose,
 When she would show an image of the times,
 And sport with human follies, not with crimes.

(Ll. 9-16, 21-24.)

There is doubtless some truth in the suggestion that Shakespeare was influenced by the realistic movement of which Jonson was the most notable representative; but this fact, and the historical nature of *Henry V*, are probably not the only reasons why the limitations of the stage were felt so very acutely in connection with this piece. I believe that there is a more important and more fundamental explanation; I believe that Shakespeare is irritated by the smallness and the inadequate equipment of the stage in presenting his *Henry V* because he wishes to idealize and glorify his hero. His drama is one only in outward form; in essence it is a heroic poem. He is using the dramatic form for an epic purpose. In presenting his hero he aims primarily at epic glorification, not at dramatic reality.

Critics characterize dramas as "epic," in whole or in part, for various reasons. At times a play seems to be called epic in nature because it presents several different stories.¹ Also, narrative passages in dramas are often spoken of as epic portions. The General's report at the beginning of *The Spanish Tragedy* concerning the war just ended between Spain and Portugal, is such a passage; so is the account of his voyage which Hamlet gives to Horatio (v, ii.). In this use epic is only a synonym for narrative. The

¹ See, for example, Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 282.

German adjective *episch* has this meaning.² The International Dictionary does not recognize at all the tendency to look upon *epic* as equivalent to *narrative*. Epic, both as adjective and as noun, is there applied only to a heroic narrative. The poetry of the *Iliad*, of the *Aeneid*, or of *Paradise Lost* is epic; ordinary narrative poetry is not.

It is in this stricter sense of the word that I apply it to *Henry V*, and speak of the epic character of the drama. The impulse to admire, the delight in hearing of noble heroes and mighty deeds, is the fundamental desire of the human heart to which epic poetry appeals. In sympathy with the great action and the grand style of the epic poem, the tendency is to represent everything as pleasing and remarkable, and to put the characters before us as wholly admirable. We see brave men and fair women stepping with lordly tread amid beautiful surroundings. Even the common acts of daily life have a halo thrown about them; they are given dignity and significance.³

It may seem at first sight that there is more of glorification in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* than in *Henry V*, since creatures of the unseen world mingle in the action and enhance its significance. There is some force in this as applied to the setting of the plays. But *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* themselves are presented as struggling men, now hopeful, now despondent. *Macbeth* is a sinner. But *Henry V* is a complete hero. He always knows his own mind, and usually feels confident about the mind of God; his courage never wavers; his helpless enemies make haste to fall before him. Let us note different ways in which the epic nature of this play comes to distinct expression.

The six Choruses are the outstanding feature of this play. They are essentially epic. The first words show that their purpose is to glorify the great hero and the mighty action.

O for a Muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention,
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!

² "Epische Poesie und erzählende Poesie sind gleichbedeutend." C. Beyer, *Deutsche Poetik*, 2te Aufl., II, 24. Stuttgart, 1887.

³ See the admirable passage in ten Brink's *Lectures on Shakespeare*, Holt, 112-18.

Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars;

(Prologue-Chorus to Act I, 1-6.)

If this drama were of the ordinary type, these Choruses could only serve to take the life out of the action by outlining it in advance. Especially is this true of the passage explaining beforehand the conspiracy of II, ii. To suppose that the spectator needs the help of the Chorus before Act II in order to pass in imagination from London to Southampton is absurd. The most telling of the Choruses, that before Act IV, bridges no interval of space or of time. Though there are effective bits of realistic portrayal in that Chorus, this is only because these strokes help to exalt the character of Henry. The magnifying, glorifying character of these Chorus additions to the play is manifest, and shows their essential purpose. They are epic, not dramatic.

The close of the Chorus before Act III is emphasized by what may have been, as Miss Charlotte Porter suggests,⁴ a new device of the new Globe Theatre. A reference to cannon in the words of the Chorus is accompanied by a simultaneous discharge of "chambers."

. . . the nimble gunner
With linstock now the devilish cannon touches,
Alarum, and chambers go off.
And down goes all before them.

(II. 32-34.)

No wonder that Garrick when presenting this piece chose the Chorus for his own part. In the revival of the play by the late Richard Mansfield, perhaps the most satisfactory feature was the spirited rendition of the Choruses by a gifted young woman.

The absence of all internal struggle and all development of character in King Henry is undramatic. This epic hero appeals to our admiration more than to our sympathy. To some extent the spectacular element seems to be intended to compensate for this absence of inner striving and character-growth. Mr. Snider notes the "tendency of the drama to turn panorama—to change from inner development to outer spectacle."⁵ The accent on spectacle explains the fact that "Three centuries after the play

⁴ Introduction to the play in *The First Folio Ed.*, Crowell, pp. xv-xvi.

⁵ *The Shakespearian Drama, The Histories*, p. 41. St. Louis, 1889.

was first produced, one of the greatest of American actors [Richard Mansfield] almost ruined himself financially in the attempt to give it a fitting revival." ⁶

Henry's heroic character is not to be impaired by any unfavorable view of his attempt to conquer France. He solemnly charges the Archbishop of Canterbury to tell him the unvarnished truth concerning his right to the French crown. Bradley says: "When Henry adjures the Archbishop to satisfy him as to his right to the French throne, he knows very well that the Archbishop *wants* the war because it will defer and perhaps prevent what he considers the spoliation of the Church." ⁷ The text does not make it clear that Henry knows this; and I question whether we should attribute to King Henry motives which nowhere come to expression.

The conspiracy of II, ii, was the logical beginning of the Wars of the Roses, which had already been dramatized in *Henry VI* and *Richard III*. The real purpose of the plot was to gain the crown for Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, brother-in-law of one of the conspirators, the Earl of Cambridge. By strict primogeniture Mortimer was the lawful king. Later, Edward IV and Richard III, grandsons of this Earl of Cambridge, sat upon the throne. Holinshed is full and clear here; but we are not allowed to learn anything of all this. No enemy of Henry is to have any reasonable ground for opposing him. "The gold of France" has bribed the conspirators; we are not told distinctly of any other motive. Also, the intense dramatic suspense which might have been given to the rôle of the young King at this point is deliberately sacrificed. The Chorus-Prologue has told us the story in advance; and Henry is made a godlike creature, a complete hero, calmly knowing all, forestalling every hostile purpose, and pronouncing judgment.

An extravagant bit of glorification comes in IV, viii, where the list of the Englishmen slain at Agincourt is given as four men of rank and twenty-five common soldiers. This estimate is taken from Holinshed, who promptly adds: "But other writers of greater credit affirm that there were slain above five or six hundred persons."

This ideal king is made honor-loving and daringly brave.

* J. W. Cunliffe in *Shaksperian Studies*, 331. Columbia Univ. Press, 1916.

⁷ In *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 257. Macmillan, 1909.

If we are mark'd to die, we are enow
 To do our country loss; and if to live,
 The fewer men, the greater share of honour.
 God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more.
 By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,

But if it be a sin to covet honour,
 I am the most offending soul alive.

(IV, iii, 20-29.)

Henry's care to protect the French people is, also, an engaging feature.

We give express charge, that in our marches through the country, there be nothing compell'd from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful language; for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner (III, vi, 114-20).

Shakespeare's glorification of the English nation suggests an ideal at one point that has not even yet been fully attained. In the latter part of III, ii, four officers, an English captain, a Welsh, a Scotch, and an Irish, appear side by side as loyal and efficient fellow-soldiers. This is Shakespeare's prophecy of a unified Great Britain. This portion of the play is not present in the Quarto, and it is probably an addition to Shakespeare's original text, since a long passage in I, ii, is very bitter toward the treacherous Scotch, and the Chorus before Act V speaks of Ireland as in rebellion when the lines were penned.

Henry's ardently religious nature is not allowed to impair his epic serenity. He confesses a sin—but it is his father's:

Not to-day, O Lord,
 O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
 My father made in compassing the crown!

(IV, i, 309-11.)

We have seen too many modern examples of the combining of piety and slaughter to feel sympathetic toward all the manifestations of Henry's bellicose religiosity; but his modest reply to the brave, pedantic Fluellen is engaging:

Fluellen. All the water in Wye cannot wash your Majesty's Welsh blood out of your pody, I can tell you that. God pless and preserve it, as long as it pleases His grace, and His majesty too!

K. Henry. Thanks, good my countryman.

Fluellen. By Jeshu, I am your Majesty's countryman, I care not who know it. I will confess it to all the 'orld. I need not to be ashamed of your Majesty, praised be God, so long as your Majesty is an honest man.

K. Henry. God keep me so!

(iv, vii, 111-21.)

The most original portions of the play, iv, i, and iii, are also the strongest and most successful. In the first of these scenes the King goes in disguise among the common soldiers, learning their sentiments and inspiring them with his own dauntless courage. This is the life-giving feature of the play. This incident also connects most closely with all Henry's past career. Through the half-concealed face of the disguised King, as he talks with the soldiers, gleam the features of the jesting Prince Hal of Eastcheap, able to "drink with any tinker in his own language." Shakespeare wisely lets the young King show a troubled spirit as he remembers how his father obtained the crown. Henry is admirable here, but not in an over-colored way. He is a hero, but he is also a living man.

The genuinely democratic spirit of iv, iii, is finer still. Henry speaks for all:

And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered,
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition.

(LL. 57-63.)

Those who object to the manner in which Henry woos Katherine may well be asked to indicate how it could have been managed better. The fact that he won his wife in France could not be ignored, yet he must impress us to the end primarily as the conquering soldier. His robust wooing is effective upon the stage. Effective too in its ironic way is the fact that the child of Henry and Katharine, the "boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard," was in reality the weak Henry VI.

Certain features of the play impair the epic grandeur of the hero-king. The command of Henry to kill the prisoners, at the close of iv, vi, and the threat to kill other prisoners at iv, vii, 66, are probably looked upon by Shakespeare as a necessary concession

to historical accuracy. The savage threats against Harfleur in III, iii, bring about its surrender, but Henry's words practically condone the outrages that he threatens. Kreyssig is led to speak of a brutal strain in the Anglo-Norman race, "which seems to come to life again in the practices of some of the inhabitants of North America, like a long-preserved grain of wheat planted in favorable soil."⁸

The unwise depreciation of the French is fatal to the best interests of the play. What glory can come from conquering such opponents? The play shows no real conflict, either inward or outward.

The ideal king here presented is so aggressively English that he cannot completely enlist the sympathies of other nations. Thus, while Miss Porter calls the strenuous speech in III, i, beginning "Once more unto the breach, dear friends," "the supreme battle-speech of Literature," Brandes declares that "King Henry's two speeches before Harfleur [III, i, and iii,] are bombastic, savage, and threatening to the point of frothy bluster."

It is interesting to note a general agreement and also a contrast between Shakespeare's own life and that of Henry V, his "ideal of active, practical, heroic manhood" (Dowden). Like that hero, the dramatist won practical success against great obstacles. But it shows real catholicity of mind that Shakespeare seems to admire especially in Henry the power of accomplishing great results in the real world, because this was so different from his own imaginative and ideal achievements.

The play as a whole has been much criticized for its dramatic deficiencies. Some of these judgments seem somewhat narrow and academic. Sturdy Dr. Furnivall declares that "a siege and a battle, with one bit of light love-making, cannot form a drama, whatever amount of rhetorical patriotic speeches and comic relief are introduced."⁹ Professor Brander Matthews says of the play: "It is a mere drum-and-trumpet history, with alarums and cannon-shots, sieges and battles, the defiance of heralds, and the marching of armies. As a specimen of play-making it is indefensibly artless."¹⁰

⁸ *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare*, 3te Aufl., I, 257. Berlin, 1877.

⁹ *The Leopold Shakspeare*, p. liv. Cassell, 1877.

¹⁰ *Shakspeare as a Playwright*, 122-23. Scribners, 1913.

Is not the play criticized in the passage last cited for not hitting a mark at which it does not aim? Shall we call the Choruses, for example, "indefensibly artless"? I admit that they are distinctly non-dramatic. And while Dr. Furnivall's criticism is true for us, it is well to remember that the play was not made for us. That *Henry V* is not a real masterpiece, completely effective for all men and for ever, must be admitted. But this play should not be judged entirely from a dramatic standpoint. The drama was made for man, not man for the drama. The Prince who has interested us in three preceding plays is here presented as the young hero-king. Our admiration is appealed to more than our sympathy. The purpose and effect of the piece are more epic than dramatic. This epic song to the glory of England and England's hero-king, written and acted about a decade after the defeat of the Armada, undoubtedly drew crowds to the new Globe Theatre, and quickened the patriotism of every man who saw and heard it. The crowds paid well, and that also was intended. When examined in the study by a spectacled twentieth century scholar, the play easily gets out of focus. While we apply our critical measurements and standards, we easily forget the mighty communal and national appeal which brought the great throngs together, and which thrilled and satisfied them.

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THE LEGEND OF THE GLOVE

In his introduction to Lope de Vega's play *El Guante de Doña Blanca*¹ Menéndez y Pelayo gives an account of the history of this motif upon which the play is partly based; it is the well-known legend of the glove, which has become famous through Schiller's ballad *Der Handschuh*. It could be summarized as follows: From motives of pride a lady induces a knight who has courted her for a long time to bring her back a glove which she had dropped into a lion's cage; the knight performs the deed, escaping unhurt, but punishes the lady by striking her in the face. The Spanish origin

¹ *Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española*, tomo ix, Madrid, 1899. *Observaciones preliminares*, pp. lxxxv-xcii.

of the legend has been known for many years.² Menéndez y Pelayo gives nine different versions as found in Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Fr. Thiel mentions five.³ Neither of these scholars mentions another allusion contained in the fifteenth scene of the first act of Lope's play *La Portuguesa y dicha del forastero*.⁴ There Celia tries to persuade Don Félix to postpone his departure. The passage reads as follows:

Pues bien, ¡un día os altera,
Que perdéis por una dama!
¿De qué gigante, qué fuerza,
Las doncellas me librásteis?
¿Qué guante de la leonera
Habeis sacado por mí?
Qué moro muerto en la guerra!
Si hoy perdisteis la jornada,
Mañana podréis hacerla.

Thiel⁵ brings out the fact that the legend came to form the subject-matter of the thirty-ninth tale of the third part of Bandello's *Novelle*, published at Lucca in 1554,⁶ without trying to ascertain the direct source of the Italian. In his introduction to the story Bandello asserts he heard the subject from the account of a Catalan named Valenza. The indications which the author is in the habit of giving in the introductions to his stories are generally considered as untrustworthy. With the great influence the Spaniards exercised upon Italian courts after the battle of Pavia, and with a Spanish dynasty ruling over Naples, an oral source would at least not be improbable. However this may be, it is impossible to come to a definite opinion for the time being, since exceedingly little has been done to discover the sources of the Italian novelist. What we can determine are the changes the story has undergone when entering this new stage of its history. Doña Ana de Mendoza has become Leonora. The outcome is no longer

² Cf. Fr. Thiel, *Der Handschuh*, Leipzig, 1881, 82-87; Liebrecht, *Schiller, Der Handschuh, Germania*, VII (1847), 419; Adolf Laun, *Eine altspanische Romanze zur Vergleichung mit Schillers Handschuh*, Schnorrs Archiv für Literaturgeschichte, I (1870), 507.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77-79 and 82-87.

⁴ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXXIV, 161.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-76.

⁶ Matteo Bandello, *Le Novelle*, a cura di Gioachino Brognoligo, Bari, Laterza, 1911, IV, 363-367.

a happy one, for the knight leaves the lady after having punished her. Lastly, the story is connected with another one, that of the seven Moors. The first two changes are obviously the work of Bandello. The reason for the second change becomes clear when we consider the general morality of Bandello's stories, which is characterized by Tiraboschi with the following words: "Prese in Bocaccio la oscenità e vi lasciò l'eleganza." As a matter of fact, with Bandello all the monastic-ascetic elements have given way before the pagan ideals of the Renaissance. The happy ending of the Spanish must have appeared disagreeable to this "jouis seur," who hardly approved of ladies imposing proofs of valor of such a doubtful character upon their lovers, without being more severely punished than was the case in the Spanish ballad. It is utterly unlikely that a version with this different outcome should have existed in Spain without leaving any trace in Spanish works. As for the third change, we must suppose Bandello to have had as a source a Spanish version in which there existed already the combination of the two adventures. A passage in the *Infierno de Amor* by Garci-Sánchez de Badajoz, quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo,⁷ as well as the verses of Lope mentioned above, make this perfectly clear.

Bandello's version of the story was copied *literally* by Francesco Sansovino and incorporated in his collection called *Cento Novelle Scelte*,⁸ where it forms the second story of the tenth day.

When and under what circumstances the legend came to Germany is not known yet. Thiel⁹ mentions several compilations containing the story, without entering upon the problem of determining the sources. The collection *Wendunmuth*¹⁰ was compiled by Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, whose life as a "lands knecht" led him to many parts of Germany, and several times to France, where he took part in the religious wars. The sources of the work are still

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

⁸ *Cento Novelle scelte da' più nobili scrittori della lingua volgare*, di Francesco Sansovino, nelle quali piacevoli e notabili avvenimenti si contengono. Di nuovo reformate, rivedute, e corrette. Venezia, A. de Vecchi, 1597.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

¹⁰ *Wendunmuth*, von Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, herausgegeben von Hermann Österley, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1869, xcv, 68.

in large part unknown. Our story forms the fifty-ninth tale of the first volume. The action is practically the same, only the instigator is no longer a lady, but a German prince, the victim his knight. The outstanding feature of the story is the moral contained in the little verse at the end:

Unmöglich anmutung der herrn
Macht abscheuwliche diener gern.

We shall find a similar moralizing tendency in the French translation of Belleforest, with the only difference that the French moralist points out the ingratitude of ladies. Yet in the medieval German mind *Herrendienst* and *Frauendienst* are supposed to be about the same as far as their disadvantageous consequences for the servant are concerned. There is an old German saying testifying to this attitude:

Herrengunst, Aprilenwetter,
Frauenlieb' und Rosenblätter,
Würfel-, Karten-, Federspiel
Verändern sich oft, wer's glauben will.

Thus it would not be altogether improbable to suppose a French source, the version of Belleforest, accepting the possibility that Kirchhof converted the lady into a prince, owing to the fact that he himself seems to have had more than one occasion to complain of the ingratitude of *Herrendienst*.

In 1559 Boaistuau, a Breton nobleman, translated twelve stories of Bandello's collection into French, giving his work the title of *Histoires tragiques*. It was continued by François de Belleforest, who translated fifty-three more stories, which he published in three volumes till 1570. The tale of Giovanni Emanuel figures as the eighteenth story of volume 4 of Belleforest's collection.¹¹ The method followed by Belleforest in his translation has been discussed in a general way by René Sturel,¹² the results of whose investigations are fully confirmed in the particular case of this story, as will be seen from the following lines. In the translation it is four times as long; while the action remains practically the

¹¹ *Histoires tragiques* extraites des œuvres italiennes du Bandel et mises en langue Française, Par François de Belle-forest, Comingeois. Tome Quatrième, A Rouen, Chez Pierre Calles, 1604.

¹² *Bandello en France au XVI^e siècle*, *Bulletin italien*, XIII (1913), 210 ff. and 331 ff., XIV (1914), 29 ff., 211 ff., 300 ff., XV (1915), 2 ff., 56 ff.

same as in the Italian original, the translator indulges in all kinds of digressions, as ridiculous in their character as they are harmful from the view-point of the artist. Here are a few examples illustrating the procedure of the French writer. Bandello contents himself with giving Seville as the scene of the action, putting it in a gerundial clause: "essendo la Corte in Seviglia." Belleforest gives a long description of the Spanish court, narrating that it had moved from "Medinne" to Seville, adding that the latter was then the capital of the Spanish kingdom, a fact highly indifferent for the understanding of the story. Then he tells that the knight had accompanied the king, not because his duty as a courtier required it, but solely for the love of his lady. When stating the fact that King Ferdinand kept some lions in a cage, he asserts that kings and men of power have generally a taste somewhat different from that of the vulgar. Thus he shows his mental superiority and greater knowledge on all possible and impossible occasions, the worst mistake a novelist can commit. But this is not all; he has changed the action as well. The scene of the knight punishing the lady, which would have been too shocking for Belleforest's society, was omitted and replaced by a tiresome discourse. Likewise, the character of Leonora is different from the Italian model. While in the latter her motive was mere frivolity, hers is a most perverse character in the French translation. She sends the knight down into the cage, hoping that the lions might rid her of him for good; for "elle l'eust voulu sçavoir en l'isle de Cuba en la nouvelle Espagne, pour n'avoir plus un si fascheux reveille-matin pour luy rompre la teste."¹³ Later, when he comes back safe and secure, she regrets that the lions had had their meal before she had sent him down. The reason of the change is obvious: Belleforest, a moralist of Puritan character, wished to inveigh against the vanity of the young courtiers of his time. This moral purpose can be seen in the very title of the story. Bandello writes: "Don Giovanni Emanuel ammazza sette mori ed entra nel serraglio dei lioni e ne esce salvo per amor di donna."¹⁴ Belleforest translates: "Un chevalier espagnol se met *follement* au hazard pour acquerir la grace d'une demoiselle, puis, recognoissant *sa folie* se depart *sagement* de sa poursuite."¹⁵ It is interesting to note that Belleforest

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 615.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 597.

as a true Frenchman tries to bring in analysis of character, where the Italian model showed nothing of that sort. When the hero, after having performed the courageous deed, mounts the steps to return to the lady, the change that is going on in his heart is described with the following words:¹⁶ "Mais montant les degrez il s'auisa de toutes ses folies passees, & des dangers où desia par deux fois il s'estoit mis & expose pour cette folle qu'il cognut lors estre plus que traistresse & malicieuse, cherchant ainsi les moyens qu'elle faisoit pour le faire mourir." Above all, Belleforest's love of long discourses and rhetoric pierces through everywhere. In order to express the fact that the knight has been cured of his love, he has recourse to Ulysses and Circe, Timon of Athens, Renaud de Montauban, Tristan and King Mark; his hero breaks forth in a long monologue, and finally writes a long poem, which he causes a friend of his to hand over to Eleonore.

Of an infinitely higher quality is the treatment of the same subject by Brantôme. Speaking Italian and Spanish with equal facility and being in favor with the Spanish and Italian courts, it may be assumed with an equal degree of probability that he got the subject from an Italian or Spanish source. As a matter of fact, Sanvisenti¹⁷ supposes the latter, while most of the other critics accept the former of the two possibilities. When comparing the version of Brantôme with Bandello's short story, we find some textual agreements, so that there can be no doubt as to the true source of Brantôme's account. The French author ascribes the heroic deed to the Chevalier de Lorge, a knight at the court of Francis I, and captain of the Scottish body-guard of the king. He was the father of the unlucky Montgomery who killed Henry II in a tournament, was persecuted by Catherine of Medicis, turned Protestant, took part in the civil wars, was taken prisoner and executed in 1574 in the presence of the court. Montgomery had two brothers, Corbozon and Lorges, who were both intimate friends of Brantôme.¹⁸ The story was inserted in the *Discours sixiesme, sur ce que les belles et honestes dames aiment les vaillants hommes, et*

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 616.

¹⁷ *Il Guanto dello Schiller, Rivista d'Italia*, 1904, I, 666.

¹⁸ Ludovic Lalanne, *Brantôme, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1896.

les braves hommes aiment les Dames courageuses,¹⁹ with the obvious purpose of pleasing the author's friends and their family, upon whom the glory of the courageous deed of their father would naturally be reflected. Nor do we need to be astonished at the stratagems Brantôme used to disguise the fact that he was actually plundering a writer who was still living or had not been dead for many years, when the "Discours" was written, as proceedings of this sort were quite common at that time. Moreover, we cannot deny the skill he displays on this occasion as on many others. The story of the Moors has been omitted, the time is no longer that of Ferdinand and Isabel, but that of Francis I, the scene has moved from Seville to Paris, the knight Giovanni Emanuel has become the captain of the Scottish body-guard, and his merciless sweetheart is no longer Leonora, but a lady whose name Brantôme feigns to conceal for discretion's sake. Naturally, he does not say: "I found the story in Bandello's *Novelle*," but he starts with the dignified phrase: "J'ay ouy faire un conte à la Cour aux anciens d'une Dame qui estoit à la Cour, etc."²⁰

Now we have seen that about the same time Belleforest translated the story, and the question arises: Did Brantôme know of this translation? If so, did he use it? At first sight one would be inclined to give an absolutely negative answer, so great is the difference between the bombastic account of the moralist and the excellent, remodelled story of the courtier, for from the artistic viewpoint Brantôme's version is even superior to the Italian original. With a few but well-chosen words he depicts a whole situation, there is no discourse, no moralizing in his story. The rudeness of the knight in the final scene has been done away with partly, since it has been put in a clause starting with "On dit." Still, there are a few words which suggest the possibility of Brantôme's having at least known the work of Belleforest, which was widely read in court circles.

Brantôme's account is generally considered as the source of Saint-Foix, who in his turn suggested the subject to Schiller. This is the place to mention the error Sanvisenti commits²¹ in supposing that Schiller could not have found anything else in Saint-

¹⁹ *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme*, publiées par Ludovic Lalanne, Paris, Renouard, 1876, ix, 390.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 666.

Foix, except the anecdote of Pippin the Short, and that Brantôme's version must, therefore, be considered as the direct source of the German poet. There is no need for such a theory, since the account of Brantôme, somewhat abridged, is found in Saint-Foix's *Essais historiques sur Paris*.²²

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THE SOCIAL SATIRES OF THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK

PART II

Peacock stands aloof from all political alignment. Condemning as he did the society of his day, he obviously could have been neither a conservative Tory nor even a moderate Whig. One might, therefore, suppose him a radical, like his friend Shelley; but the facts contradict such a hypothesis. In 1819, when his career as a satirist was just under way, he accepted a post in the India House. In the first place, if he were a radical, he could scarcely have taken a semi-government position without all his radical friends making at least private remonstrance against this apostasy—especially as they made such an ado over the “apostasy” of Southey and Wordsworth. In the case of Peacock, nothing of the sort happened; Shelley, in fact, writes congratulating him on being so well provided for (Ingpen, pp. 697 and 710). Had Peacock ever been a radical, Shelley certainly could not have voiced such sentiments. In the second place, Peacock, at this time and afterwards, continues to attack the “lakers” for their apostasy—a thing he would scarcely have had the face to do, had he but lately played apostasy in exactly the same fashion to exactly the same cause. Peacock, then, had never been a radical, and indeed never became one. He represents them in a light at once antipathetic and ludicrous: insincere faddists, they all cry each his own panacea, recommending to society a nostrum whose efficacy the vendor himself has never tested. Then finally came the Reform Bill of 1832, which Peacock considered bootless, a fitting summary to his opinion of reforms and reformers. In short, after looking about him and seeing society corrupt, he turned his eyes to the intellectual life that was moulding the

²² *Œuvres complètes de M. de Saint-Foix*, Paris, Duchesne, 1778, III, 183 ff

future, and saw that also corrupt: such is the social pessimism of Thomas Love Peacock.

In the first place, the motives Peacock assigns to reformers are low. Shelley, he seems to have looked upon as an impractical dreamer; at least, so Shelley himself interpreted Peacock's burlesque of him as Scythrop (Ingpen, p. 694), and Shelley's interpretation seems accurate; but Peacock credits reformers, in general, with no idealism, however impractical. As sentimentalists, as chasers after novelty, as bilious malcontents, thus Peacock sees the reformers of society. The failure of the French Revolution, which had turned the "lakers" into conservatives, embittered many radicals of the succeeding generation; and this bitterness manifested itself emotionally in the *Weltschmerz*, a point of view with which Peacock's keen, intellectual pessimism had little in common, and of which he had a very poor opinion: Mr. Hilary, whom Peacock draws as the most common-sense character in *Nightmare Abbey*, explains the *Weltschmerz* as "frequently the offspring of overweening and mortified vanity, quarreling with the world for not being better treated than it deserves" (p. 188). Mr. Flosky, a caricature of Coleridge, explains that the "blue devils" dominate contemporary literature because "tea has shattered our nerves and late dinners make us the slaves of indigestion" (p. 173 et seq.). Mr. Listless, moreover, finds that "this delightful north-east wind . . . delicious misanthropy and discontent that demonstrates the nullity of virtue and energy" (p. 164) puts him in a very good humor with himself and his sofa. In short, whether the cause of the pessimistic unrest be late dinners and tea or wounded vanity, it all comes to one conclusion: Peacock considered these men actuated by only private motives, not by any high idealism based in a comprehensive understanding of social wrongs. Mr. Flosky sums up *Nightmare Abbey* (p. 210) with an admirable satiric touch: "Let society only give fair play at one and the same time, as I flatter myself it is inclined to do, to your system of morals, and my system of metaphysics, and Scythrop's system of politics, and Mr. Listless's system of manners and Mr. Toobad's system of religion, and the result will be as fine a mental chaos as even the immortal Kant himself could ever have hoped to see; in the prospect of which I rejoice."

For reformers so actuated to be sincere is a psychological contradiction; thus, Peacock is perfectly consistent in preferring this

charge to their motives and incompetency to the resultant efforts. In *Headlong Hall*, each avowed deteriorationist refuses to apply the theory to his own particular specialty (pp. 87-88). Mr. Escot, the champion of vegetarianism, while defending his attitude, begs the dinner-guests not to launch into the question of final causes—and—meanwhile helps himself to a slice of beef (pp. 18-19). Poor Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey afford shining targets for every satire up to *Gryll Grange*; and Peacock in *Nightmare Abbey* (p. 237) cast a jocose reflection upon even Scythrop's (Shelley's) sincerity: he plans to "make his exit like Werther," calls for "a pint of port and a pistol" for dinner—and ends by drinking the port.

Finally, in 1830, when the Whigs on a reform platform, carried a majority in Parliament, Peacock had a chance of testing his low opinion of their sincerity. The ten years that intervened between this and *Nightmare Abbey* and *Headlong Hall* had not lessened his skepticism; for, in *Crotchet Castle*, written in 1830 and published the following year, the Rev. Dr. Folliott thus characterizes the new ministry in the person of "my learned friend" Lord Brougham who had just been made Lord Chancellor: "He will make a speech of seven hours duration; and this will be its quintessence: that, seeing the exceeding difficulty of putting salt on the bird's tail, it will be expedient to consider the best method of throwing dust in the bird's eyes" (p. 304), the bird being the liberal constituencies of England. In short, he believed that the reformers in power would prove just as conservative as the Tories. In the same novel, he even turns upon reform itself as a means of medicining the nation's deep-seated ailments: the three charity commissioners who sit and discuss for ever and ever without doing anything are surely meant to point the social paralysis of the state to achieve any adequate reform. When in 1832, the Reform Bill, timid as it was, was finally forced through Parliament, Peacock seems to have been no better pleased. The old abuses have merely taken on new names; the old insincerity has, like a spring, merely gushed out at a new place. In 1837, five years after the passage of the Bill, he pens a preface to a fresh edition of his novels: "*Headlong Hall* begins with the Holyhead Mail, and *Crotchet Castle* ends with a rotten borough," he writes. "The Holyhead Mail no longer stops at Capel Cerig Inn, which the progress of improvement has thrown out of the road; and the rotten boroughs of 1830 have ceased to

exist, though there are some very pretty pocket properties which are their worthy successors. But the classes of tastes, feelings, and opinions, which were successively brought into play in these little tales, remain substantially the same. Perfectibilians, deteriorationists, statu-quo-ites, phrenologists, transcendentalists, political economists, theorists in all sciences, projectors in all arts, morbid visionaries, romantic enthusiasts, lovers of music, lovers of the picturesque, and lovers of good dinners, march, and will march forever, *pari passu* with the march of mechanics, which some facetiously call the march of intellect. . . . The array of false pretensions, moral, political, and literary, is as imposing as ever." Peacock believed that the Reform Bill accomplished nothing; and, in his last novel, *Gryll Grange* (p. 3), published in 1860 when Peacock was a full blown reactionary, he still renews this charge of insincerity: "In my little experience, I have found . . . that men who sell their votes to the highest bidder and want only 'the protection of the ballot' to sell the promise of them to both parties, are a free and independent constituency; that a man who successively betrays everybody that trusts him, and abandons every principle he ever professed, is a great statesman, and a conservative, forsooth *a nil conservando*, etc."

Peacock hoped nothing from reformers either in office or out: the fundamental failings of human character that lay behind the rottenness of family, church and state, permeated likewise even the medicines that should have cured them. Like Helvetius, his conception of human nature was pessimistic; but, unlike the latter, he knew enough to realize that a mere change of political and social institutions could not effect a millennium, that the fault is inherent in man himself. Shelley recognized this when he wrote addressing Peacock: "you who assert the supremacy of Ahriman," the Persian god of evil. The failure of the French Revolution to reform man by changing the state and society, had taught succeeding thinkers that evil is deeper than these; and Peacock sharing as he does the rationalizing outlook of the preceding age, stands an eighteenth century man, pre-natally disillusioned by the failure of eighteenth century philosophy. Unlike his contemporaries who took refuge in the sentimental *Weltschmerz* which they expressed in the lyric cry that characterized the literature of the age, Peacock turned skeptic, and sharpened his arrows to shoot folly as it flew.

Although Peacock's thought is primarily rationalistic, he borrows

his explanation as to how this wretched situation came about, largely from Rousseau. Mr. Forester in *Melincourt*, for whom Peacock seems to have a special preference, describes this racial degeneration: "Civilization, vice and folly, grow old together. Corruption begins among the higher orders, and from them descends to the people; so that in every nation the ancient nobility is the first to exhibit symptoms of corporeal and mental degeneracy" (p. 97), the stature of the human race, we are told, has decreased (p. 269); and "Commercial prosperity is a golden surface, but all beneath it is rags and wretchedness," to which last is added the quotation from Rousseau: "Man has fallen never to rise again" (p. 128). Mr. Forester becomes the *pater familias* to an ideal, Rousseauistic commonwealth on his estate. But however much Peacock may sympathize with this scheme, he evidently realizes the impossibility of its universal application; for he makes Mr. Fax point out that it is "adapted only to a small community and to the infancy of human society" (p. 301), and Sir Telegraph, upon being belabored by Forester to give up the noxious and unnatural habit of carriage-driving, replies: "When ecclesiastical dignitaries imitate the temperance and humility of the founder of that religion by which they feed and flourish: when the man in place acts on the principles which he professed while he was out: when borough electors will not sell their suffrage; nor representatives their votes: when poets are not to be hired for the maintenance of any opinion: when learned divines can afford to have a conscience: when universities are not a hundred years in knowledge behind all the rest of the world: when young ladies speak as they think, and when those who shudder at a tale of the horrors of slavery will deprive their own palates of a sweet taste, for the purpose of contributing all in their power to its extinction:—why then, Forester, I will lay down my barouche" (p. 194). In short, Peacock thought society too complicated, and men too insincere, to make a return to the Golden Age possible. This, however, did not keep him from an occasional ecstasy upon Nature in *Maid Marian*, nor from bitter satire of the advance of the arts and sciences in the masque that concludes *Gryll Grange*. Happiness, truth, and sincerity could come, then, only in a primitive society, for the return of which, Peacock had no hope.

Society was rotten to the core, family, church, and state; reformers were actuated by low motives, were insincere and incom-

petent; society was grown too unwieldy and too corrupt for a return to the days of happiness and truth: so does Peacock affirm the intellectual pessimism and social bankruptcy of an age struggling—vainly it seemed—to solve its acute economic, political, and social problems. He illumines the shadow-land between the Romantic and the Victorian high-lights; and, indeed, the roots of his thought reach back into the eighteenth century; whereas his final novel discusses the progress of science so lately displayed in the industrialism that shocked Ruskin and the biological materialism that alarmed Matthew Arnold. He is an invaluable register of the thought of this transition, a period which few of the Romantic poets lived long enough to experience, but which Peacock has summarized in a series of delightful, penetrating satires. Some such conclusion must have moved Saintsbury in the last of his introductions, thus to define the place of Peacock: "The English Muse seems to have set, at the joining of the old and new ages, this one person with the learning and tastes of the ancestors, with the irreverent criticism of the moderns, to comment on the transition; and, having fashioned him, to have broken the mould."¹

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FRANCIS BACON'S KNOWLEDGE OF LAW-FRENCH

It seems not to be as well known as it should be that among his many and various accomplishments Francis Bacon included an unusual command of Law-French. What I am concerned to demonstrate is not merely an ability to read Law-French—any black-letter lawyer would declare that a man who had been Treas-

¹ List of works used:

Freeman, A. Martin, *Thomas Love Peacock, a Critical Study*. London, 1911.

Gummere, F. B., *Democracy and Poetry*. New York, 1911.

Hartley, L. Conrad, "Thomas Love Peacock," *The Manchester Quarterly*, xxxiv (1915), 256 ff.

Ingpen, Roger, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. London, 1909.

Paul, Herbert, *The Nineteenth Century*, LIII (1903), 651 ff.

Peacock, Thomas Love, *Novels* edited by George Saintsbury. New York and London.

Van Doren, Carl, *The Life of Thomas Love Peacock*. London, 1911.

urer of Gray's Inn, Solicitor General, and Attorney General would necessarily be familiar with the peculiar language (or shall we call it jargon?) in which the entire learning of English law was couched. At that date literally nothing, whether year-book, abridgement, or report, was available in English. The very dictionaries were in Law-French. Nor was it an unusual feat to be able to write and take notes in "the language of our law." But the mixture of French, Latin, and English employed by most lawyers of the time was a crass compound, void of form, structure, regularity, or grammar,—the result of abysmal ignorance of all three languages. From a man of Bacon's admired Latinity, fluent French, and extraordinary grasp of English, we have a right to expect, as we find, a truly distinguished Law-French, possessed of structure, of euphony, and of rhythm. At the same time, it may not be literally possible to demonstrate these qualities to those who lack familiarity with the scarcely Frenchified English of the majority of Bacon's contemporaries, to say nothing of the marvelous diction of Sir Edward Coke¹ and of the Frowyck's and Hengham's of the Golden Age of the language.²

No great attention has been paid to Bacon's own praise of Law-French or to the fact that he intended to publish the body of the *Mazims* in that tongue.³ Presumably the reason is that the edi-

¹ The first editions of Coke's *Reports* were all issued in Law-French and represent his diction when he had full opportunity for revision. These cannot be fairly compared with Bacon's MSS. There are in Harleian MSS. 6687, A, B, C, D, note-books containing Coke's casual jottings about legal and personal matters, entirely in Law-French and Latin. In the Holkham MSS. in the library of the Earl of Leicester, are several papers in Coke's holograph which can also be fairly compared with Bacon's casual Law-French and which show Coke's extraordinary command of that tongue.

² While Professor Maitland has reconstructed the Law-French grammar of the Middle Ages, no such service has been performed for the sixteenth century. The changes are very radical and it is therefore not possible to judge the correctness of Bacon's usage or its fluency except in comparison with what we judge to have been the usage of his peers, from relatively brief and unscientific studies.

³ "For the expositions and distinctions, I have retained the peculiar language of our law, because it should not be singular among the books of the same science, and because it is most familiar to the students and professors thereof, and besides that it is most significant to express conceits of law; and to conclude, it is a language wherein a man shall not be enticed to hunt after words but matter." Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, *Works*, vii, 322.

tions of the *Maxims* we have, as well as the manuscripts, are all in Latin and English.⁴ Bacon intended them for lawyers only; the publishers after his death sought to reach a wider audience. In any case, no work of his was printed in Law-French and the mss. in that tongue he left were tossed aside by editors and students, intent from the first upon the philosopher and English stylist. The fact even that he wrote in Law-French, habitually used it in his legal work, seriously undertook to publish a polished and finished work in it, was so little emphasized that it became practically forgotten.

A holograph ms. exists, however, entirely in Law-French—Harleian mss. 7017, f. 179—which is of great interest. The chirography belongs to the very earliest period, and, coupled to other evidence, makes probable a date as early as 1586 or 1587. If correct, this ms. is the earliest known work from his pen (if we except dubious ascriptions) and is certainly his earliest holograph treatise. Nor are the facts without interest that it is not in English and that it is neither literary nor philosophical, but technical law of the toughest, relating indeed to a subject which was to the ordinary practicing lawyer of Bacon's day a matter of curiosity and of antiquarian interest. It is soon to be published by the present writer, with much other unpublished material by Bacon, and its content need not further concern us here. Its form, however, is of interest to students of literature and a few quotations will serve to illustrate the language and to convince the reader of the truth of Bacon's defense of the use of the language for the text of his *Maxims*. The matter is as unintelligible to the average man in English as in Law-French.⁵

Tous terres et biens dans le Royaulme que ne poynt estre pretend
ou chalenge de nullorum sont al Roy. Come si foundor d'un abby
mour sans heir et puis l'abby est dissolue le Roy aura la terre.⁶
Issint si tenant in tail grant totum statum suum per fine et le
conisee mour sans heir le Roy aura la terre; Issint si tenant pour

⁴The earliest printed edition is 1630; the only ms. copy with a date is 1630; and all the ms. copies have been copied, "edited," and "improved" by inexpert hands, with insertions and additions which Bacon expressly tells us are contrary to his intentions.

⁵We have every reason to believe that Law-French was not the spoken language of the courts; but when spoken, it seems to have been pronounced like English.

⁶Most of Bacon's contemporaries would have written "le terre" and have used the present tense of the verb.

vie fait feoffment sur condicon et cesty en reversion release ad feoffee et puis le tenant pour vie enter pour le Condicon infrent et mour, le Roy aura la terre.⁷

chescun sute vers le Roy doet estre tiel que convent oue la dignitie ou majesti royall: Ideo nul sute par le Comen ley mais par peticon Supplicat humillime Altudini vostri et le peticon et monstrence de droit sont done par statute.⁸

Uncore est dit 22 E. 3 que ab antiquo le Roy fust sue come common person et que E. 1. ordeine le Contrary et introduce petition et Wilby dit qu'il avoit vieu brief Precipe Henrico Regis; mais Brooke object que le Roy ne poet faire precipe destre vers luy mesme et uncore qui non habet superiorem potest regulariter esse Judex in causa propria. Brooke auxi fait que si tielz briefs ne furent award par le Cunstable d'Engleterre. Mais il n'ad aucun probability que en temps plus proche al Conquest quand le gouvernement fust plus marshall et plus absolute, que le prerogative seroit plus foible et Ideo semble que ceo est conceit et erroneous; ou que ceo fust en le tumultuous tems de H. 3 solement et Jhon [sic] et nient auant ny depuis et que l'ordonnaunce E. 1. si aucun fust, fust de toller le abuse, et in 24 E. 3. bro. dit.⁹

⁷ A translation may not be amiss. All lands and goods in the kingdom to which no one has or claims title belong to the crown. Thus if the founder of an abbey die without heir and then the abbey is dissolved, the Crown shall have the land. So if a tenant in tail grant his whole estate by fine and the cognizee die without heir, the Crown shall have the land. So if a tenant for life makes a feoffment on condition and the cestui in reversion releases to the feoffee, and then the tenant for life enters on the aforesaid condition and die, the Crown shall have the land.

⁸ Every suit against the Crown must be such as is agreeable to the royal dignity or majesty: therefore no suit at Common Law but by petition most humbly begs your royal highness and the petition and monstrence de droit are awarded by statute.

⁹ On the other hand it is said in [the Year Book] 22 E[dward] III that in olden time the King was sued [in the courts] like his subjects and that E[dward] I ordained the contrary and introduced the [practice by] petition and Wilby said that he had seen a writ of praecipe [issued by] King Henry [III]; but Brooke argues that the King could not issue a praecipe against himself and again that he who has no superior may in law be judge of his own case. Brooke also queries whether such writs were not issued by the Constable [Justiciar] of England; but there is no such probability at a date nearer to the Conquest [by William] when the government was more military and without appeal to ordinary courts; when too the prerogative was less strong; and therefore it seems [to me] either that this is mere opinion and bad law; or that it was [true] of the disorderly times of H[enry] III and John only and neither before nor since, and that the ordinance of E[dward] I, if such there was, was to toll [i. e. to stop] the abuse, and on [the Year Book] 24 E[dward] III Bro[oke] comments [this Bacon left for a later day.]

One further brief example possesses a certain humor.

Est praerogative le Roy d'aueir les plus excellent choses en tous species Come Lyones et Elephants qui sont beasts royall. Eagles et Ostriches. quare de porpusses.

It will be remembered that these phrases are in Bacon's holograph and represent notes taken for his own use, either in legal work, or more probably, in accordance with his known habit, as a first draft of some treatise to be polished and finished at leisure. It is his familiar use of this language which is of interest. Without long disquisitions and innumerable comparative quotations, it is not possible to demonstrate the allegation that his Law-French possessed a firmness of structure, an elegance of form, a variety of vocabulary, a precision and exactitude of usage rare at that date. The declensions and conjugations had long since been dropped and we shall not therefore find Bacon at variance with the usage of his day, but he regards the singular and plural of the subject and verb as related one to the other; he is exact in his use of connectives, observes the common French genders, and is sparing of English words, except where they have been incorporated into the Law-French and possessed a technical meaning, or where he attempted remarks of a nature not common in law books and therefore without a recognized terminology.

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TITUS ANDRONICUS AND SHAKESPEARE

The modern public is so pitifully receptive of new theories regarding Shakespeare—as the so-called 'Baconian' and much other literature attests—that it becomes obligatory on serious students of the poet to make no frivolous use of their special opportunity. That is why I feel that Mr. H. D. Gray has almost broken trust in his recent discussion of the authorship of *Titus Andronicus* (Flügel Memorial Volume, 1916). Mr. Gray's theory is, so far as I know, and by his own statement, quite unique. He explains it at once:

"The proposal I have to submit is, that Shakespeare was the original author of the piece, and that such un-Shakespearean

passages as we find in it are due to the revision of his work by other men [*viz.*, Greene and Peele].'

It is a startling conclusion, affecting the fundamentals of the poet's dramatic development and allowing the student, however weary in his effort to keep up with the march of Shakespearean research, no choice but to read it. It is human to feel relief at finding that Mr. Gray's paper extends to but a dozen pages. Five thousand words are not many in which to establish so revolutionary a theory, and the inference is natural that Mr. Gray must have discovered documentary evidence of some decisive kind. No such thing, however, appears: there is nothing in the way of recorded fact that is or purports to be new. In the absence of fresh information, one is likely to expect a critical interpretation of the old, but again one is surprised. Mr. Gray's method is ingenuous and the reverse of technical. He ignores even the amenity which prescribes that disputants in a case of doubtful authorship begin by laying the bibliographical evidence fairly before their readers. No mention is made of the early editions or notices in Henslowe and the *Stationers' Register*, though much of this material is certainly pertinent and, it seems to me, adverse to Mr. Gray's thesis. Instead, the author begins with a lunge that is apt to scandalize precisians in the critical game:

'We are accustomed to think of Shakespeare as having served his apprenticeship in revising older plays. What we ought to have supposed all this time is that the Stratford youth of dramatic bent composed several original and unactable plays before ever he sought his fortune in the world; that he came to London in the hope of disposing of them; and that *his* work was handed over to the established playwrights of the time for *their* revision. . . . A moment's reflection should convince anyone that the work of none of these men [*i. e.*, Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, and Peele] would have been handed over for revision to this unknown youth from up Stratford way. If a young man to-day wished to make his entry into the theatrical world, he would write several plays and submit them; but he would not be given the work of Pinero, Jones, Shaw, or Barrie to revise.'

This sophomoric assumption of identity between modern and sixteenth-century conditions baffles me: Mr. Gray simply cannot believe that conditions were the same or even similar. He certainly

knows that it was a regular thing for obscure writers to revise the work of the greatest, for Birde and Rowley to amplify *Doctor Faustus* and 'Bengemy Jonson' in his days of servitude to produce additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*—even later, in all human probability, for works of Shakespeare's maturity like *Macbeth* and *Timon* to be handed over to dramatic journeymen. Moreover, on the very next page, Mr. Gray belies his own assertion by unquestioning acceptance of Shakespeare's employment as reviser of *Henry VI*. If a moment's reflection should convince any one that *Titus Andronicus* (on the assumption that it was written by Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, or Peele) would not have been 'handed over for revision to this unknown youth,' why does not the same reflection forbid Mr. Gray to assume that *Henry VI* (ascribed to one or more of the same writers) was so handed over? Yet he says: 'Shakespeare's claim to very extended passages in this [*ex hypothesi*, as reviser; see Mr. Gray's context] is of course undoubted.'

Mr. Gray proceeds to remark that 'The external evidence in favor of Shakespeare's authorship is overwhelming.' Ignoring all the external evidence except that of the Folio editors and of Meres, he continues his method of proof by pure assertion. Heminge and Condell printed the play, and 'these friends and "fellows" of his knew whether or not Shakespeare was the author.' Meres, who gives *Titus* as one of Shakespeare's plays in 1598 'was an educated man addressing an enlightened audience; he had his facts well in hand—he even knew of the private circulation of the Sonnets [Q. E. D.].' Of course, the evidence of the Folio editors and of Meres is very important on the general question of Shakespeare's concern in the play, but how does it prove Mr. Gray's peculiar contention that Shakespeare was the original author? Mr. Gray is fain to admit that the inclusion of the work in the First Folio 'implies only that the play was largely Shakespeare's,' but he affects to think the Meres mention more pertinent. 'The reason why Meres did not include either *Henry VI* or *The Taming of the Shrew* was, I firmly believe, that he knew (and many of his readers would know) that Shakespeare was only the reviser of these plays. If my contention as to *Titus* is right, then Meres' record is clear; he included every play of which Shakespeare was the original author, and, appropriately, none which he had only revised.' Mr. Gray invites us first to accept on the basis of his 'firm belief' (not further developed) a highly conjectural theory of Meres's motives,

and then offers us the clearing of Meres's record as a reward for adopting a new notion concerning the authorship of *Titus* which is in harmony with his conjectural theory. This is distressingly fallacious in itself, and leads at once to a further difficulty which Mr. Gray appears to have overlooked. Suppose we grant—as I think few readers of the *Palladis Tamia* will wish to do—that Meres was so perfectly informed and so admirably logical in excluding plays that Shakespeare revised, what shall we do with *King John*, which immediately precedes *Titus* in his list? Shall we not be obliged by simple analogy to conclude that Shakespeare wrote the original *Troublesome Reign* and Green, Peele & Co. the revised work?

I shall not follow Mr. Gray in his arraignment of various current theories on the authorship of *Titus Andronicus*, to which he next turns and to which he devotes over half of his article. Much of it does very well, but none of it advances his own idea. I cannot indeed find in his paper any effort after the second page to come to grips with the argument he is championing; namely, that Shakespeare was the original author, not the reviser, of the play. Only once again does he really venture into the open—when he seeks to show that the proportion of double-endings in *Titus* (estimated at 7%) proves its Shakespearean authorship. He is here headed toward a *non-sequitur*, since successful identification of Shakespeare's style in *Titus* would prove Shakespeare originally responsible for the plot and structure (as Mr. Gray thinks) precisely as little as the undoubtedly Shakespearean style of *King John* establishes his claim to the original plot and structure of that work. However, it would be highly important if Shakespeare could be shown by the double endings to have had any large concern in *Titus Andronicus*, whether as reviser or otherwise; but Mr. Gray's use of statistics fills me with incredulity. His argument is that Shakespeare must have written the play because neither Greene, Peele, nor Marlowe could have written a drama with seven per cent. of double endings. Rather than quarrel with this despotic subjection of Elizabethan drama to an absolute quadrumvirate, let us look at his mode of eliminating the three undesirable candidates. I have not had the spirit to check up Mr. Gray's percentages for Greene and Peele, beyond counting fourteen double-endings in the first act of *The Battle of Alcazar* (which verifies Robertson's figure of nearly 6%), where Mr. Gray asserts there are but four. It is Mr. Gray's

unqualified statement about Marlowe which most outrages me: 'Marlowe *never* employs the double ending as frequently as Shakespeare *always* employs it.' This, I am sure, can be disproved by comparing much of Shakespeare's early work, whether act, scene, or entire play, with *Edward II*, which has seventeen indubitable double-endings in the last three hundred lines and nine in the 120 lines of the king's death-scene (seven and a half per cent). Mr. Gray's own figures are four per cent. for *King John*, five for *Love's Labor's Lost*, six for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and three and eight-tenths for *Edward II*. I think Mr. Gray is not ignorant that the percentage in Marlowe's *Lucan* is about sixteen and in his portion of *Hero and Leander* about ten. Whether his very low proportion of double-endings for the entire play of *Edward II* can be justified on any fair basis of calculation I have not freshly investigated. I do not think so, since it varies decidedly from my own count, which does not differ from the rules that Mr. Gray states. Nor am I in any way desirous of establishing the possibility of Marlowe's authorship of *Titus Andronicus*. But is it not strange that a scholar should be willing to rest a categorical denial of the possibility solely upon the asserted presence in the play of a percentage of double-endings which Marlowe unquestionably equaled in some of his most characteristic scenes, which he more than doubled in blank verse narrative, and exceeded by half in riming couplets?

In a year or little over it has been my task to read papers by Mr. Gray on *Titus Andronicus*, on Falstaff, on *Hamlet*, on the first part of *Henry VI*, and on *Love's Labour's Lost*. Ill considered 'snap-judgment' and logical inconsequence are not observable to the same degree in all, but if a strong family resemblance did not seem to exist, this protest would hardly be registered. Shakespearean research is now pretty soundly established in America. Half a dozen scholars to whom the present writer doffs his cap are with cautious laboriousness stalking the elusive game which escaped such ardent hunters as Malone, Halliwell, and Furnivall. Is it invidious for those who follow in the chase to raise a cry of deprecation, when it looks as if the whole range might be disturbed by random pot-shots?

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

REVIEWS

The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus. By ROBERT KILBURN ROOT. Published for the Chaucer Society. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916 (for the issue of 1912).

It has been known for some time past in professional circles that Professor Root had in preparation an edition of the *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the present publication puts before us the fruits of his thorough-going investigations into the primary question as to what should be the textual basis of his proposed edition. The result is a textual study of great interest in which the main problems involved have, in the opinion of the present writer, found a satisfactory solution, although, as will be seen below, the author's final suggestion as to the best basis for a critical edition of the poem is hardly in accord with his own solution of these problems.

The *Troilus* has been preserved in sixteen MSS., of which two are incomplete. Moreover, two early prints—Caxton's *editio princeps* (about 1483) and Thynne's first collective edition of Chaucer's works (1532)—present texts that are independent of the MSS. now extant, and hence have a textual authority which is equal to that of the MSS. Professor Root first describes these various authorities in detail, and then in five successive chapters studies the manuscript relations for each of the five Books, respectively, that make up the poem. The basis of this study, as he explains in his preface, is "a minute examination of about 2500 lines chosen from all parts of the poem after a more cursory comparison of the authorities in their entirety. The lines chosen for careful study include: (1) the stanzas printed in the Chaucer Society's volume of Specimen Extracts; (2) the whole of the soliloquy on free choice in Book iv; (3) all lines in which there is a significant variation found in two or more MSS.; (4) all lines in which there is a variation, however slight, affecting the two main types of text, α and β , or the important group designated as γ ."

It will simplify the understanding of Professor Root's results, if I state at once that, according to his very convincing analysis, Chaucer turned over to a professional scribe the first (autograph) rough draft of the poem to transcribe, and, when the transcription

was returned to him, corrected in it the errors which the scribe was sure to have introduced. This corrected copy, which, of course, is no longer extant, is the archetype of the MSS. of the so-called α group. Chaucer, however, himself kept this archetype in his possession and used it for revising and rearranging his work, writing new lines or phrases in the margin or between the lines. From this archetype in its final state of revision were derived the MSS. of the β group, which are related to each other "only in that they are derived from Chaucer's archetype in its latest stage of revision." There would be this difference, then, between a MS. of the β group and one of the α group. A scribe, who was transcribing the β original (which was the α MS. after Chaucer had completed his progressive revision and correction of it) would often have before him more than a single reading. He would have in many cases the old reading—cancelled, to be sure—as well as the new reading. Then, in other instances, this β original, owing to corrections Chaucer had made, would, very likely, "present a confusing, if not illegible text." Every scholar knows, I may remark, what problems we often create for the typists of the present day, when we have introduced considerable alterations into the MSS. which we submit to them. In cases where the earlier reading had been cancelled, but still remained legible, the copyist, through inadvertence or wrongheadedness, might, after all, transcribe this earlier reading. These conditions, furthermore, might give rise to conflate earlier readings. That is to say a copyist, not understanding altogether some indicated revision, might incorporate in his copy part of the revised and part of the unrevised reading. The whims and blunderings of individual scribes, when confronted with these allurements to error which revision had created, would, of course, differ very much—hence the confusion that is observable in the relations of the β MSS. A collation of the α and β MSS. shows that the changes which Chaucer instituted in his revision are confined to comparatively limited areas. In Book I the variations are mainly found in the first 500 lines, the most important being the presence of stanza 128 in the α MSS., which is not found outside of that group. In Book II, there are very few striking variations, save in ll. 701-1113, and in Book V there are virtually none, save ll. 1807-1827, about the flight of Troilus's soul to heaven, taken from the *Teseide*, which were added later. It is in Books III and IV that the groups exhibit the greatest differences. In the former Troilus's song of love,

ll. 1744-1771, seems to have been a later insertion. Stanzas 190 and 191, too, which in the first draft followed l. 1323, were moved down to a position immediately preceding l. 1415, and ll. 1323, 1415 and the first line of the shifted passage were then altered to suit the new relations. These are merely the most marked variations of Book III. In Book IV variations of equal significance are found, the most important being the long soliloquy on God's foreknowledge and man's freedom of choice, ll. 953-1085, of which there is no indication in the α MSS.

One might expect to find the MSS. of the β group representing different grades of revision, but it results from Professor Root's examination that such is not the case. They all represent copies made after the revision was complete.

Perhaps, the greatest divergence between the views of Professor Root and previous editors of Chaucer as to the relations of the *Troilus* MSS. concerns the place among these MSS. of the so-called γ group. According to McCormick, Preface to the Globe edition, p. xli, "the γ type represents a later copy, either carelessly corrected by the author, or collated by some hand after Chaucer's death." The fact that this group includes half of all the surviving MSS. and that some members of the group, like the Campsall MS. and the Corpus Christi (Cambridge) MS., No. 61, are "beautifully executed and exceptionally free from errors of their own" has, in Professor Root's opinion, exercised an undue influence over the judgment of editors, *e. g.*, Professor Skeat. As a result of a searching examination of the question, however, he has, himself, concluded—and, I believe, justly—that the α group has no claim to the position which is assigned it in the words quoted above from the Globe edition. The errors which are summarized, pp. 251 f., prove that all the MSS. of this group are descended from a common ancestor which could not have received Chaucer's correction and sanction. At the time that this archetype of the group was executed, Chaucer had not finished the revision of the poem which is represented by the β group. He had revised it only in part.

These are the main points, I believe, which Professor Root's researches have substantially established. There are others of less significance, of course, which we need not emphasize here, *e. g.*, the fact that some MSS. are of composite origin, following, say, the α tradition in the first part of the poem, the β tradition in the remainder, or, in some instances, showing in the same part alter-

nate use of the tradition of different groups. Perhaps, worthy of especial note is the curious and unfortunate circumstance that the only ms. (Philipps 8250, Cheltenham) which represents the α text consistently throughout the whole poem is very corrupt, and, as Professor Root remarks, "stands at the end of a series of endless transcriptions." He himself indicates the above-mentioned Corpus Christi ms., of the γ group, as supplying the best basis for an edition of the poem. The α and β variants, however, would have to be added at the foot of the page and the readings of this γ text would have to be changed to β readings, wherever the latter are capable of sure determination.

I confess that this seems to me a curious *non sequitur* after all the writer's efforts to dethrone the γ mss. from their position of authority. It looks as if the beautiful workmanship of these mss. had in the end "tyrannized" over Professor Root's judgment as well as over Professor Skeat's. Surely, the natural conclusion from his own argument is that the best mss. of the β group should constitute the basis of a critical text.

It should be observed that Professor Root, as he tells us in his preface, inherited this task from Sir W. S. McCormick, who had to forego its execution, owing to duties of a different kind, and consequently, had the advantage of a considerable body of collations and notes which his predecessor had accumulated. The two scholars had already been associated in editing "Specimen Extracts" of the *Troilus* mss. for the Chaucer Society (First Series, No. 89), and so the undertaking represented by the present volume passed into appropriate hands.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE.

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Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America. By CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

A Heritage of Freedom. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. New York, George H. Doran & Co., 1918.

Americans who lived in England before the war very soon came to realize the genuine heartiness of the interest taken by the English people in America and Americans. This declared itself not only in magnificent generosities like the Rhodes Bequest and the

Atlantic Union, but even more significantly in the unfailing kindness and sympathetic questioning experienced by the touring bicyclist in corners where any suspicion of imperial politics would have been ridiculous. The historical explanation of this friendliness and the story of its international manifestations form the subject of Mr. Andrews' luminous little book. After sketching the parallel course and mutual development of ideals of freedom in England and America from the time Sir Edwin Sandys and his colleagues secured charters for the Virginia and New England colonies, Mr. Andrews reviews especially the relations between the two countries during the last hundred years of peace. Mr. Andrews is an American of Americans, whom it would be absurd to suspect of British partiality. His admirable statement of the plain facts shows that for the last three generations and more it has been as true of diplomatic connections as American travellers have found it in social dealings, that England has given in the cause of Anglo-American harmony a good deal more than she has received. Reasons for this are easy to find. Till the last decade those who lived in London attained naturally to a broader international vision than those who lived west of the Atlantic: Burke understood the colonies far better than Patrick Henry understood Parliament. The real American, moreover, was throughout the nineteenth century vastly more common in England than the real Briton in America.

Mr. Andrews' book—brief, well-documented, and plain-spoken as it is—should go far toward dispelling many heritages of error and awake us to a new understanding of that 'heritage of freedom' of which he writes. At this time, when so many Americans are endeavoring to pay the debt they owe to Sandys, Burke, and Bryce, as well as to Lafayette and Rochambeau, we may begin to look with hope to the day when the highest ideals of three centuries shall at last have ploughed their way to peace and truth

. . . 'through a cloud

Not of war only, but detractions rude.'

Professor Gayley's volume develops the same theme. He likewise takes as his point of departure the work of Sandys and his 'Patriot party,' which under the menace of James I's absolutism sowed the seeds of free government simultaneously in America and in England; and he makes equally clear 'The Heritage in Com-

mon' between modern Britain and America. Professor Gayley's is a longer book, and he goes beyond the purely historical aspects of the case, exerting himself to show the fundamental unity of the political ideals of our race with the great literary movement of the sixteenth century. His detailed investigation of the personal and intellectual connection between Shakespeare and Hooker and the 'Founders of Liberty in America' appeals largely to technical students of English literature and contains a good deal which will be new to most of them. In *The Tempest* he finds evidences of a closer personal connection with the Virginia colonists than has been usually assumed; in *Troilus and Cressida* he traces the influence of the same articles of Hooker's political creed which guided the incorporators of the American commonwealths. The main truth which he brings out is, however, of universal application: the essential difference between a culture which is indigenous and really ideal and one arbitrarily superimposed upon an artificial political system. In his last two chapters the author's argument reaches a high eloquence. The fundamental necessity of Anglo-American concord he puts in three lines:

'For four generations we have been an independent people. But for six generations before that the intellectual and spiritual strivings of our British compatriots toward truth and freedom were those of the British in America.'

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

The Pearl: An Interpretation. By ROBERT MAX GARRETT. University of Washington Publications in English. Vol. iv, No. 1. Seattle, April 18, 1918. 45 pp.

Within the past few years much scholarly effort has been expended upon the interpretation of *The Pearl*, but it would seem that the problem has not yet lost its fascination. Professor Garrett, the most recent student to undertake the elucidation of the poem, does not concern himself directly with the question raised by Professor Schofield whether it is to be understood as an expression of personal bereavement or merely as a spiritual allegory. His primary purpose is to supply a new key to the symbolism of *The Pearl* by showing "that this poem has as its central idea the funda-

mental teachings of the Eucharist" (p. 10). Having announced this as his thesis, the author proceeds for sixteen pages to assemble testimony (1) as to the central importance and the inner meaning of the doctrine of the Eucharist in the fourteenth century; (2) as to the prominence of the pearl in the New Testament; and (3) as to the symbolic connection of the pearl with the Eucharist in patristic literature.

"The pearl," Professor Garrett declares, "is par excellence the precious stone of the New Testament."¹ The parable of the Pearl of Great Price was in itself sufficient to establish the pearl as a frequent symbol for Christ. To apply this symbol specifically to the consecrated wafer which represented the body of Christ would seem to be an easy extension of the figure. Professor Garrett lays stress upon the physical resemblances between the Host ("Hostia de frumento sit, rotunda et integra et sine macula") and a pearl which might have suggested this identification.

In point of fact, however, the figure of the pearl was almost never applied to the Host. The only instance of this figure which Professor Garrett has been able to find in the Western Church occurs in the verses of Venantius Fortunatus. The phrase *margaritum ingens* in these verses, by the way, was borrowed by Fortunatus from the *Psychomachia* (v. 873), where, however, it was not used of the Host.

Occasionally Professor Garrett's enthusiasm for pearls betrays him into observations which are somewhat fanciful, as when he remarks: "We are likely to see in the beautifully rounded limbs of children the likeness to pearls, in sheen and in color, in purity and in perfectness of form" (p. 24). The main criticism, however, which is to be passed upon these introductory sections of his discussion is that he overstrains the evidence in seeking to show that in patristic literature "the consecrated Host is the great Pearl of the sacred body of the Lamb" (p. 25).

Having completed his survey of the symbolism of the pearl in the Scriptures and in the Fathers, Professor Garrett proceeds to examine the Middle English poem in the endeavor to establish his thesis that its central theme is the Eucharist. Seven pages are devoted to a summary of the argument of the poem, but even this

¹The further statement that "in the Old Testament the pearl does not occur at all" (p. 17) is inaccurate: see *Proverbs* 25, 12.

detailed summary does not enable the reader to perceive that the Eucharist plays any conspicuous part in the poet's plan. Indeed, the only explicit reference to the Eucharist occurs in the last half dozen lines of the poem (vv. 1205-1212). This passage, which is crucial to his argument, Professor Garrett translates in original fashion: "Upon this mound this lot I got, bowed down with grief for my Pearl, and then I entrusted it (*þis lote*) to God in Christ's dear blessing and memory, that in the form of bread and wine which the priest shows us every day, He gave us the way to become servants of his household and precious pearls unto His pleasure." (p. 32, n. 15).

Several points in this translation call for comment: (1) The antecedent of *hit* in p. 1207 is plainly *perle* and not *lote*: it is the Pearl whom the dreamer commits to God. (2) *Myn* (v. 1208) is the personal pronoun and not the substantive *mune*. (3) *þat* (v. 1209) must depend upon *Kryste3* (v. 1208): it is Christ whom the priest exhibits daily in the form of bread and wine. (4) The last two lines have been understood by all previous translators as merely the conventional formula of benediction; emending *gef* to *gyue* in order to make sense of the passage. In any case Garrett's rendering—"He gave us *the way* to become servants of his household"—is unwarranted.

Professor Garrett's whole argument for the Eucharistic doctrine in *The Pearl* leans heavily upon this very dubious piece of translation. When he comes to his final statement of the case he stretches the interpretation of this passage to such an extent that it is positively misleading.

"To recapitulate: Within the frame of a great pearl, the poet sees his lost Pearl in the presence of the Lamb of God, a very member incorporate in the mystical body of Christ; *and she teaches him that through the grace of God as granted in the Eucharist it is given him to become a member of this body*, thus to be forever united with his Pearl as parts of the great pearl, the mystical body of Christ."

The phrases which I have italicized are left wholly without support if one accepts the usual translation of the lines with which the poem concludes. Even according to Professor Garrett's rendering of these lines it is notable that the maiden of the vision, who expounds at such length the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, offers no word of instruction to the dreamer concerning the

mystery of the Eucharist. His perception of this matter does not come until after she has left him.

Nor does one find it easy to accept Professor Garrett's further suggestion as to the origin and setting of the poem:

"I have an idea that the whole poem arose from gazing at the Elevated Host in the hands of the Priest (see frontispiece)—'round, white, like a pearl, the meeting place of heaven and earth—a pearl, Margaret'—something like this would, I think, be the train of thought which would bring the germ of the poem to him. I believe that the poet conceives the poem as taking place within the church where the Pearl might be buried, quite regardless of the convention of the arbor and the grass."

The song which floats to the poet (vv. 19-21) as he thinks of his lost Pearl is surely not "the chanting of the choir," nor is there a reference to the incense of the church service in the mention of the "spices" which spread above the little mound where his lost Pearl rests.

Professor Garrett adds to his study two Appendices. In Appendix A he dissents from Osgood's view that the poet in dating his vision "In Augoste in a hy3 seysoun" refers to the Feast of the Assumption. He proposes instead the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (August 7), the Feast of the Transfiguration (August 6), or the Feast of the First-fruits. On the other hand, "high season" is a term which would much more probably be applied to an important feast such as the Assumption; nor does the fact "that the Virgin gets very little mention in the poem" seem a sufficient reason for excluding this Feast from consideration.

Appendix B is a translation, first printed without name in *The Cowley Evangelist* in 1895, of St. Hilary's letter to his daughter concerning the robe and pearl which he was bringing her from the Prince. This is a singularly beautiful parable which deserves to be more widely known. Professor Garrett has rendered a useful service in making it accessible in this charming translation.

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CORRESPONDENCE

AN "HITHERTO UNKNOWN" ACTOR OF SHAKESPEARE'S TROUPE?

The well-known London firm of booksellers, Myers and Company, in its recent *Illustrated Catalogue of Rare Books*, 1918, offers for sale an autograph letter said to be "from one of the actors of Shakespeare's company." This letter, the *Catalogue* further states, is "not only valuable as giving the name of an hitherto unknown actor of Shakespeare's own time, but is one of the most interesting links with the great dramatist and actor that has recently come to light." Already the attention of Shakespearean scholars has been called to its importance by a writer in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, and in the future, no doubt, many students of the Elizabethan drama will be confronted with the claims here put forth.

From the two photographic facsimiles given in the *Catalogue*, I have deciphered the letter as follows. On the back, with the remains of the wax seal still clearly visible, is the address:

To my most deare &
especeall good frend mr.
Edward Alleyn at
Dulwich dd thes

The letter itself, without date or further address, runs thus:

Right worshipfull, my humble dutie rememberd—hoping in the Almightye of yre health & prosperety, wch on my knees I beseeche him long to contyneue, ffor the many favors wch I haue from tyme to tyme received my poor abillity is not in the least degree able to give you satisfaction, vnless as I and myne haue byn bounden to you for yor many kyndnes soe will wee duringe life pray for yor prosperety. I confess I haue found you my cheifest frend in midst of my extremeties, wch makes me loath to presse or request yr favor any further, yet for that I am to be married on Sunday next, & yor kindnes may be a great help & furtherance vnto me towards the raisinge of my poore & deserted estate, I am enforced once agayne to entreat yor wopps furtherance in a charitable request, wch is that I may haue yor wopps Letter to mr Dowton¹ & mr Edward Juby² to be a meanes that the Company of players of the ffortune maie either offer at my wedding at St Saviors church, or of their owne good natures bestowe somthinge vppon me on that day. And as ever I and myne will not only

¹ So Henslowe, and others, usually spell the name, but he himself always wrote "Downton." He first appears in the list of the Admiral's Men in 1594; later he was associated with the unfortunate Pembroke's Company at the Swan; in 1597 he rejoined Henslowe, and later became the leader of the players at the Fortune.

² Edward Juby also first appears in the list of the Admiral's Men in 1594. After a long service with Henslowe, he became one of the chief players at the Fortune. He is referred to by Massye in 1613 as, apparently, the manager of the Fortune Company. He died, it would seem, in 1622.

rest bounden vnto yr [wopp] but contyneually pray for yr wopps health
wth encreas of all happynes longe to contyneue. In hope of yr wopps favor
herin, I humbly take my leave. Resting

yr worshippis during
life to be commanded
William Wilson.

According to the *Catalogue* (and the statements are repeated by the writer in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* in virtually the same words) this letter was "written by one of the actors of Shakespeare's company at the Fortune Theatre. . . . Next in importance to Shakespeare's own autograph must come any manuscript matter of his fellow actors and dramatists. Here we have an entire holograph letter from one of his actors, to the famous Shakespearean theatre owner, and founder of Dulwich College, mentioning Thomas Dowton and Edward Juby, who were two of the most prominent English actors about the time of the publication of *Hamlet*. Dowton, Juby, and Wilson must have all known Shakespeare well, and in all probability have often acted with him."

It is sufficient to say that Shakespeare was never connected in any way with the Fortune Playhouse, that Dowton and Juby cannot be described as "Shakespearean actors," and that this letter has no real Shakespearean interest.

Yet the letter is not without interest as throwing light on the theatrical organization of the Fortune, and as further illustrating the kindly nature of that prince of men, Edward Alleyn. Possibly it once formed a part of the valuable Alleyn Papers at Dulwich College, many of which were dispersed at the end of the eighteenth century through the carelessness of scholars; and it should certainly find its permanent resting-place in the archives of that college.³

The letter is not dated, for that part of the address which the booksellers doubtfully read as the date ("apparently dated N. 1/16 '7") is the customary phrase "dd thes," meaning "deliver these."⁴ The booksellers add, however: "It appears from the registers of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, that William Wilson was married there, to Dorethea Seare, on Sunday, Nov. 2, 1617," and this clearly reveals the approximate date of the letter. I may add that Thomas Dowton is believed to have retired from acting in 1618.

Is it possible, as has been suggested, that in William Wilson we have "an hitherto unknown" Elizabethan actor? I think it very doubtful. For some years I have been gathering all the available information about the numerous actors and other hangers-on at the

³ Scholars should add this letter to Mr. W. W. Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, Appendix I, "Documents formerly belonging to the Dulwich collection, but not now known, together with some preserved elsewhere."

⁴ For a similar address ending "thes dd" see J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 177.

theatres before 1642, but my extensive collections fail to reveal any actor by this name. Nor does the letter imply that Wilson was an actor. On the contrary it implies, it seems to me, that he was not so important a person. Had he been a member of the company, he would not have been under the necessity of appealing thus to Alleyn (who had long retired from the active management of the playhouse); for his "fellows," we may be sure, among whom a fraternal spirit was highly developed,⁵ would have needed no suggestion from Alleyn or any one else to remember his wedding in the proper way. Nor do I see any reason for supposing that this is the "Mr. Wilson, the singer" referred to in Alleyn's *Diary* in 1620:

Oct. 22. This daye was our weddinge daye, and ther dind with us Mr Knight, Mr Maund and his wife, Mr Mylor, Mr Jeffes, and two frendes with them, a preacher and his frend, Mr Wilson the singer, with others.⁶

I venture the suggestion that Wilson was one of the "gatherers," or money-collectors, of the playhouse, whose appointment was due to the kindness of Edward Alleyn. In 1612, Robert Browne wrote to Alleyn requesting him, as a matter of charity ("for he hath had many crosses, and it will be some comfort and help"), to appoint to "a gathering place" at the Fortune the wife of a certain Mr. Rose ("he hath been an old servant of mine, allwayes honest, trusty, and trew").⁷ Again, about the year 1617, the actor William Bird wrote to Alleyn: "Sir, there is one Jhon Russell, that by yowr apoyntment was made a gatherer wth vs, but my fellowes [i. e. the actors], finding often falce to vs, haue many tymes warnd him from taking the box. And he as often, with most damnable othes, hath vowed neuer to touch; yet, notwithstanding . . . for w^{ch} we haue resolued he shall neuer more come to the doore; yet for yo^r sake he shall haue his wages, to be a necessary attendaunt on the stage."⁸ That these "gatherers" were numerous is indicated by the "Articles of Grievance against Mr. Henslowe," 1615, in which the actors accused him of "havinge 9 gatherers more than his due."⁹

If Wilson was not one of the "gatherers" at the Fortune, then in all probability he was one of the many "necessary attendants on the stage," whose appointment, we may suppose, had been the result of the kind-hearted interference of Alleyn.

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⁵ "My loving and kind fellows," writes the actor, John Underwood; and this was generally the spirit prevailing among the various troupes of London actors.

⁶ Collier, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 153. Collier says: "It seems highly probable that this 'Mr. Wilson the singer' was no other than 'Jack Wilson, who personated Balthazar in *Much ado about Nothing*.'"

⁷ W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

MORE AND TRAHERNE

The source of Traherne's interest in the Platonic doctrine of the soul's recollection in early infancy of the felicities of a previous existence is naturally to be sought in the general revival of Platonism at Cambridge in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Mr. Paul Elmer More¹ has already brought together the names of Thomas Traherne and Dr. Henry More as "products of the same Platonizing tendency" without, however, showing any immediate relation between these two exponents of the movement. Yet not only do external facts make possible such a relation, but internal evidence of striking similarity in thought and expression seems also to indicate that Traherne was indebted for much of his material to the learned author of the *Platonic Song of the Soul*.

Of Traherne's life enough is known to show that he may have had access to More's philosophical poems soon after their publication. *Psychologia*, or *the Life of the Soul* appeared in 1642, and the entire *Platonic Song of the Soul* in 1647. Traherne matriculated at Oxford in 1652, took his Bachelor's Degree in 1656, his Master's in 1661, and was made Bachelor of Divinity in 1669. While still at Oxford, then, Traherne may have combined his taste for divinity and poetry in the perusal of More's metaphysico-religious exposition of Platonism in the Spenserian stanza.

Such acquaintance becomes less purely conjectural upon an examination of the internal evidence found in the close resemblance in thought and language of the Cambridge Doctor and the Teddington recluse,—a resemblance shown in the following examples.

Contrasting the soul confined to bodily existence with its perfect freedom when relieved of its dependence upon the senses, More says:

Even so the soul in this contracted state
 Confined to these strait instruments of sense,
 More dull and narrowly doth operate,
 At this hole hears, the sight must ray from thence,
 Here taste, there smells; but when she's gone from thence
 Like naked lamp she is one shining sphere,
 All round about has perfect cognosence
 Whatere in her horizon doth appear;
 She is one Orb of sense, all eye, all airy ear.²

Compare with this Traherne's description of his soul while it was still free from the trammels of sense experience:

Then was my soul my only All to me,
 A living endlesse eye,
 Just bounded by the sky,
 Whose power, whose act, whose essence was to see.
 I was an inward *Sphere of Sight*,
 Or an interminable Orb of *Light*,

¹ "Thomas Traherne," *The Nation*, 88:160 ff.

² More: *Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart. *Prae-existency of the Soul*, p. 128, st. 102.

An endless and a living day,
 A vital sun that round did ray
 All life, all sense,
 A naked simple pure *Intelligence*.
 For sight inherits beauty, Hearing sounds,
 The nostril sweet perfume,
 All *Tastes* have hidden rooms
 Within the *Tongue*; and *feeling feeling* wounds
 With pleasure and delight, but I
 Forgot the rest, and all was Sight or Eye.³

Again, More shows the soul as knowing through immediate participation in reality:

. . . Her sight is tactual
 The sun and all the stars that do appear,
 She feels them in herself, can distance all,
 For she is at each one purely presential.⁴

Traherne likewise conceives of his soul in early infancy as immediately knowing its environment by direct presentation:

It acts not from a centre to
 Its object as remote,
 But present is when it doth view,
 Being with the being it doth note.

* * *

This made me present evermore
 With whatsoe'er I saw,
 An object, if it were before
 My eye, was by Dame Nature's Law,
 Within my soul. Her store
 Was all at once within me; all her treasures
 Were my immediate and internal pleasures,
 Substantial joys which did inform my mind.⁵

The obvious similarity noticed here suggests that Traherne was not merely a voice of his times, uttering doctrines that were more or less in the air, but that he was a disciple of the "most platonical of all the Platonists," who in "præ-existency" and memory independent of "corporalitie" provided Traherne with the means for the reconstructing of remembered or imagined joys of early infancy into recollections of a pre-natal state. Yet in spirit and method the two poets are far apart; for while More in rational exposition dogmatically sets forth the divine scheme of the universe, with man as its centre, its purpose, and its end, Traherne always retains in his "ego-centricity" something of the "first fine careless rapture" of his soul's early mystical experiences, so that his least lyrical moments are touched by a personal feeling that translates metaphysical subtleties into an emotional experience. For "All, all was mine."

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³ Traherne: *Poetical Works*, ed. Dobell. *The Preparative*, p. 14.

⁴ *Complete Poems: Immortality of the Soul*, Bk. III. st. 21.

⁵ *Poetical Works: My Spirit*, p. 41.

MARINO AND DANTE

There is somewhat of surprise at finding in one of the emptiest and vainest of Italian poets, reminiscences of the austere and most profound. Yet it is evident that in that poet to whom he alludes as

Altro, il cui volo pareggiar non lice.—*Adone*, ix, 178.

Giambattista Marino was letter-perfect, or was so at least in the *Inferno*, from which the majority of the allusions are drawn. His pages are strewn from end to end with tags and scraps of lines from the *Divine Comedy*, even as the latter is diversified with translated fragments of the *Aeneid*. A rather cursory reading of the *Adone* has revealed the examples listed below. A careful search would doubtless bring to light others. The edition of the *Adone* used was that published at Amsterdam in 1679. The citations from the *Divine Comedy* are from Moore's text, *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1904.

Hor de gli occhi ribaccia il raggio ardente,
Hor de la bocca il desiato riso.—*Adone*, III, 28.
Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante.—*Inf.*, v, 133-34.

E con tai note
Verga di pianto le lanose gote.—*Adone*, iv, 60.
Quinci fur quete le lanose gote.—*Inf.*, III, 97.

Non giamai più forte
Spranga legno con legno inchioda e stringe.—*Adone*, VIII, 60.
Con legno legno mai spranga non cinse
Forte così.—*Inf.*, XXXII, 49-50.

Nè lasciava d'andar, perch'ei parlasse.—*Adone*, x, 23.
Non lasciavam l'andar perch'ei dicessi.—*Inf.*, iv, 64.

Gran fiamma secondar breve favilla
Suole.—*Adone*, xi, 6.
Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda.—*Par.*, i, 34.

Così repente in men che non balena.—*Adone*, xi, 173.
E nascondeva in men che non balena.—*Inf.*, XXII, 24.

Così vuol chi quaggiù può quanto vuole.—*Adone*, XII, 155.
Vuolsi così colà, dove si puote
Ciò che si vuole.—*Inf.*, III, 95-96.

E non trahere ancora . . .
L'alma infelice a riveder le stelle.—*Adone*, XIII, 70.
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.—*Inf.*, XXXIV, 139.

Amor (che tutto regge e tutto move).—*Adone*, XIV, 222.
La gloria di colui che tutto move.—*Par.*, i, 1.

Amor, che 'n gentil cor ratto s'apprende.—*Adone*, XIV, 253.
Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s'apprende.—*Inf.*, v, 100.

The other examples noted reveal a similarity in thought rather than in wording.

Pur giova a molti antivedere il danno.—*Adone*, XI, 170.
Chè saëtta prevista vien più lenta.—*Par.*, XVII, 27.

Havrian veggendo in me maggior tormenti
Qualche conforto *le perdute genti*.—*Adone*, XIX, 228.
(Per me si va tra *la perduta gente*.—*Inf.*, III, 3.)
Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.—*Inf.*, III, 42.

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M. H. G. *alrüne*

The Middle High German word for 'mandrake,' *alrüne*, being but rarely found in M. H. G. literature,¹ it seems worth while to call attention to an instance not yet recorded in our M. H. G. dictionaries, though it occurs in a well known text.

I am referring to the second scene of the Easter play of Muri (in Switzerland),² in which the *paltene* (vendor, itinerant apothecary) praises his drugs and tonics:

Wā nu die choufen wellent?
mich wundert daz sī twellent.
die minnære geile
die vintent hie veile
bibergeil, alrüne.
sī mun wol wesen slüne
die daz niht went gewinnen
dā von sī vrouwen minnen.

'Where now are they that intend to make purchases? I am wondering that they can hesitate. Ardent lovers will find here for sale castoreum and mandrake. They must (*mun* = *mugen*) indeed be in a hurry who do not want (*went* = *welnt*, *wellent*) to gain the love of women.'

The fact that *alrüne* here appears associated with *bibergeil*, implies that the mandrake root is to serve as an ingredient of a love potion or a love powder. This use is in accordance with the glosses *friedelwurz* and *minnewurz* mentioned by Starck, p. 30.

I am making use of this opportunity to add to Dr. Starck's interesting discussion (pp. 52-57) of the mandrake in German literature another reference to a passage which I noticed recently.

¹ Cf. A. T. Starck, *Der Alraun* (Ottendorfer Memorial Series, No. 14, 1917), p. 52. Starck had to be satisfied with quoting the two stanzas by Heinrich von Meissen ('Frauenlob') referred to (s. v. *alrüne*) in Müller-Zarneke's *Mhd. Wtb.*

² Critical edition by K. Bartsch: "Das älteste deutsche Passionsspiel," *Germania* VIII (1863), 273-297. A reprint of Bartsch's text is found in K. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* I (= Kürschner's *Dt. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 14, I), pp. 228-244.

In a letter to Friederike Oeser, dated Febr. 13, 1769,³ Goethe writes: "Zwey Jahre bey nahe, binn ich in Ihrem Hause herumgegangen, und ich habe Sie fast so selten gesehen, als ein Nachforschender *Magus* einen Alraun pfeifen hört." The meaning here of the words "einen Alraun pfeifen hört" (the verb *pfeifen* used in the sense of *quicken*, i. e., einen schrillen Ton von sich geben) is best illustrated by a line in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV, 3, 47):

And shrieks like mandrakes', torn out of the earth,

and similar passages from English literature quoted by Starck, pp. 51 and 52.

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OLD FRENCH *terne*, *ternir*

There has been considerable doubt regarding the etymology of Old French *terne*, *ternir* and consequently of the Eng. 'tarnish' which is derived from the latter. The etymon given by most dictionaries is the Old High German *tarni*, which was first proposed by Diez. One of the objections to this form has been the late appearance of the French words. The earliest examples cited by Godefroy, Littré and the *Dictionnaire Général* are from works of the fifteenth century. The editor of the last-named publication states that the relatively recent date of the French words renders doubtful their connection with the OHG. *tarni*. The same objection is raised in the *New English Dictionary* in a discussion of the source of 'tarnish.' The earliest example given of the latter dates from 1598.

In preparing an edition of the Old French poem, *La Vie de Ste. Euphrosine*, I have discovered the form *ternie* in the best manuscript of that work, the famous Canon. Misc. 74 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This manuscript has been described by Paul Meyer,¹ who dates it in the first years of the thirteenth century. The poem itself was probably written not later than 1200. The passage which concerns us is as follows:

U est la blanche face? Mut est descolerie,
La vostre bele boche mut est ternie et palie. Vv. 1165, 6.

The second verse is metrically imperfect, but may be corrected by omitting *mut*, which may well be a scribal repetition of the form in the preceding verse. Another emendation would be to retain

³ *Goethe's Werke*, Weimar edition, Abt. IV. (Briefe), Bd. I, p. 190, or *Der junge Goethe*, Neue Ausg., Bd. I (1909), p. 318.

¹ *Documents manuscrits*, pp. 145-150.

mut and read *terne*. However, the past participles *descolorie* and *palie* render *ternie* preferable. Whichever solution be adopted, it is evident that either *terne* or *ternie* was used in Old French as early as 1200, more than two centuries before the earliest examples cited up to this time. Thus one objection to the derivation from OHG. *tarni* is removed. In the example quoted above *ternir* has its usual meaning, 'to lose the brilliancy of color.' It is therefore more or less synonymous with *descolorie* (cf. *desculuret e pale*, *Roland*, 1979).

Other objections to deriving the word from OHG. *tarni*, both on account of the form and the meaning, have been voiced by Bugge (*Rom.* iv, 366). According to him, the etymon proposed by Diez does not satisfy, because most of the Germanic words adopted in French have been borrowed through the intermediary of the Frankish, where initial *t* > *d*, so we should expect *tarni* > *darne*. However, it is not necessary to suppose that all French words of Germanic origin are borrowed in this way. There are quite a number of French words undoubtedly of Germanic origin in which initial *t* has been preserved; such are *tette* (Germ. *titta*), *tique* (Germ. *tick*), *tarir* (Germ. *tharrian*), etc. The existence of these and other forms shows that Germ. initial *t* may remain *t* in the French derivative.

The other reason for not connecting *terne* with *tarni* is that the latter means 'covered up,' 'veiled'; cf. *tarn-hut*, *tarn-kappe* = 'a mantle which renders invisible.' Yet the transition of meaning to a special application to light or color is not great. A 'veiled' light becomes a 'pale' light, brilliance when covered becomes 'dimmed.' It is not so much the question of a change of meaning, but rather the restriction to a particular limited use.

Another etymon proposed by Scheler and favored by Bugge is **tetrinus* < *teter*. As far as the meaning is concerned, this seems to me less satisfactory than the one we have discussed. The regular signification of Lat. *taeter* is 'offensive,' 'foul,' 'repulsive.' In Late Latin, to be sure, it sometimes means 'dark.' However, the OF. *terne* has primarily the meaning of 'without color,' 'pale,' 'wan,' as in the passage already quoted, rather than that of 'repulsive,' or 'dark.'

Whether all the arguments in favor of deriving *terne*, *ternir* from *tarni* be accepted or not, it is certain that *ternir* was used in French as early as 1200, and that at that time it had the same meaning it has today.

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STRAY NOTES ON *Othello*

(1) I, iii, 219: 'pierced.' *Emendatio incertissima*: 'sierced'? Sierced = searsed = searched = probed = healed. In Malory, e. g., the process of 'searching' a wound often seems to stand, by synecdoche, for the result of the process: i. e., not merely 'probing' (the usual gloss), but rather really 'healing' or 'curing' seems to be the meaning intended. And cf. *Two Gentlemen*, I, ii, 116.

(2) II, iii, 124: 'To the platform, masters; come, let's set the watch.' Several critics, apparently including Furness, would have Montano enter here, just in time to witness Cassio's unsteady exit, instead of at line 65, on the ground that it would be improper for him to be 'tippling with people already flustered, and encouraging a subaltern officer, who commands a midnight guard, to drink to excess' (Steevens). But Montano had just been relieved of all responsibility; he was associating with the two men next in rank to Othello himself—the so-called 'subaltern officer' being Othello's chief-of-staff and actually, in due time, Othello's and Montano's successor as Governor of Cyprus; the proclamation (II, ii) commanded 'every man' to 'put himself into triumph,' with 'full liberty of feasting' till eleven o'clock, and Montano could hardly, with good grace, refrain from celebrating his successor's arrival and 'nuptial' as well as 'the mere perdition' of the enemy; Othello (II, iii, 2, 3) expressly countenanced some degree of indulgence on Cassio's part; and Montano (II, iii, 68) did not consider Cassio 'already flustered,' and was not 'encouraging' him 'to drink to excess' because quite unaware of his unusual susceptibility (II, iii, 34-44): accordingly, feeling himself far short of undue exhilaration, Montano very innocently and properly joined in the conviviality of the moment and naturally saw no harm in the relaxation of the others.

(3) III, iii, 14-18. Is not the dramatic necessity for this somewhat cumbrous and involved passage to be found in Emilia's speech, III, i, 44-53,—apparently two whole scenes away, but actually only twenty-five lines before, and therefore very fresh in the audience's memory? For after Emilia's positive affirmation of Othello's intention to take Cassio back into his favor and service, some such emphatic exposition of motives and contingencies is indispensable here in order to justify to the audience Cassio's personal appeal for Desdemona's intercession.

(4) IV, i, 245: 'Are you wise?' Furness quotes and supports Fechter's suggestion that this question should be spoken by Iago, aside, to Othello, in an effort to avert the impending outbreak which will only too probably jeopardize the success of all the Ensign's plotting. Certainly its form is perfectly appropriate for such a purpose, while it is mere tame anticlimax in Othello's mouth after his explosive ejaculation two words before. Furness fails to remark

the further argument for this emendation: after all Othello's genuine exclamations (lines 238, 245a, 249, 250), Desdemona answers him directly, in the second person, on the supposition that he has addressed her; here, on the contrary, even though a direct question is asked, she uses the third person, manifestly questioning someone else who has intervened between herself and Othello. Fechter directs Iago, while uttering these words, to seize the arm of Othello and stop him violently: some such action seems necessarily presupposed by the form of Desdemona's question. The only argument brought forward for retaining the present accepted arrangement of the text would seem to be this: Othello must speak this line in order to render intelligible his exclamation in line 250, 'I am glad to see you mad' (i. e., not wise); but line 250 remains perfectly intelligible even if the question in line 245 be transferred to Iago, for then Othello would simply be saying, in the bitterness of his anguish, 'I am glad to see you so brazenly casting discretion to the winds by acting so madly, for it settles my doubts and nerves me for the execution of my dreadful duty.'

(5) IV, ii, 145-147. Professor A. C. Bradley (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, 215) comments on this passage thus: '[Iago] was also unreasonably jealous; for his own statement that he was jealous of Othello is confirmed by Emilia herself, and must therefore be believed.' Surely this kind of criticism does a double injustice to Iago. In the first place, it misunderstands him by trying to make him out to be something that he really was not. For the logic is viciously fallacious: we might just as well say, 'Iago was unreasonably honest; for his own repeated statements that he is honest are confirmed by the repeated statements of everyone else.' No, the man who could jest about personal honor so cynically even to Emilia herself (III, iii, 302) can hardly be believed to have had any very sensitive feelings about marital fidelity. Moreover, to explain away Iago's machinations, or find a serious cause for them, on the ground of mere jealousy is to derogate as much from his greatness as is done in the parallel case of Hamlet when the heart of his mystery is glibly explained away on the ground of madness. In the second place, Professor Bradley's criticism underestimates Iago by not making him out to be something that he really was. Surely the strange 'and' for 'for' in 'I hate the Moor; *And* it is thought abroad, that 'twixt my sheets' (I, iii, 392, 393) was deliberately designed to give the line a casually incidental tone and show that it was really an afterthought, due to 'motive-hunting'; so also the strange parenthesis 'For I fear Cassio with my nightcap too' (II, i, 316). These cases supply the clue to the explanation of Emilia's 'confirmation' of Iago's alleged jealousy of Othello. In all three instances is it not giving Iago only due credit for the subtlety that we know to have been his, if we believe that he was practising his rôle, rehearsing to himself or to Emilia the reasons that would plausibly justify his actions, and in the

'Cassio' inspiration trying out an idea that he might subsequently use in arguing Othello into acquiescence—just as he threw out offhand a suspicion of Bianca (v, i, 85, 105) on the chance that it might prove useful later? Were not these groundless accusations against Othello and Cassio just Iago's way of experimenting on Emilia and himself in the workings of this unknown quantity, jealousy? And might not the 'Cassio' line be interpreted thus, retaining the original punctuation: 'I'll . . . Abuse him to the Moor in the rank garb (*On the ground that I fear Cassio with my night-cap too, as well as with his*)'? If so, Iago was here going over *verbatim* the speech that was to undo Othello: he was willing to besmirch his own wife's fair name in order to attain his object, viz., convince Othello of his sincerity and honesty. Professor Bradley's interpretation (see also his Note Q, p. 441) misses this fiendish subtlety, just as it too credulously characterizes Iago as jealous.

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THE COVENT-GARDEN JOURNAL EXTRAORDINARY

Some years ago in looking over the *General Advertiser* for Monday, January 20th, 1752, I found advertised for "this day at noon" THE COVENT-GARDEN JOURNAL EXTRAORDINARY, NUMB. I, Printed for J. SHARP, near *Temple-Bar*; but until recently no copy of this pamphlet has come to light. Now, thanks to the diligence of Mr. F. S. Dickson, of New York City, a unique and excellent copy has been added to the splendid Fielding Collection in the Yale Library.

It is a curious burlesque of Henry Fielding's *Drawcansirian* periodical, and is (as I conjectured in my edition of the *Covent-Garden Journal*, I, 57) written in an unfriendly humor. There is a leader of three pages in Drawcansir's manner (even to the extent of using *hath* uniformly) which takes up, using Fielding's historical method, the subject of transmigration of souls with particular reference to "a Vagabond metamorphosed into a Justice, and a Cook-maid [who has succeeded] to the Honours of her Mistress." Fielding's enemies took particular delight in ridiculing his assumption of the office of "trading Justice" and his second matrimonial venture. Page four has a burlesque *Journal of the War* in which Smollett is definitely referred to as head of a "flying Party" which still kept the field after Sir Alexander [Fielding] had declared a peace. A reconnoitering party finds "a small Hutt" [Smollett], and reference is made to a "northern Free-booter" who had "lately assaulted" Fielding [in *A Faithful Narrative*, January 15th].

On page five is an advertisement in which Fielding is represented as denying one of the charges made in Smollett's *Narrative*. He denies that he had been a "Herald" to a "Collection of Wild Beasts" and had publicly solicited patronage "at the Door of any House, Barn, or Booth" *except* as he had been concerned as "Author, Stroller and Puppet-show man." Possibly the author of this burlesque shared the popular error which confused Timothy Fielding with Henry in the former's theatrical venture in a booth at Bartholomew Fair.

On the same page is an account of *Amelia's* death and burial, and as in every similar attack, reference is made to the noseless condition of Fielding's heroine. Page six refers to the "Sentence of Damnation on his *Wedding-Day*" some years before at the Drury-Lane, and comments on Garrick's strange adherence to the man who had involved him in that unsuccessful production. Finally, on the same page, there is an adroit reference to "the female Champion," Roxana Termagant, who had recently declared war (in her *Drury-Lane Journal*) against Sir Alexander Drawcansir. The passage speaks of Roxana as "a *Smart* old woman" who has taken offense at Drawcansir's invasion of her "Province of Gossiping" and "Caudle-making." This is an attempt to attribute the *Drury-Lane Journal* to Christopher Smart, who was at that time offering the public Mary Midnight's *Caudle*.

The author of this pamphlet was probably Bonnell Thornton, but the fact that J. Sharp published Smollett's *Faithful Narrative* and this later parody as well gives some ground for suspecting Smollett. A careful examination of the work reveals some slight evidence that Thornton is its author, and none whatever that Smollett wrote it. In the first place, I doubt very much if Smollett would introduce himself in such a burlesque on his own intervention in the Paper War. Moreover, Smollett's *Faithful Narrative* reveals his inability to write in any such vein as this later production reveals. Thornton, however, could do just this sort of thing, and later in four separate instances publishes in his *Drury-Lane Journal* similar burlesques with exactly the same title. In the second issue of his *Journal* three days after the publication of this first parody, Thornton, who attacked anybody and everybody, attacked Smollett for his inclusion of Lady Vane's memoirs in *Peregrine Pickle*—a second stone from the same hand directed at the same bird. Finally, in the peculiar profusion of dashes throughout this parody I find, with a slight variation, a customary habit of Thornton's pen. Smollett is very chary of his dashes—so, too, are Kenrick, Hill, and the author of *Old England*—other possible writers of this pamphlet. But by way of disproof I must admit that Thornton rarely uses the dash to replace the full stop as does the printer of this amusing burlesque.

The importance of the discovery is threefold: first of all, we

find a direct statement that Smollett was actively engaged in the Paper War, and our opinion that he was the author of *A Faithful Narrative* is further strengthened; secondly, we find that in Fielding's lifetime his enemies referred to his having a booth at Bartholomew Fair; and, thirdly, we discover a source for the opinion expressed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (January, 1752, p. 29) that Mrs. Midnight (Smart) was the author of the *Drury-Lane Journal*.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Foundations and Nature of Verse. By Cary F. Jacob (New York, Columbia University Press, 1918). The official record of the University of Virginia reports this work to have been accepted, in 1917, as a doctoral dissertation. It is a book, however, that represents so much minute study in different directions as to exceed the average achievement within the period of the usual academic course. Both form and content betray a certain maturity in training which is accounted for, at least in part, in an incidental appeal (p. 118) to the writer's "own experience, gained through eight years of very careful study of music from the point of view of both performer and composer." This statement throws required light on the character of the treatise. The subject is considered from the musical point of view, without a corresponding evaluation of linguistic principles. It is plain that the writer is more advanced in the study of music than in the study of the science and art of language. This is in striking variation from the usual equipment of the prosodist, and it results in an excess of stress on the points of agreement between music and poetry. In the other pan of the scales is the excess of stress on the relation between poetry and prose,—an excess that is now so much in favor that it has become timely to commend its opposite error, if we may hope, by a Nichomachean method, to lead to the truth at some middle point.

The musician and the poet do not employ the same 'language,' tho there is a mathematical basis that is common to both arts. Music is in the closer and the more consistent touch with the laws of physics; and being inarticulate it is allied to primitiveness and is not, in strict logic, amenable to analytic thought. Poetry has the remoter relation to physics of articulate language, the agency for the analysis and definite expression of thought and emotion. Its closest alliance is with reflection upon human experience, with exactness in the use of significant words, with symbolism that is concrete and intellectually articulated so as to be unmistakable in definiteness of meaning. These arts differ in their use of rhythm.

In the one rhythm is carried to a high pitch of precision, in the other it is employed with a flexibility that would be detrimental to the first. This is the inevitable consequence of the described difference in 'language.' When, therefore, the discussion turns on 'regularity' of rhythm, poetry must not be held amenable to the strict laws of a melody in music, but the rhythm of poetry must be understood to be subject to the modifications and modulations of speech-utterance. The rhythm of poetry is not on this account to be described as irregular; it is regular, not in the absolute terms of the physicist, but in a manner that represents an agreeable and artistic pulsation of the particular language in which it is composed. The rhythms of poetry being conditioned by the character of the language employed, the error is to be avoided of not attending minutely to this 'grammar,' which is the key to the proper formulation of the principles of the poet's art of versification.

The arts of music and poetry differ from each other still more widely in their relation to the physical properties of sound. The alphabet of music is the conventionalized scale of pitch; in poetry as in language generally, pitch is at most a component of rhythmic stress or rhetorical emphasis. Music avails itself in a definite manner of loudness; poetry does not. Tone-quality, as the physicist describes it, is an important element in both these arts, which are, however, sharply separated by a difference in fundamental relation to this element. This difference is as wide as that which distinguishes the physical constitution of the vowel-sounds and the employment of rime and its cognate devices from musical instrumentation. Again, melody and harmony are admirable terms to describe effects in poetry, which are as capable of clear definition in this art as in the art from which the terms have been borrowed; but the definitions show the difference between the tonal-art and the linguistic art.

What is to be learned by comparing and contrasting these arts is made clear in the methods by which they are severally acquired. Elementary training in music proceeds from rudiments that are physical and mechanical to a degree that widely separates the process from the initial steps in poetry, which are amenable to the demands of correctness in language, taste in conforming to rules of artistic expression, and the exercise of the imagination; and to meet these demands the beginner in poetic composition has an outfit in the possession of the practical art of his vernacular. Finally, to look at the matter from a very different angle, competent criticism of a musical composition turns upon technicalities that are quite distinct from the principles governing the criticism of poetry.

Prosodists, as a class, err in either slighting the analogies between music and poetry, or in pushing these analogies too far. As usual, the *via media* is the true course; that is the implied meaning of the foregoing statements, which are to direct attention to the incontro-

vertible ground for the doctrine—trite enough—that the science of versification has its foundation in the principles of language rather than in the physics of a tonal-art. The poetic art (on the formal side) of a language is determined by the artistic possibilities in the use of that language and that language alone. Puttenham attributed the beauty of Greek and Latin poetry to the use of quantitative ‘feet,’ and added: “which feete we have not, nor as yet never went about to frame (the nature of our language and words not permitting it), we have instead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more than they [the ‘ancients’] ever had, by reason of our rime and tunable concords or simphonie, which they never observed. Poesie, therefore, may be an art in our vulgar, and that a verie methodicall and commendable.”

Puttenham argued the possibility of an art of English poetry by insisting on the availability of artistic elements in the language, which must be, he contends, reducible “into a method of rules and precepts.” Poetry, he declared, is a “vulgar art,” that is, an artistic use of the vernacular; and English, no less surely than Greek and Latin, can be used artistically, and from this use a corresponding system of rules and conventionalities is deducible. The argument is conclusive that as the poetic use of the language of antiquity is conditioned by the peculiar character and properties of these languages, so must the poetic use of English be in conformity with the peculiar constitution of English, which the artist must understand in all its “curious points” and “tunable concords.” The science of the poetic art, especially on its formal side, is to be based, therefore, on the laws and peculiarities of language, and under divisions that are made necessary by differences in the character of the languages employed. One must insist, even if it be in this repetitious manner, on the basic difference between music and poetry, and require of the prosodist complete training in linguistic principles.

Dr. Jacob’s book must not, by the foregoing implications, be undervalued. His scholarly acumen and industry is shown in every chapter, and the reader will thank him for following the approved method in supporting his historic survey of one and another subject by exact bibliographic citations. On the other hand, there is to be no abatement of the implied restrictions of the book. Its dominant character is due to an excess of the technicalities that relate more directly to tonal-art. But the prosodist will be benefitted by Dr. Jacob’s review of the scientific investigations of the elements of “Noise and Tone” (chap. II), “Pitch” (chap. III), “Tone Quality” (chap. IV), “Time” (chap. VIII), “Duration” (chap. X), “Accent” (chap. XI), to mention only those that offer the strongest temptations to confuse one art with another. Dr. Jacob is not deficient in fine perceptions of the effects of versification; but lacking adequate knowledge of the inner character of the language, he often arrives at the right conclusion for a wrong reason. Thus, in the discussion of what is misnamed the pyrrhic foot (pp. 136 ff.),

for there is no pyrrhic foot in English versification, an apprehension of the rhythmic accents of the language would have led directly to the right conclusion. So too is an essential feature of versification denied in this summary: "Prose, verse, and music are continuous in their flow. All such devices as writing them in lines and supplying them with various marks of punctuation are entirely aside from their structure. . . . In verse the logical group is also the rhythmic group, whether the grouping is indicated by any form of punctuation or not" (p. 167). The confusion that results from denying that the line is a structural unit and from insisting on "logical grouping" divests the discussion of "Rhyme and the Line" of valid reasoning with respect to versification. Later on the continuous flow of prose is correctly described as being not a rhythmic flow; and "highly oratorical, dithyrambic prose" is duly distinguished from the usual form. As a second transition product, *vers libre* is also to be thus marked off. It is described as "an interspersing of snatches of verse with loose combinations of prose" (p. 207). In the same connection is treated the flow of music and poetry. Here Dr. Jacob admits all that is demanded by the advocate of strictness in the employment of devices to maintain rhythmic patterns, and then, with surprising disregard of the essential character of an art, dismisses these structural devices as being "conventions pure and simple."

This book is not lightly to be put aside. It represents a wide range of study, from the history of the musical scale to the rhythm of prose, with a commendable effort to make available for the prosodist pertinent results in the sciences of physics and psychology. On the æsthetic side of the subject of versification, which is not primarily in the mind of the author, discriminating observations will be found, and these will easily be made to yield a fuller import when considered in the light of the basic fact of the character of the language, and of the traditions of its artistic use. J. W. B.

Robert Burns: How to Know Him. By W. A. Neilson (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917) is, with the possible exception of Professor Sherman's *Arnold*, the best book that has appeared in this popular series. Burns has suffered in criticism from over-praise, boisterous defence of his irregularities, and misinterpretation, mystical or otherwise. President Neilson is influenced neither by Carlyle nor by Henley. He keeps to the middle road of accurate and wide scholarship; places Burns in his historical position as the last and greatest of the line of Scots lyrists; and touches delicately, with neither vulgarity nor glossing, upon the personal side of his career. The chapter on Burns's "Inheritance: Language and Literature" is brief and of course elementary, but it is a most admirable introduction to the subject. The succeeding

chapter on "Burns and Scottish Song" could not be bettered. The plan of the series includes an anthology of each writer. President Neilson has chosen his groups of poems with exquisite taste so as to illustrate each section of his study. The marginal glossary throughout the book will be of assistance to those coming to Burns for the first time.

S. C. C.

Death and Liffe: An Alliterative Poem. Ed. with Introd. and Notes by James Holly Hanford and John M. Steadman, Jr. (*N. C. Studies in Philol.* xv. 2, July, 1918). Professor Hanford's Introduction includes a valuable discussion of the Debate-Form in general and of the Conflict of Death and Life as it is represented in medieval literature. His own special researches in the field of the Medieval Debate abundantly qualify him to supply in this way the materials which underlie this particular poem. So far as the sources and date of *Death and Liffe* are concerned, Professor Hanford for the most part restates and elaborates conclusions already presented by Miss Edith Scamman (*Radcliffe Studies in Eng. and Comp. Lit.* xv) and by himself in his paper, "Dame Nature and Lady Liffe" (*Mod. Philol.* xv). He follows Miss Scamman and Professor Manly in rejecting the view of Skeat that *Death and Liffe* was written by the author of *Scotish Feilde*. In his opinion *Death and Liffe* is to be assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century. Among the immediate sources of the poem he recognizes not only *Piers Plowman* but also *Winnere and Wastoure*, *The Parlement of Thre Ages*, and Alanus de Insulis in *De Planctu Naturae*.

In reprinting the text of the poem Mr. Steadman made an independent collation of the manuscript from rotographs; but beyond the restoration of line 448, which was omitted from the Hales-Furnivall edition (as Prof. York Powell first noted in 1884), it cannot be said that this collation has resulted in any important corrections of the earlier print. This is hardly a matter of surprise, however, since the accuracy of Dr. Furnivall's transcripts has long been a tradition. In several instances, indeed, the Furnivall print appears to be more accurate than Steadman's. Thus:

STEADMAN

- 7. blythenesse
- 181. selclothes
- 222. comandeth
- 264. comandement
- 322. & the soothe
- 324. with
- 388. worsse
- 392. *King*
- 423. Isaac

FURNIVALL

- blythenesse
- selclothes
- commandeth
- commandement
- & soothe
- with
- worsse
- King*
- Isacc

In line 336 Furnivall's punctuation, *litle,/when* is unquestionably

right instead of *litle./When*. In the foot-note on *pratinge* (259) the statement that "F. reads *prasinge*" is erroneous.

The Glossary contains a number of slips, both editorial and typographical. The troublesome word *bine* (254) is certainly a substantive and not an adverb, so that the citation of *byne* from *Floris and Blancheflour* is beside the point. It might conceivably be a form of *binne* (cf. also *binge*), but the sense of the passage would be clearer if one regarded the word as a corruption of *bune*; *buine* (*emtio*, 'bargain'). In the definition of *creame* one should read *oleum* instead of *cleum*. The verb *dained* is clearly from O. Fr. *deigner*, and is not a clipped form of *ordain*. *Derffe* (380) is defined as "troublesome" (< O. E. *gedeorf*), whereas it is the same word as *derffe* in line 325, where it is rightly defined as "cruel." *Farden* (165) is vaguely defined as "fared, went, were." *Quintful* (155) means 'artful, crafty,' rather than "proud, haughty, delicate." *Sayd* (36 and 454) is defined: "became heavy (in sleep)," and in the Notes there is a misleading citation of the line from the *Destruction of Troy*: "pat all sad were on sleepe." The verb *sayd* has no possible connection with the adjective, but is a shortened form from O. Fr. *essaier*: its meaning is clearly illustrated in the line cited from *Child Waters*, "Where I may say a sleepe." Mr. Steadman appends twelve pages of Notes which materially assist the reader by referring him to similar passages in Middle English alliterative poetry. The obscure phrase, "& take away of thy winne word" (5) is queerly paraphrased: "to take to ourselves thy joyous word."

C. B.

NECROLOGY

In the death of Gustav George Laubscher, October 5, 1918, Romance scholarship has suffered a distinct loss. Professor Laubscher received his bachelor's degree from Adelbert College, and his doctor's degree, in 1909, from the Johns Hopkins University. From that time he held the chair of Romance languages in the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, a responsible post for a beginner. Its arduous duties did not prevent him, however, from continuing and developing his own studies. His dissertation on the Past Tenses in French is a scholarly piece of work. In recent years he had been gathering the materials for an investigation of the decline of case-inflection in French. As the study developed he saw that it must be divided into the history of the pronouns and of the nouns. Fortunately, the former is substantially complete and ready for publication; the latter is less advanced, altho the material is all gathered.

Laubscher was a sturdy, honest, and kindly nature; a man of promise, in whom promise was already merging into fulfilment.

E. C. A.

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BUNYAN'S *HOLY WAR* AND THE CONFLICT-TYPE OF MORALITY PLAY

Despite Lord Macaulay's well-known dictum,—“if the *Pilgrim's Progress* did not exist, the [*Holy War*] would be the best allegory that ever was written”—the later allegory has been almost completely overshadowed by the earlier. The reason is not far to seek. Christian, Faithful, Mr. Worldly-Wiseman are living, breathing human beings, while “the human actors in the *Holy War*,” in the words of James Anthony Froude, “are parts of men—special virtues, special vices: allegories in fact as well as in name, which all Bunyan's genius can only occasionally substantiate into persons.” The story of the *Progress* is, moreover, much more varied than that of the *Holy War*. The account of a pilgrimage beset with countless difficulties and dangers is less likely to grow monotonous than the recounting of sieges, marchings, and counter-marchings.

The *Holy War* has been characterized as “a people's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in one.”¹ But is Bunyan allegorizing the epic of man's fall and redemption? A careful study of the allegory has convinced me that while he may have had this purpose at the outset he has not adhered to it. The wresting of Mansoul by Emmanuel after the town's defection to Diabolus marks but the half-way point of the story. Throughout nine more chapters of the entire eighteen Bunyan continues to picture the contest between the devils in hell, aided by the Diabolonians still lurking in Mansoul, and the inhabitants of Mansoul aided by Emmanuel. The theme, then, is not so much the epic of man's fall and redemp-

¹James Anthony Froude, *Life of Bunyan* [English Men of Letters], p. 95.

tion as the conflict between good and evil for possession of man's soul; in other words, the theme of a typical Morality play rather than that of Milton's two great epics in one.

The development of the conflict-theme has been interestingly traced by Professor Ramsay in the Introduction to his edition of Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, xcvi), of which the following is a condensation. The conflict appears in its simplest form in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius as separate combats, purely physical in character, between pairs of corresponding virtues and vices. In each duel the virtue is victorious. A decided step toward greater unity was taken when the several combats were merged into one. This stage of the development is seen in the moral-play *Hickscorner* (1497-1512), though, it should be added, the conflict in this play is both physical and spiritual. As yet, the conflict was for supremacy. A very distinct advance was achieved by the introduction of a neutral character, a central hero, impersonating Man. And now the conflict has as its goal the supremacy over man's soul; it ceases to be presented under the symbolism of an actual combat, but assumes the form of a literal temptation, in which the several characters, both virtues and vices, are active agents.

The normal plot, viewed from the point of view of the hero, falls into four stages: (1) State of Innocence; (2) Temptation; (3) Life-in-Sin; (4) Repentance.² By simply repeating the process—having the hero fall a second time a victim to temptation—the playwright could easily prolong the plot to seven stages: (1) Innocence; (2) Temptation; (3) Life-in-Sin; (4) Repentance; (5) Temptation; (6) Life-in-Sin; (7) Repentance. The *Castle of Perseverance* illustrates such an expansion. *Humanum Genus*, it will be remembered, yielding to the solicitations of his Bad Angel, surrenders to the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. He becomes penitent, and is taken to the Castle of Perseverance. Again he succumbs to temptation—this time to Covetousness, but at the summons of Death is again repentant.

That the plot of the *Holy War* exhibits this same seven-stage form of the old Moralities is evident from the following brief synopsis:

² So designated by Ramsay.

STAGE I: STATE OF INNOCENCE

The "fair and delicate" town of Mansoul, situated in the "gallant country of Universe," was, when first built, so goodly that "the gods" came down to see it, and sang for joy. . . . "There was not a rascal, rogue, or traitorous person then within its walls. They were all true men, and fast joined together."

STAGE II: TEMPTATION

Certain Diabolonians, who have been banished from the court of King Shaddai, in an effort to be avenged plot how they may best win "to themselves this famous town of Mansoul." It is agreed in the Council of Devils that Diabolus shall assume the form of a dragon, and through lying words persuade Mansoul to rebel against Shaddai. Accompanied by Ill-Pause, "his orator in all difficult matters," Diabolus proceeds close up to Eargate and there sounds his trumpet for an audience. The summons is answered by the chief men of the town—My Lord Innocent, My Lord Will-be-Will, My Lord Understanding (the Mayor), Mr. Conscience (the Recorder), and Captain Resistance. Diabolus, "as if he had been a lamb," seeks to persuade them that they are living in a state of abject slavery. While Diabolus is in the midst of his speech, Captain Resistance is shot from ambush and "to the amazement of the townsmen and the encouragement of Diabolus, fell down dead quite over the wall." Left naked of courage and of any power to resist, Mansoul hearkens to the subtle speech of the enemy, every word of which Ill-Pause assures them "carries with it self-evidence in its bowels." Both Eargate and Eyegate are opened and Diabolus, with all his band, admitted.

STAGE III: LIFE-IN-SIN

Diabolus, unanimously chosen king of Mansoul, immediately sets about remodeling the town. My Lord Mayor, Mr. Understanding, and the Recorder, Mr. Conscience, are succeeded, respectively, by Lord Lustings and Forget-Good. My Lord Will-be-Will makes such a complete surrender to Diabolus that he is in turn appointed "Captain of the Castle, Governor of the Wall, and keeper of the gates of Mansoul." The image of Shaddai is pulled down from

the gates and the market-place and that of Diabolus set up in its stead. In all public places are posted the edicts of Diabolus giving full "liberty to the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eyes, and the pride of life." Three strongholds are erected: the Hold of Defiance, in charge of one Spitegod; Midnight-hold, in charge of Love-no-Light; Sweet-Sin-Hold, in charge of Love-flesh, a fellow who "could find more sweetness when he stood sucking of a lust, than he did in all the paradise of God." Thus fortified, the Mansouliaus refuse to open the gates to the army of 40,000 of Emmanuel's forces led by Captains Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment, and Execution. Reinforcements led by Emmanuel in person having arrived, plans are laid to assault the town.

STAGE IV: REPENTANCE

Diabolus, who had taken refuge in the Castle of Heart, is captured, put in chains, and bound to Emmanuel's chariot wheels. Old Mr. Recorder Conscience, My Lord Understanding, and My Lord Will-be-Will are all three thrown in prison. Deeply humble and penitent, they are at last graciously pardoned by Prince Emmanuel and authorized to announce a general pardon to all the natives of Mansoul. A new officer, Mr. God's-Peace, is placed in charge of the town. All the men, women, and children in Mansoul now followed their business joyfully. There was nothing "to be found but harmony, quietness, joy, and health. And this lasted all that summer."

STAGE V: TEMPTATION

A certain "tattling Diabolonian gentleman" named Carnal-Security is instrumental in effecting the second revolt of Mansoul. He began to tickle the ears of his fellow-townsmen with such wonderful stories of their strength and greatness that even My Lord Mayor, My Lord Will-be-Will, and Mr. Recorder were greatly taken with his words. The hearts of the men of Mansoul became so chilled toward Emmanuel that he withdrew from the town. Mr. God's-Peace also laid down his commission, refusing to serve longer.

STAGE VI: LIFE-IN-SIN

Mansoul was now in sorry plight. The streets were filled with fainting, languishing men. Encouraged by the departure of the Prince, the old Diabolonians began crawling from their hiding-

places, among them the Lord Fornication, the Lord Adultery, the Lord Murder, the Lord Anger, the Lord Lasciviousness, the Lord Deceit, the Lord Evil-Eye, the Lord Blasphemy, and "that horrible villain the old and dangerous Lord Covetousness." These "lords of looseness" not only agree among themselves to entrap the natives of Mansoul, but dispatch a letter to their master Diabolus promising to make the town as vile as possible and suggesting the advisability of his sending an army of Doubters to attack the town from without. The proposal, after being discussed by Lucifer, Beelzebub, Apollyon, Legion, and Diabolus, is finally approved.

STAGE VII: REPENTANCE

The plot of the Diabolonians is discovered by Mr. Prywell, who sounds the alarm. Lords Covetousness and Lasciviousness, posing as Prudent-thrifty and Harmless-mirth, are detected and clapped in jail, where they soon die of a consumption. In the meantime Diabolus's army of 20,000 Doubters, with Mr. Incredulity as lord-general and Lords Beelzebub, Lucifer, Legion, Apollyon, Python, Cerberus, and Belial as superior officers, makes an assault upon Eargate. The inhabitants of Mansoul, inspired to heroic efforts by the example of Lord Will-be-Will and Mr. Mind, offer stout resistance. Diabolus at length succeeds in effecting an entrance through Feel-gate, but is unable to take the Castle of Heart. On the third day his army is routed by Captain Credence, whose forces have been augmented by those of Prince Emmanuel. Only the principal leaders escape. The Diabolonians lurking in Mansoul are captured and put to death, all but Mr. Unbelief, "a nimble Jack," whom they could never lay hold of though they tried it often.

"And now did Mansoul arrive to some degree of peace and quiet, her Prince also did abide within her borders, her captains also and her soldiers, did their duties and Mansoul minded her trade that she had with the country that was far off; also she was busy in her manufacture."

A study of the characters of the *Holy War* also reveals some interesting parallels with the Morality plays. Professor Ramsay's ideal scheme of characters of a typical Morality play is as follows:

I. Neutral: Mankind.

II. Representatives of Good.

- (a) Virtues proper: Meekness, Patience, Charity, Chastity, Abstinence, Occupation, Liberality.
- (b) Good Powers: The Trinity.
- (c) Agents of good: The Good Angel; Graces such as Penitence, Confession, Mercy.

III. Representatives of Evil.

- (a) Vices proper: Pride, Wrath, and Envy (commonly attached to the Devil); Lust, Gluttony, and Sloth (commonly attached to the Flesh); Avarice (attached to the World).
- (b) Evil powers: Devil, Flesh, World.
- (c) Agents of Evil: The Bad Angel, other devils, vices.
- (d) Evil types: The Taverner and others.

The *Holy War* has no central hero. Bunyan's marginal gloss for the phrase *the natives of Mansoul* is *Powers of the Soul*, from which it would seem that the native inhabitants of Mansoul are to be considered as representing Man. In reality, the great majority of these are mere names; they take no part in the story either as Tempters or Tempted. The characters who constitute the storm-centre of the conflict are (1) Mr. Recorder Conscience, (2) The Lord Mayor—Understanding, (3) Lord Will-be-Will, (4) Mr. Mind, Will-be-Will's Clerk. It is they who answered the first summons of Diabolus to a parley. After the occupation of Mansoul by Diabolus Conscience became so debauched that he was no longer capable of recognizing sin; Understanding so darkened that he "became as one born blind"; Will-be-Will such a loyal advocate of Diabolus that he was placed next to his master in power; while Mind and he were "in principle one and in practice not far asunder." When Prince Emmanuel succeeds in capturing Mansoul, it is Understanding, Will, and Conscience who are brought before Him as prisoners and through whom a general pardon is issued to the whole population. In the second defection of Mansoul these same characters play important rôles. The representation of the neutral characters not through a central figure as *Humanum Genus* or Everyman, but through one or more personified powers of the soul is found in several of the *Moralities*.³ In the *Morality*

³ Professor Mackenzie places in this group no fewer than five plays. See the *English Moralities*, pp. 23, 149 ff., Harvard Studies, Vol. III.

play *Wisdom*, for example, the neutral group is represented by Anima, the Five Wits, and the three powers of the Soul-Mind, Will, and Understanding.

Compared with the characters in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the characters in the *Holy War* approach far more nearly personified abstractions, yet none of them can be justly classified as "Virtues proper" or "Vices proper." The powers of good and of evil, respectively, are fully represented; the first by the Trinity—Shaddai, Emmanuel, the Lord Secretary; the latter by a surprising array—Diabolus, Alecto, Apollyon, Beelzebub, Lucifer, and Legion. By far the larger number of the 200 and more names appearing in the *Holy War* are included under the agents of good and evil, these agents in each case being composed of persons both from within and from without Mansoul. Our scheme of characters would, accordingly, be as follows:

I. The Tempted: Conscience, Understanding, Will-be-Will, Mind (Possibly, Knowledge).

II. Representatives of Good.

A. Virtues proper: none.

B. Powers of good: The Trinity.—Shaddai, Emmanuel, the Lord Secretary.

C. Agents of good.

(1) From Within Mansoul: Mr. Trueman, Mr. Upright, Mr. Desires-Awake, Mr. Godly-Fear, and many others.

(2) From Without Mansoul: Captains Conviction, Judgment, Execution, Credence, Goodhope, Charity, Patience, and many others.

III. Representatives of Evil.

A. Vices Proper: none.

B. Powers of Evil: Diabolus, Alecto, Apollyon, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Legion.

C. Agents of Evil

(1) From Within Mansoul: Lord Lustings, Mr. Forget-good, Lord Fornication, Lord Covetousness, Mr. Wrath, Mr. Mischief, and many others.

- (2) From Without Mansoul: Captain Rage, Captain Fury, Mr. Ill-Pause, Tisiphone, and others.'

Whatever influence the Moralities may have exercised upon Bunyan was in all probability transmitted through some of the pre-Bunyan allegories. Anything connected with the stage, however moral in its purpose, he would have considered as emanating from Diabolus himself. An allegory which contains traces of the Moralities and at the same time foreshadows the *Holy War* is John Alcock's *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, a work belonging to the latter part of the fifteenth century. An even more probable channel of transmission, however, is an anonymous work published in London in 1672, just ten years before the publication of the *Holy War*. It is entitled *The Soul's Warfare, Comically digested into Scenes Acted between the Soul and her Enemies Wherein She Cometh off Victrix*. Empirea, the Soul, is tempted by the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, but aided by Faith, Hope, and Charity, eventually succeeds in withstanding them. The Allegory might well serve as a connecting link between the moral plays and the *Holy War*.

After this paper had virtually been written, I ran upon the following passage in Henry Medwall's *Nature* (1486-1500) which outlines so clearly a *Holy War* as to strengthen my belief that there is a real connection between Bunyan's Allegory and the old moralities (Reason is speaking):

"I assemble the life of mortal creature
To the assiege again a strong town or castle;
In which there is much busy endeavor;
Much worldly policy; with diligent travail,
On every side, which part shall prevail
By sleight of engines, or by strong power,
That other to subdue and bring into danger.
In such case and manner of condition
Is wretched man, here in this life earthly,
While he abideth within the garrison
Of the frail carcase and caronous body:
Whom to impugn laboreth incessantly
The World, the flesh, the enemy—these three—
Him to subdue and bring into captivity.

And certes; these, our said enemies,
Be of their nature so mighty and so strong

That hard it will be for us in any wise,
 Again them war or battle to underfong;
 Also our garrisons and fortress to maintain long
 Again their engines; without spiritual grace
 We can not perform in no manner case.

J. B. WHAREY.

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NOTES ON DRAMATIC NOMENCLATURE IN GERMANY (1500-1700)

In our days when all dramas except operas and musical comedies are just plays, it is interesting to remember the painstaking attempts of former centuries to distinguish in the drama a multitude of minor types. When the classical formulas had been reintroduced by the Renaissance there were, of course, tragedy and comedy and soon also tragi-comedy, but before the ancient classifications had been universally accepted, and even for quite a time afterwards, certain terms were used of which the meaning is not often clear. Besides, even when tragedy, comedy and tragi-comedy covered nearly the whole of the dramatic field, a number of subspecies sprang up, developed and often disappeared without leaving more than the vaguest trace, perhaps not even a name, in the critical literature of the time. Or else there would be phantom species like the satyric drama which, long since disembodied, haunted modern poetries for centuries.

The following notes, jotted down in the course of a study on German dramaturgy, whilst disclaiming any attempt at completeness, may yet be found of some interest and may draw attention to certain problems of dramatic nomenclature which might repay a more exhaustive treatment.

A rapid glance into three successive centuries will serve to illustrate the changing outline and arrangement of the dramatic "map." Jodocus Badius, the printer and humanist, whose views, expressed in the *Prenotamenta* to his edition of Terence (1502, probably also 1500), may be taken as typical of the closing fifteenth century, counted amongst the species of the drama, "Omnes tragedie: omnes comedie: omnes mimi quedam egloge. Quidam dialogi & omnia in quibus autor non loquitur, sed solummodo persone per ipsum introducte." Distinguished by a keen sense of

the dramatic even in essentially undramatic work, this survey brings home the fact that, when it was made, the dramatic horizon of the so-called modern man still practically coincided with that of the ancient, if indeed it was not more restricted. To be sure Badius might have recognized certain forms of the medieval drama, which he knew and sometimes obviously had in mind; but he did not: a fact to be accepted and interpreted. The title-page of the second volume of Hans Sachs' collected works (1560) promises "Tragedi, Comedi, Spiel, Gesprech, Sprüch und Fabel"; the third volume contains "zuerst die geistlichen spiel, [zweitens] weltlich, alt Histori, aus den Poetn und geschicht schreibern . . ." the third "die Fasznacht spiel, mancherley art." There is no theory in this: it is merely a statement of contemporary fact, suggestive of a rather elaborate partition in the wide field of the drama, laid out into many small plots. Still a century later (1668), and we find the leader of a company of traveling actors in supplication to the town-council of Frankfurt, promising "etwas wunderwürdiges von einer neuen Invention so weder Tragödie, Comödie, Pastoral oder Histori, der Schatten genannt, welches bei allen Nationen der Welt niemals gesehen worden zum Besten geben."¹

Thus it is plain that the dramatic horizon has varied with the age, contracting or receding, spanning fields of diverse growth and cultivation. The survey of these offers some of the fascination of early maps, where towns are often pictured with houses and churches and outer walls, but great inviting stretches are labeled 'terra incognita.'

DIALOG-GESPRECH

One of the simplest forms of the drama is the dialogue; yet the simplicity of its technique seems to be equalled only by the complexity of its inner associations. It is not our task here to show by practical investigation its connection with the learned, philosophical disputation, the didactic pamphlet, the *Streitgedicht*, or to point out its occasional similarity to Shrovetide plays or its contamination by *Massendrama*.² Yet that is just what a theory

¹ E. Mentzel, *Geschichte d. Schauspielkunst in Fr. a. M.*, 1882, p. 98. Velten (Aug. 21, 1686) also mentions the "Poppenspiel und Schatten." *Ibid.*, p. 119.

² G. Niemann, *Die Dialogliteratur der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 21, 43, etc.

of the dialogue, if such a theory existed, might reveal. As a matter of fact the meager information at hand fails to bring out any but two facts: first, that a dialogue is a poem, a conception derived by Hutten from Lucian's dialogues and accepted ever since; secondly, that its nature may be dramatic. A passage from the *Eckius Dedolatus* and Hutten's systematic use of the term *Gesprechbüchlin* for non-dramatic dialogues, go to establish the latter point. Johan Stammer's *Dyalogus* (1507) is also, he claims, "in modum comici dramatis formatus" and elsewhere termed "*dyalogum* sub comedie formule." The transition from dialogue to comedy, of which this is an instance, was easy, witness also the designation *Comedia oder Kampfgespräch*, often used by Sachs. Even if these comedies of Sachs were hardly worthy of the name, they were intended for comedies, as truly as Gnapheus' *Morosophus* (1540), or the anonymous *Lustspiel von der Weiber Reichstag*, both elaborated dialogues. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the dialogue was disappearing, which is perhaps the reason why Wolfhart Spangenberg (born ca. 1570) was careful to insist that his *Singschul* (no date), although dramatic and divided between six Characters, was not a comedy, but merely "in gestalt einer Comödi, ohn abteilung der Acte, Spielweis, als ein Gespräch zwischen sechs Personen verfasst." There is probably some significance in the fact that where Stammer tried to show the similarity of his product with comedy, Spangenberg's chief concern attaches to the differences. Comedy, once the less-known quantity, seems now to have become the starting point.

GESPRÄCHSPIEL

What the dialogue had done for the enlightenment of the sixteenth century on its momentous religious problems, was undertaken in the following century, for the propagation of useful and polite learning, especially amongst women, by the so-called *Gesprächspiele*. Closely related to the dialogue—Harsdörfer claims Plato and Lucian, Vives and Erasmus as his predecessors—this interesting and too-little known product seems to bear a near relationship to the didactic pastoral. The *Spielstab* which is often alluded to, is a constant reminder of the restless versatility and polished garrulousness of shepherds and shepherdesses in more than one literature. What the immediate models were it would

be perhaps interesting to examine more fully. The species is common in Italy, says Harsdörfer. The *Senesische Spiele* of the *Accademia de gl'Intronati* seem to be his most direct prototypes. He also mentions other Italian *giuochi* of the sixteenth, and French *jeux de conversation* of the seventeenth century.³ But the nature and limits of Harsdörfer's *Frauenzimmer-gesprächspiele*, which appeared in Nürnberg in eight parts from 1641 to 1649, are nowhere theoretically defined, in spite of their importance for the intellectual life of the seventeenth century. Balthasar Schupp was right in observing that "der Sinnreiche und Arbeitsame Harsdörfer . . . mit seinem Spielen mehr ausgerichteter hab als ein ganz Regiment *Pedanten* und Schuelfüchs mit ihrem Arbeiten."⁴ Rist, although obviously imitating Harsdörfer in his *Aller-Edelste Belustigung* (1665 and after) did not even preserve the original name, which after Harsdörfer is very seldom found, although Georg Neumark's *Poetisches Gesprächspiel oder theatralische Vorstellung eines weisen und zugleich tapferen Regenten* (Weimar, 1662) might be adduced. Indeed, when Christian Weise hit upon the plan of providing some of the songs written by him in his student days with a setting of light dialogue, he was pleased to think that he had thus inaugurated a new fashion. As a matter of fact his *Andere Arth überflüssiger Gedancken* (1673) with its conversations between Gilanes (Weise), Melintes, Fillidor and occasionally a woman, is nothing but a series of *Gesprächspiele*.

AKTION

The nature of a *Gesprächspiel*, in spite of the infrequent use of the name, is definitely known, whilst in the case of the so-called *Aktion*, the name is frequent enough, but the precise nature of the product is hard to ascertain. Perhaps the term was applied in preference to religious plays, as in Greff's *Zacheus* . . . *Action auf das 18. und 19. Cap. Lucae* (1546), Ruff's *Adam und Heva* . . . *Aktion* (1550) and Clemens Stephanus' *Geistliche Action aus Ludovici Bero. Dialogo: wie man des Teuffels listen vnnd eingeben, Fürnemblich in Sterbens stundt vnd zeiten, entpfliessen soll.* (1568). Or it may simply have expressed the meaning of *drama*, possibly *acted drama*.

³ Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance*, p. 171.

⁴ *Freund in der Noht*, Schriften, 1663, p. 263.

The Latin term *actio sacra* or *drama sacrum* was used for biblical dramas, e. g., for Joh. Entomius' *Zorobabel*, *Drama sacrum comicum* (1547), or Jac. Schöpfer's *Tentatus Abrahamus, actio sacra comice recens descripta* (1551). Such plays were also designated as either *tragoedia sacra* (Levinus Brechtus, *Euripus*, printed 1550) or *comoedia sacra* (Girbert, *Incunabula*, 1594) and later *christliche comoedia*, such as Geo. Mauricius' *Christliche Comoedia Von dem jämmerlichen Fall vnd frölichen Wiederbringung des Menschlichen Geschlechts* (1606). The vagueness of the term *actio* and its inherent need of further limitation is well illustrated by the play of the Jesuit Bernhard Mollerus, entitled *Vernalia Polycratis Regis Samii et VII. sapientium* (1598), which is described as *actio comica, heroica, sententiosa, peripatetica!*

SPIL

This seems to have been quite as comprehensive. It occurs indiscriminately for tragedy or comedy. Like *Aktion*, it may have chiefly conveyed the idea of *acted drama*, which would explain how Kirchmeier's *Tragedi Pammachius* becomes in Tyrolf's translation (1540) *Ein Christlich vnd gantz lustig Spiel!* and how Geo. Gotthart could write *Ein schön lustiges Spil oder Tragedi: Von der Zerstörung der . . . Statt Troja*. (1599). The *Homulus* was first *Ein schön Spyl* (Cölnn, 1584), afterwards *Ein sehr schöne Comedi* (Cölnn, 1582, etc.) and Dedekind's *Christliche Ritter* (1590) was *In ein geistlich Spiel oder Comedien gefasset*. The term was not restricted to religious subjects, witness Geo. Reypchius' *Ein schön neüw Spil / von den sibem Weysen ausz Griechenland* (1559) and the Tell-legend, made into *Ein hypsch spyl* (Zürich, s. a.). Hans Sachs seems to apply it only to plays in one act. The designation does not seem to occur in the seventeenth century, except in later editions of popular sixteenth-century dramas; thus the Bremen *Homulus* of 1665 is still *Eine Comödie oder Spiel*; or perhaps in some belated dramas of the older type, printed generally in the early seventeenth century, such as Joh. Strick's *Geistlich Spiel von dem . . . Falle Adams* (1602). Occasionally the sixteenth century has *Spiels-Übung*, e. g., *Aine geistliche Spiels-Übung die Zerstörung von Jericho vorstellend* (1579) which reminds one of the *progymnasta* of the early humanists.

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

GIL BLAS AND DON SYLVIO

Borrowings—in some cases mere reminiscences—from Cervantes, Fielding, Lucian, and the French *Contes des Fées* have been pointed out by various students of *Don Sylvio*,¹ but the influence of Le Sage seems not to have been noticed. This is most easily detected by a comparison of the proper names in *Don Sylvio* with those of *Gil Blas*. Of the geographical names in *Don Sylvio*, including those of noble families derived from them, all but three or four have their counterpart in Le Sage's masterpiece. It is true, not much stress can be laid on those of the well-known cities or provinces, such as Valencia, Andalusia, Madrid, Seville, Toledo, Grenada: in addition to these, however, we find Xelva, I, 8 = *GB* I, 510;² Guzman, I, 150 = *GB* I, 291; Lirias, I, 289 = *GB* II, 276; Zuniga, I, 311 = *GB* II, 431; Leyva, I, 366 = *GB* I, 402; Medina-Sidonia, I, 366 = *GB* II, 91; Zamora, II, 154 = *GB* I, 190; Calatrava, II, 137 = *GB* I, 433; Jutella, II, 370 = *GB* II, 545.³

The identity of the personal names is still more striking: Alexis, I, 309 = *GB* II, 382; Antonia, II, 370 = *GB* II, 336; Arsenia, II, 145 = *GB* I, 227; Beatrix, I, 76 = *GB* I, 373; Blas, I, 222 = *GB* I, 5; Dorothea, II, 370 = *GB* II, 547; Felicia, I, 293 = *GB* II, 236; Felix, II, 369 = *GB* I, 350; Fernand, I, 374 = *GB* I, 402; Gabriel, I, 361 = *GB* II, 106; Hyacinthe, I, 360 = *GB* I, 107; Iago, I, 224 = *GB* II, 137; Laura, I, 282 = *GB* I, 245; Leonora, I, 311 = *GB* I, 397; Mencia, I, 3 = *GB* I, 57; Mergelina, I, 116 = *GB* I, 164; Pedrillo, I, 65 = *GB* II, 86; Rodrigo, I, 114

¹ The literature in question is cited in my article on "The Sources of Wieland's *Don Sylvio*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. xvi.

² For *Don Sylvio* the second edition (Leipzig, 1772) is cited, while *GB* I, *GB* II denote respectively vols. II, III of the *Œuvres de A. René Le Sage*, Paris, 1828. Some of the names in question recur again and again, but only a single instance has here been cited.

³ The only names of this kind not found in *Gil Blas* are: Cardena, I, 293; Montesa, I, 375; Villa Hermosa, II, 123, and Rosalva, the family-name of Don Sylvio.

= GB II, 87; Seraphina, II, 177 = GB I, 395; Stella, II, 123 = GB II, 39.⁴

Some of these names, again, are of common occurrence; but, on the other hand, why should Wieland have taken just these, in preference to scores of others available? Furthermore, several of them are not at all of frequent occurrence, *e. g.*, Arsenia, Seraphina, Mergelina. The latter name, in particular, is so uncommon, that Tropsch thought it was derived from *Don Quixote*: "Cervantes' *Pelerina* ist das Vorbild für Wielands *Mergelina*. Man beachte die völlige Übereinstimmung der Vokale und die teilweise der Konsonanten in beiden Namen!"⁵

Here we have complete identity. In a number of cases, furthermore, not merely the names, but also the functions of the characters agree: Arsenia, for example, appears in both stories as an actress; Beatrix and Laura, in *Gil Blas*, are ladies' maids, just as in *Don Sylvio*; Mergelina, in *Gil Blas*, is a married woman bent upon gaining the love of Diego, a young barber; Pedrillo, in each story, is the name of a servant; Seraphina, in Le Sage's story, is the daughter of the Count de Polan, and marries Alphonse de Leyva, the benefactor of Gil Blas: with Wieland, Seraphina is the baptismal name of Don Sylvio's sister, Hyacinthe being the name given her by the old gipsy; Estelle, in *Gil Blas*, is the stage-name of the former ladies' maid Laura: in *Don Sylvio*, Stella is the companion of Hyacinthe when she leaves the house of the gipsy, just before she makes her appearance on the stage.

Estelle, moreover, appears as the companion of the virtuous young actress Lucrece, who, after her betrayal into the hands of the king, "s'enferma dans le monastère de l'Incarnation, où bientôt elle

⁴The only personal names not found in *Gil Blas* are: Miguel, I, 293; Eugenio, I, 296 (cf. however Eugenia GB II, 215); Isidora, II, 418; Martorner, I, 39; Sanchez, I, 114; Teresilla, I, 364, and the name of the hero himself. The names of witches, fairies, and the like, the sources of which Wieland frequently gives in foot-notes, have of course been omitted here.

⁵"Wielands Don Sylvio und Cervantes' Don Quijote," *Euphorion*, 4. Ergänzungsheft (1899), p. 39. The name Mergelina goes back ultimately to Vincente de Espinel's *Relaciones de la vida y aventuras del Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, from which Le Sage drew the story in which Mergelina figures. Cf. GB I, 164, foot-notes. Similarly, the name Fanferlüsche, which Wieland (I, 37, foot-note) traces back to the *Contes des Fées*, appears already in the opening chapter of Rabelais' *Gargantua*.

tomba malade et mourut de chagrin" (*GB* II, 508). The story of Hyacinthe seems to preserve certain reminiscences of this same Lucrece, since she also finds "eine Gesellschaft von Schauspielern, in dieser Gesellschaft einen wahren Phönix, eine geistvolle und tugendhafte Schauspielerin, in dieser Schauspielerin eine sehr cyfrige Freundin und Beschützerin" (II, 138). . . . "sie blieb unbeweglich bey ihrem Entschlusse, wenn sie Arsenien verlieren sollte, sich in ein Kloster zu begeben" (II, 163). The scene of her theatrical career is Grenada, which city figures largely in the theatrical adventures of *Gil Blas* (*GB* II, 33-79). The old gipsy, likewise, is motivated in *Gil Blas*, in that Scipio's mother is of this race, and tells fortunes (*GB* II, 352 f.). Hyacinthe's foster-mother also teaches her this art: [ich] "prophezeyhte aus der Hand und aus dem Caffeesatz, so gut als irgend eine Zigäunerin in der Welt" (II, 98).

At least one verbal similarity is likewise to be noted: Don Francisco de Zuniga, when asked his name, replies (*GB* II, 221): "L'on m'appeloit Francillo dans mon enfance. . . ." In the same way Pedrillo states (I, 288): ". . . wurde ich Pedro getauft; aber wie ich klein war, nannten sie mich Pedrillo."

The most striking proof, however, of Wieland's acquaintance with *Le Sage* is found in the statements made by Eugenio and Felicia. In the latter part of Book VI, Don Eugenio says to Don Sylvio:

Ich wette was man will, Sie glaubten bey dem Eintritt in diese Gärten, und bey dem Eintritte des Pavillions, in einen Feensitz gekommen zu seyn; und doch ist nichts gewissers, als dass sie in eben diesem Lirias sind, welches mein Grossvater Gil-Blas von Santillane der dankbaren Grossmuth des Don Alphonso von Leyva zu danken hatte, und welches seit dem theils von ihm theils von meinem Vater Don Felix von Lirias erweitert und verschönert worden. . . . Gestehen sie, Don Sylvio, dass sie bey Erblickung meiner Schwester keinen Augenblick anstunden, sie für eine Fee zu halten; und doch kann ihnen mein Pfarrer mit dem Taufregister beweisen, dass sie eine Sterbliche ist, und von guten alten Christen abstammt, die niemalen der Magie verdächtig gewesen sind; eine Enkelin der liebenswürdigen Dorothea von Jutella, welche bestimmt war, meinem Grossvater den Verlust seiner geliebten Antonia zu ersetzen, und mit der sie in der That eine so grosse Aehnlichkeit hat, dass man das Bildniss der einen für der andern ihres hält (II, 369 f.).

A little later, Felicia gives Don Sylvio further information about the portrait:

Sie irren sich, Don Sylvio, erwiederte Felicia; dieses hier, welches sie für das meinige ansehen, ist wenigstens sechzig Jahre älter. Es stellt meine Grossmutter Donna Dorothea von Jutella vor, so wie sie in einem Alter von sechzehn Jahren war. . . . Mein Grossvater, der seine Gemahlin ausserordentlich liebte, liess das kleine Gemählde machen, das in ihre Hände gekommen ist, und pflegte es, nach der Mode seiner Zeit an einer goldnen Kette zu tragen. Er hinterliess es meiner Mutter, und da es von dieser auf mich kam, so hieng ich es an diese Perlenschnure, und trug es so lange als ein Halsgeschmeide, bis ich es vor etlichen Tagen in dem nehmlichen Walde verlor, wo sie es bald darauf gefunden haben müssen (II, 404 ff.).

All the above statements—the only strange thing is that no one seems hitherto to have observed the fact—harmonize perfectly with Le Sage's story: here, Don Alphonse de Leyva presents Gil Blas with the estate of Lirias, "à quatre lieues de Valence . . . sur les bords de Guadalaviar" (GB II, 276 f.). Antonia is the first wife of Gil Blas, whose death follows close upon that of her infant son, "un événement que plus de vingt années n'ont pu me faire oublier, et qui sera toujours présent à ma pensée" (GB II, 419). Dorothee de Jutella, some years later, becomes the second wife of Gil Blas (GB II, 552), who ends his narrative with the statement that heaven has blessed him with two children (GB II, 553).

Wieland assigns to one of these—in *Gil Blas* neither name nor sex is stated—the name of Don Felix von Lirias, the father of Don Eugenio and Donna Felicia. His story is thus, in a way, a sequel to that of Le Sage, in that two of the principal characters are represented as the grandchildren of Gil Blas, while the entire scene of the action is identical with that portrayed by the French author. At first glance these statements may seem to amount to a new charge of plagiarism against Wieland, but here, as in the case of Cervantes, Fielding, Bougeant, and Lucian, he has merely taken his materials where he happened to find them—the work itself is entirely his own.

W. KURRELMEYER.

SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

IV. DRUNKENNESS IN SHAKESPEARE

In Shakespeare's day the drinking of alcoholic liquors was universal. Everybody drank, and at some time in his life even the most abstemious man was likely to be overcome by his potations. It would be absurd to look upon the drinking habits of an Elizabethan through the eyes of an American of the twentieth century. An occasional indulgence in intoxication was considered entirely pardonable. Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, who died more than sixty years after Shakespeare, calculated late in life that he had been drunk a hundred times. No wonder that such a model of correctness lived to be nearly ninety-two. A man was expected now and then to reach one of the clown's three degrees of drunkenness: "One draught above heat makes him a fool, the second mads him, and a third drowns him" (*Twelfth Night*, I, v, 139-41).

We cannot take note of every draught of liquor mentioned in Shakespeare as it disappears down "the red pathway of fate." The life which he portrays is interspersed with drinking almost as systematically as the punctuation marks break up a printed page. But we shall glance at some interesting cases.

The kindness of Shakespeare toward his toppers is noteworthy. Examples of his tolerant attitude come to mind at once. Sir John Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch, who lubricate the plays in which they move as effectively as they do their own throats, make a strong appeal to our sympathies. We feel that Shakespeare himself enjoyed them. We could better spare better men.

If we read the plays approximately in the order in which they were written, the first feature, after the portrayal of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, which impresses us as minutely and intensely realistic, is the tavern-life of the Falstaff plays. It is plain that Shakespeare knew this life well, and he portrays it with great fulness of pungent detail. Perhaps no other portion of his work equals these scenes in vividness and reality. Everything that happens to Falstaff is an occasion for drinking; and the very symbol of his revels, and their natural by-product, is the flaming nose of his companion Bardolph, to whom he says: "Thou hast

saved me a thousand marks in links and torches, walking with thee in the night betwixt tavern and tavern" (*I Henry IV*, III, iii, 47-49).

The pleasure-lover and the Puritan are set over against each other in *Twelfth Night* in Sir Toby and Malvolio. The creed of Sir Toby and his kind is expressed *sub specie aeternitatis* in the sharp retort: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" (II, iii, 123-25). It is a bit of poetic justice that, in the last Act, when Sir Toby needs the services of Dick Surgeon, we learn that the worthy practitioner is "drunk an hour ago." The wounded knight indignantly declares: "I hate a drunken rogue."

At the close of the play we learn that Sir Toby has married Maria. Commentators have asked when in the course of the play he was sober enough to be married. Their trouble is uncalled for. Sir Toby doubtless doubled his joys by marrying while he was intoxicated, and at once celebrated the happy occasion by added potations.

Shakespeare's tolerance toward toppers extends in one case to the very brink of the grave. The drunken Barnardine in *Measure for Measure* has been doomed to death, and his body is needed as a substitute for that of Claudio. But, as Raleigh expresses it, he "even refuses the duty for which he was created." With drunken gravity he declares: "I will not consent to die this day, that's certain." The lordly vagabond is obediently spared, and is pardoned at the close of the play.

This genial treatment of revelling is what we think of as usual and natural in Shakespeare. But there are sterner passages that must not be overlooked; just as we must not omit from the life of Sir John Falstaff that bitter day when the harsh voice of the young King startled him with the words,

I know thee not, old man; fall to thy prayers.

One feels a certain implicit condemnation of drunkenness even in a few situations in which humor is the prominent feature.

In running over the roll of her suitors, the witty Portia reports concerning "the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew," that she likes him "very vilely in the morning, when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon, when he is drunk."

As with an aged and a great wine, every year that has passed since it was made has only added flavor to Slender's declaration in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

"I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company, for this trick. If I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves.

Evans. So Got udge me, that is a virtuous mind" (I, i, 186-92).

The speech of the drunken Porter in *Macbeth*, who comes stumbling across the stage after the murder of Duncan, is not primarily humorous; it is a startling dramatic contrast to the scene of horror that we have just lived through. Coleridge and some other critics have felt that this babbling, ribald speech cannot be by Shakespeare. One writer calls it "strangely out of place amidst the horrors which surround it." But the late Professor J. W. Hales and others fairly demonstrated both its fitness and its Shakespearean quality.¹ The powerful incident of the knocking at the gate is inseparably bound up with it; and its bitter irony is intense. "If a man were porter of hell-gate"—Ah, he *is* the porter of hell-gate, though he knows it not!

In various plays the drunkenness of some character is an essential feature of the plot, and in most of these cases one feels a distinct note of disapproval. Stephano in *The Tempest* is an interesting example. It was clearly established by Malone that in writing this play, perhaps his last as it is his most thoughtful comedy, Shakespeare took suggestions from the shipwreck of Gates and Somers upon the Bermuda Islands in 1609, when on their way to Virginia. After a stay of ten months the company succeeded in reaching Virginia in two boats of their own construction. Accounts of this shipwreck were published in England near the close of 1610. Since *The Tempest* was acted before King James on November 1, 1611,² it was evidently written when the story of the shipwreck was an interesting piece of news. Mr. Kipling, a poet interpreting a poet, suggests that the dramatist heard the tale from the lips of a drunken sailor who had been a member of the wrecked crew, the original of Stephano.

"[To Shakespeare] in a receptive hour, sent by heaven, entered the original Stephano fresh from the seas and half-seas over. To

¹ *Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society* for 1874, Part II, pp. 255-84.

² See Ernest Law, *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries*, London, 1911.

him Stephano told his tale all in one piece, a two hours' discourse of most glorious absurdities. His profligate abundance of detail at the beginning, when he was more or less sober, supplied and surely established the earth-basis of the play, in accordance with the great law that a story to be truly miraculous must be ballasted with facts. His maunderings of magic and incomprehensible ambushes, when he was without reservation drunk . . . suggested to the manager [Shakespeare] the peculiar note of its supernatural mechanism."³

In the play itself, however, the reader will remember that Stephano is not an attractive character, and that he is well punished for his maudlin mischief.

The comedy of the drunken and deceived Sly in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* is marked by astonishing vividness of detail and complete naturalness. Every word of Sly is effective, ending with his forced praise of the play that is keeping him from grosser pleasures. He says to the page masquerading as his wife: "'Tis a very excellent piece of work, madam lady; would 't were done!" (I, i, 258-59).

In *Much Ado* Borachio tells of his evil-doing to Conrade. The overhearing of his words by the watch finally thwarts the villainous purpose of Don John. Apparently Borachio, whose name means drunkard, is intoxicated at the time; and this intoxication helps to explain the fulness of his communication. He says: "Stand thee close, then, under this pent-house, for it drizzles rain; and I will, like a true drunkard, utter all to thee" (III, iii, 110-12).

Though the revelling scene on Pompey's galley in *Antony and Cleopatra* (II, vii) is not essential to the plot, its trenchant character-portrayal makes it indispensable. The three lords of the known world, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, are entertained by Sextus Pompeius on his galley. *In vino veritas*. The weak Lepidus is soon overcome by drink and is borne out. His drunken inquiries concerning the "strange serpents" of Egypt receive later a startling application. Next Menas urges that Pompey consent to the cutting of the throats of the triumvirs, and then make himself lord of the world. For a moment we are in amazed suspense, fearing—shall I say?—lest the whole course of human history be changed.

³ *The Spectator*, July 2, 1898. Reprinted by the Dramatic Museum of Columbia University, 1916; also in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1916, pp. 200-03.

But Pompey will not murder his unsuspecting guests, though he says regretfully to Menas:

Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
And not have spoke on't!

The pleasure-loving Antony now abandons himself to the joys of revelling. But Octavius, the cautious and crafty, feels an instinctive unwillingness to be overcome by drink:

It's monstrous labour when I wash my brain
And it grows fouler.

Soon he insists:

What would you more? Pompey, good-night. Good brother,
Let me request you off; our graver business
Frowns at this levity. Gentle lords, let's part;
You see we have burnt our cheeks. Strong Enobarb
Is weaker than the wine, and mine own tongue
Splits what it speaks; the wild disguise hath almost
Antick'd us all. What needs more words? Good-night.
Good Antony, your hand.

This astonishing scene tells us plainly which of these men will finally rule the world.

The drunkenness of Cassio in *Othello* (II, iii), brought about by the machinations of Iago, is fundamental to the plot. When Othello dismisses Cassio from office, the shock sobers him. Did any man in our twentieth century ever feel more intensely than does Cassio the disgrace of intoxication?

"Drunk? and speak parrot? and squabble? swagger? swear? and discourse fustian with one's own shadow? O thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee devil!

"O God, that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains! That we should, with joy, pleasure, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!

"To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and presently a beast!"

Iago offers in reply the accepted view of Shakespeare's day:

"Come, come, good wine is a good familiar creature, if it be well us'd; exclaim no more against it.

"You or any man living may be drunk at a time, man."

I question whether a parallel to Cassio's intense shame at being overcome by drink can be found in the literature of that period. Although these utterances are thoroughly dramatic, a stream does not rise higher than its source. I am sure that these bitter words of Cassio, not the smug commonplaces of the cynical Iago, come nearer to expressing the mind of the dramatist. I believe that Shakespeare, too, felt keenly the disgrace of being overcome by drink, and that the subject of drunkenness had for him a very personal and poignant interest.

Two temperance sermons uttered by characters in Shakespeare, one brief, the other more elaborate, may be cited in support of this view, especially since neither of them is called for by the plot. When Adam seeks to go along with Orlando as his personal servant, we get an unexpected homily:

Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
The means of weakness and debility;
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty, but kindly.

(*As You Like It*, II, iii, 47-53.)

The wassailing of his uncle the King is sharply condemned by Hamlet. This noisy, systematized revelling is to him "a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance."

This heavy-headed revel east and west
Makes us traduc'd and tax'd of other nations.
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition;

(I, iv, 17-20.)

These lines begin an intense harangue against excessive drinking. Coleridge defends the naturalness of these lines in Hamlet's mouth under the circumstances, and also points out that the interest of the Prince, his friends, and the audience in this outburst causes them all to be taken completely by surprise when the Ghost suddenly appears. This is dramatically most effective. Nevertheless, the passage has no vital relation to the action, and it is omitted from the Folio. Sir Walter Raleigh thinks that the lines may have been dropped "because they came too near to censuring the vices

of Queen Anne of Denmark's court." ⁴ But the passage is only one of many in *Hamlet* that were left out of the Folio, iv, iv, 9-66 being a notable example. The shortening of the Folio text seems to represent only the first installment of that cutting which managers have always practiced upon this very long play. Raleigh says further concerning these lines about drinking: "They have little dramatic value, and illustrate Shakespeare's habit of making room in his plays for any topic that is uppermost in his mind." I am confident that Shakespeare's interest in this topic was not transient but permanent.

One other piece of evidence seems to show that the subject of excessive drinking had a very personal interest for Shakespeare. This should be interpreted from the view of his own day, not of ours. John Ward, vicar of Stratford from 1648 to 1679, left the following entry in his diary, the only information that has come to us concerning the death of the dramatist:

"Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and it seems drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted."

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THE NORTHERN PASSION AND THE MYSTERIES

Some time ago I had occasion to make a detailed comparison of the *Northern Passion* and the York and Towneley mysteries. The results which I obtained I have since compared with Miss Foster's treatment of the same subject in the publications of the Early English Text Society (Original Series, 147), and it is my purpose to set down here the differences which I have noted, some of which are rather significant. I have used the Harleian manuscript in making my comparisons.

To the parallel passages cited by Miss Foster I wish to add the following:

And an oyntment she broght
that precyus was to prayse.

(*T.* xx, 256)

⁴ *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I, 17.

- Ane oynement with hir scho broght,
 þat was of precius thinges wroght (P. 111)
- And I am he sothly,
 And þat schall I a-saie. (Y. xxviii, 268)
- "I said þow suthly I am he." (P. 541)
- Wherby, Iudas, shuld we hym know,
 If we shall wysely wyrk, I wys?
 ffor som of us hym neuer saw. (T. xx, 588)
- "Say us how we sall him know,
 ffor sum of us him neuer saw" (P. 512, 11*)
- let hym go where he wyll
 ffor now and euermore. (T. xxii, 105)
- "And lat him wende whare so he will (P. 1028a)
- As it is wryten shall it be now (T. xxiii, 553)
- "Als it es wryten, so sall it be" (P. 1686)
- I graunte well if he ded be. (T. xxiii, 640)
- "Ihesu body grant I þe,
 Bot I wil wit þat he ded be." (P. 1853)
- So meke and mylde but if ȝe be (Y. xxvii, 89)
- "Als milde and meke bihoues þow be (P. 307)
- þis ilke night or þe cōkkys crowe,
 Shall þow thre tymes my name denye,
 And say þow knewe me neuer,
 Nor no *myne of myne*. (Y. xxvii, 134)
- "þat, or þe kok have krawin thrise,
 Sall it worth opon þis wise,
 þat my name saltow deny.
 And fast forsake my company" (P. 409)
- For I have coveite kyndely þat comely to know
 (Y. xxxi, 138)
- "I have oft couit þi cūming." (P. 970)
- And also oure greuance for-geue we algate (Y. xxxi, 391)
- "Now all my greuance I for gif" (P. 976a)
- To berie in pilgrimes þat by þe wey dies.
 Pilgrimes and palmeres to putte þere,
 Sir Kaiphas and Anna, assente ȝe þerto?
 And opere false felon þat we for-fare. (Y. xxxii, 332)

"Al þat suffer ded for sin,
And pilgrims þar in forto graue,
And oþer þat þai vouched saue." (P. 882)

Speke, and excuse þe if þou can. (Y. XXXIII, 300)

"Excuse þi self now if þou can." (P. 922, 1)

Vath! qui destruit templum. (Y. XXXV, 273 MS.)

Vath qui destruit templum dei (P. 1648)

What sorowe I suffre for thy sake (Y. XXXVI, 188)

"And suffers sorows for 3owre sake (P. 1758b)

A word may be said about verbal parallels. In accounting for the fact that *York* does not show even more resemblances than it does to the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Mr. Craigie (*An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, p. 53) points out that the dramatic form of the cycle naturally limited borrowings from the poem. Such would be the case with the *Northern Passion* as well; but two other considerations seem to me here quite as important—perhaps more important. (1) The passion group in both *York* and *Towneley* is marked by some originality, particularly in the development of the common soldier scenes; these plays are the most original of the York cycle. It seems probable that an author who was attempting to avoid the commonplace would not borrow with exactness in any great number of instances. (2) The metrical difficulty is not slight. It is especially to be noted that most of the York plays under consideration are written in the northern septenar stanza, alliterative and by no means so simple as the couplets of the *Northern Passion*; and the difficulty is increased in the extended and excessively alliterative lines which are characteristic of the later form of the stanza. If these things be considered, perhaps we can hardly expect more numerous or more exact verbal borrowings.

Among the correspondences between play and poem three are of particular interest. (1) In play xxxv, l. 273 is printed by Miss Smith, "Vah! qui destruis templum,"—the reading of *Matthew* xxvii, 40. The manuscript, according to Miss Smith's note (p. 358), spells the interjection "vath," and, what is rather remarkable, uses the verb in the third person, as in the poem. That play and poem agree in a grammatical construction at variance with biblical use is noteworthy.

(2) In its description of the betrayal, the *Northern Passion* reads:

“He schewes þare sum dele of his might,
 And so he stond þam in þat stownde
 þat doun þai fell all to þe grownde,
 And still þai lai and dared for drede
 Untill he withdrogh his godhede.” (P. 532b)

According to the interpretation of the York playwright “sum dele of his might” is apparently a bright light which transfigures Jesus’ countenance. (Y. xxvii, 254-265.)

(3) It is to be noted that the York play on the resurrection has combined and clarified two conflicting accounts in the *Northern Passion*. In the drama the soldiers fall asleep before the resurrection, and by the time they awake the women have learned that Jesus has risen. The soldiers assume that he has risen, but they evidently have not seen him. The second soldier says,

“Whanne þat he stered oute of þis steede
 None couthe it kenne.” (Y. xxxviii, 313)

The first soldier admits “þat we were slepande whanne he ȝede” (318). Yet the guards tell Pilate an elaborate story of their terror and their falling to the ground when Jesus rose, of the melody which they heard, and of the trembling of the earth. In the *Northern Passion* we read, too, that the soldiers fell asleep, but when Jesus rose

þe knyghtes wele of him had sight,
 Bot forto moue had þai no might. (P. 1976a)

Farther on, in lines 2004-2007, they appear to be sleeping when Jesus rises, and according to lines 2017-2020 it was the sight of the angel which caused them to fall down: A double account, then, is given in both poem and play, but not without motivation in the latter through the fact that three of the soldiers are resolved to lie to Pilate and proceed to do so, thus retaining the narrative of the *Northern Passion* without its inconsistency.

In outline the York plays follow the poem more closely than do those of Towneley. Important incidents common to *York* and the *Northern Passion* but omitted in *Towneley* are the denial of Peter; the incident of Pilate’s wife; the trial before Herod; the remorse of Judas; and the episode of the two thieves at the crucifixion. Minor correspondences in *York* but not in *Towneley* are the use of a

child at the last supper to teach meekness; the manifestation of Jesus' power at the betrayal; the soldier's reproof of Jesus for his speech to the "bishop"; the Veronica episode; a reference to the king's tree, from which the cross is made; and the moralizing of *York*, xxxviii, 449-450, and the *Northern Passion*, l. 2072. The only details found in *Towneley* and the *Northern Passion* and not in *York* are a reference to the savor of the ointment with which Jesus is anointed; the directions given to the disciples to prepare for the Passover in the house of a man whom they will meet carrying water; and the remark of Christ on the cross that He has no rest for His head except His shoulder bone. The last of these is the only one that could indicate special dependence on the poem, although the first also probably comes directly from the same source. Miss Foster notes the use of a child at the last supper and of Malcus as the third person to whom Peter makes his denial as incidents found in *York* only among the English cycles; to these may be added the reference to the king's tree.

These results confirm Miss Foster's early statement (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, 169 ff.) that in the *York* passion plays the playwright turned to vernacular sources, and that the *Northern Passion* and the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* form the basis of whole plays. The author has elaborated in an original manner the porter scenes; the scenes in which Pilate, Herod, and the high priests appear; and the scene between Pilate and his wife. He has explained Pilate's name; he has called one of the soldiers Sir Wymond; and he has introduced the interesting episodes of Judas offering himself as bondman to Pilate and of the squire cheated of "Calvary locus." Aside from these things, however, there is practically nothing in the passion group of *York* that cannot be found also in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* or in the *Northern Passion*.

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FESTUS AND THE BLESSED DAMOZEL

According to Hall Caine, Poe's *Raven* suggested to Rossetti the central idea of *The Blessed Damozel*. "I saw," said Rossetti, "that Poe had done the utmost it was possible to do with the grief of the lover on earth, and I determined to reverse the conditions, and give utterance to the yearnings of the loved one in heaven."¹ However, *The Raven* must have been merely a point of departure for Rossetti; in so far as the poem can be reduced to sources at all, we must look elsewhere than to Poe.

The relation of the poem to Dante can be treated summarily. It can be inferred from what Rossetti himself says that Dante is not the prime source: "When Hunt in his kind letter speaks of my Dantesque heavens, he refers to one or two of the poems the scene of which is laid in the celestial regions, and which I suppose he is pleased to think belong to the school of Dante."² Certain details are in the manner of Dante.³ Yet, Italianate as the poem seems to be, it owes more to Italian painting than to Italian poetry. Pater's luminous comment certainly exaggerates the indebtedness to Dante:

"One of the peculiarities of *The Blessed Damozel* was a definiteness of sensible imagery, which seemed almost grotesque to some, and was strange, above all, in a theme so profoundly visionary. The gold bar of heaven from which she leaned, her hair yellow like ripe corn, are but examples of a general treatment, as naively detailed as the pictures of those early painters contemporary with Dante, who has shown a similar care for minute and definite imagery in his verse; there, too, in the very midst of profoundly mystic vision. Such definition of outline is indeed one among many points in which Rossetti resembles the great Italian poet, of whom, led to him at first by family circumstances, he was ever a lover."⁴

In or about the year 1845 a young American, Charles Ware, first made Philip James Bailey's *Festus* known to Rossetti.⁵ The poem,

¹ Hall Caine, *Reminiscences*; quoted in H. Walker, *Literature of the Victorian Era*, p. 500.

² *Family Letters, with Memoirs* (W. M. Rossetti), II, p. 38. Quoted to prove this point in O. Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson*, p. 211.

³ Kuhns, p. 212.

⁴ *Appreciations, with an Essay on Style*, pp. 215-216.

⁵ *Family Letters*, I, p. 89.

W. M. Rossetti tells us, "was greatly relished, read again and again."⁶ It was in fact one of the poet's rather miscellaneous youthful enthusiasms, and seems to have definitely influenced the development of *The Blessed Damozel*. One of the cardinal doctrines of *Festus* is that sentimental passion has claims absolutely valid on all levels of being, in heaven or on earth. The following passage, among others, may be taken as illustrative of this doctrine:

Nothing will stand whose staple is not love;
The love of God, or man, or lovely woman;
The first is scarcely touched, the next scarce felt,
The third is desecrated; lift it up;
Redeem it, hallow it, blend the three in one
Great holy work.⁷

Furthermore, over and over again Bailey adverts to the situation of the lover on earth or in hell and the beloved in heaven, in order to show how sentimental passion may penetrate the cosmos, and he treats the situation sometimes from the point of view of the lover below, sometimes from the point of view of the beloved above. In an early scene Lucifer says:

But I have oft times heard mine angels call
Most piteously on their lost loves in Heaven;
And, as I suffer, I have seen them come;
Seen starlike faces peep between the clouds,
And Hell become a tolerable torment. (p. 38)

Here, as in Rossetti, the beloved maiden looks out and down from heaven upon the wretched one below. And again:

This is a song supposed of one—
A fallen spirit—name unknown—
Fettered upon his fiery throne—
Calling on his once angel-love,
Who still remaineth true above. (p. 194)

One stanza of this song reminds us, however remotely, of the "ten years of years" and the "autumn fall of leaves" in the fourth stanza of *The Blessed Damozel*.

Oh! many a cloud
Hath lift its wing,

⁶ *Complete Poetical Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (W. M. Rossetti), p. xvii.

⁷ *Festus* (First American edition, Boston, 1845, printed from the second English edition, London, 1845), p. 286.

And many a leaf
 Hath clad the spring;
 But there shall be thrice
 The leaf and cloud
 And thrice shall the world
 Have worn her shroud,
 Ere there's any like thee,
 But where thou wilt be. (p. 195)

Festus and one of his loves, Angela, meet in "Another and a Better World," and the same theme is treated at length from the point of view of the longing maiden in heaven. The following lines may well have had a direct influence on *The Blessed Damozel*:

Festus. . . . Shall I
 Ever come here?

Angela. Thou mayest. I will pray for thee,
 And watch thee.

Festus. Thou wilt have, then, need to weep. (p. 172)

Angela. But love can never die; from world to world,
 Up the high wheel of heaven, it lives for aye.
 Remember that I wait thee, hoping, here.
 Life is the brief disunion of that nature
 Which hath been one and the same in Heaven ere now,
 And shall be yet again, renewed by Death.
 Come to me when thou diest!

Festus. I will, I will.

Angela. Then, in each other's arms, we will waft through space,
 Spirit in spirit, one! or we will dwell
 Among these immortal groves. . . (p. 173)

Even so does the Damozel pray, and weep, and long for her lover to come, and hope to

"lie i' the shadow of
 That living mystic tree."

In the next scene, a mundane "Party and Entertainment," Festus soliloquizes about his lost love. The following lines are worth quoting:

And, while thou leadest music and her lyre,
 Like a sunbeam holden by its golden hair,
 May I, too, mingling with the immortal choir,
 Love thee, and worship God! what more may soul desire? (p. 200)

And loving as we two have loved
 In spirit and in heart,

Whether to space or star removed,
God will not bid us part. (p. 202)

Of phrasal borrowings—or parallels—I have noted the following instances:

Bailey, . . . She spake as with the voice
Of spherul harmony. . . . (p. 253)

Rossetti, . . . And now she spoke as when
The stars sang in their spheres.
Her voice was like the voice the stars
Had when they sang together.

Bailey, . . . The sun's light
Floweth and ebbeth daily like the tides. (p. 63)

Rossetti, Below the tides of day and night
The flame and darkness ridge. . . .

I have before quoted a stanza from Bailey that faintly suggests Rossetti's fourth stanza:

To one, it is ten years of years.
. . . Yet now, and in this place,
Surely she leaned o'er me—her hair
Fell all about my face. . . .
Nothing: the autumn fall of leaves.
The whole year sets apace.

Compare also

. . . the thoughts of other days
.
Are falling gently on the memory
Like autumn leaves distained with dusky gold. (p. 296)

This simile is perhaps implicit in Rossetti's lines.

Two more rather remote parallels may be added here:

Bailey, Earth fluttered like a dead leaf in the blast. (p. 333)

Rossetti, . . . the curled moon
Was like a little feather
Fluttering far down the gulf.

Bailey, God's Son
Laid o'er the black abyss a bridge of light. (p. 394)

In Rossetti, . . . the rampart of God's house
.
By God built over the sheer depth

The which is space begun

... lies in Heaven, across the flood
Of ether, as a bridge.

Whether or not we admit direct verbal borrowing here—and I think the probability in some of the cases cited is very strong—it is evident that Rossetti's central idea is found highly developed in Bailey, and moreover that both poets use on occasion the same kind of cosmic imagery, visualize the interstellar spaces in much the same way. In Rossetti there is indeed a decorative use of religious imagery which is not found in Bailey, and also a studied curiousness and simplicity which is utterly alien to Bailey's turgid and grandiose style. *The Blessed Damozel* is invincibly original, and nothing that has been said here should be construed to mean that Rossetti's poem is not worth all the forty thousand lines of *Festus* put together. But it seems clear to probation, I think, that even though *The Raven* gave Rossetti the initial suggestion for the poem, and even though his Italian background gave him a certain amount of detail, his enthusiastic study of *Festus* markedly influenced his formulation of the central idea and the imagery by which he developed it.

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AD IMPRIMENDUM SOLUM

Before the evolution of a definite system of allowance of publication of books in England, and of a method of recording copyright in the registers of the Stationers' Company of London, it was customary to secure for certain works royal grants, or patents. It has been assumed that these were both allowances for publication and guarantees for the exclusive enjoyment of a property. The possession of such a patent was, in the early sixteenth century, frequently announced by the printing of the whole patent or, more commonly, a portion sufficient to show that a particular sort of royal privilege had been granted *ad imprimendum solum*. This phrase, so frequently met with in early sixteenth century books, has usually been taken to indicate a sole, or exclusive, printing right, But Mr. Alfred W. Pollard has recently proposed a new interpreta-

tion, based upon a passage from the proclamation of Henry VIII, for the bringing in of seditious books, Nov. 16, 1538:

"Item that no persone or persons in this realme, shall from henceforth print any boke in the englyshe tonge, onles upon examination made by some of his gracies priuie counsayle, or other suche as his highnes shall appoynte, they shall haue lycence so to do, and yet so hauynge, not to put these wordes *Cum priuilegio regali*, without addyng *ad imprimendum solum*, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theeffect of his licence and priuilege be therwith printed, and playnely declared and expressed in the Englyshe tonge underneth them."

Mr. Pollard remarks on this:

"Incidentally we may note that while a distinction appears to be drawn between a license and a privilege, the one word 'privilegium' seems to be used as a Latin equivalent for both. Every book, as I understand the proclamation, required a license; but this license was not to be paraded by the use of the words 'Cum priuilegio' without these words being limited and restricted by the addition 'ad imprimendum.' These must, therefore, be construed 'only for printing,' i. e., not for protection, unless this was expressly stated, in which case the 'licence' was raised to the higher rank of a 'privilege.' The words 'ad imprimendum solum' have been generally interpreted as equivalent to 'for sole, or exclusive, printing.' Whether or not they can legitimately bear this meaning in Tudor Latin is perhaps doubtful. It seems quite clear from this Proclamation that this is not the meaning they were intended to bear; but so far from the Proclamation in this respect attaining its end, it seems pretty certain that it intensified the very misconception which its authors tried to remove."¹

I cannot agree with Mr. Pollard in his innovation, because I see nothing in the proclamation to warrant such an interpretation, and because his reading makes nonsense of the royal patents themselves, as we shall see in several examples. I cannot find an instance where the phrase seems to me to mean "only for printing" rather than "for printing *sole*," which is, I believe, the natural interpretation of the words, as based on their use. Tudor Latin has stranger constructions by far than *ad imprimendum solum* as

¹ "Regulation of the Book-trade . . .," *Library*, Ser. 3, No. 25, Vol. VII, pp. 22-24.

meaning for *printing sole*, i. e., to the exclusion of all others from a similar right to print the work in question. This is certainly, as Mr. Pollard himself admits, the use of the phrase made by Shakespeare in Biondello's speech, *Taming of the Shrew*, iv, iv, 93. And we need not suppose that the proclamation of 1538 intensified a misconception in this direction or that it tried to cure one. The Proclamation did fail of its purpose in that the directions for the addition of the phrase *ad imprimendum solum* and of the summary of the privilege were not at all uniformly carried out. But I do not believe it was ever intended to make the phrase mean "only for printing and not for protection." If there is any notion of "only for printing," it must mean only for printing or publication in the first place, with rights reserved to recall in case, after publication, it should be discovered that any treasonable, seditious, or heretical matter should be found to have been overlooked when the work was allowed or *to have crept in after the allowance*. In other words, I think that Mr. Pollard's quotation from the proclamation lends itself to his new theory only because he has, in his efforts to throw light on a single puzzling passage, practically stripped it of context. If one begins with the somewhat tedious preamble, the passage fits into the general purpose of the whole proclamation, to safeguard the realm by reserving rights to suppress objectionable matter whether or not a work succeeded in getting by the licensers; and to prevent the surreptitious insertion of offensive matter after allowance:

"The kings moost royall maiestie being enformed that sundry contentions and synistre opinions hath by wrong teachynge and nawghty printed boks incresyd and growen wt in this his realme of England and other his domynyons amongs his loving subjects of the same contrary to the true faythe, reverence, and due observation of such sacraments and sacramentals and laudable rites, ceremonies, as heretofore have been used and accustomed within the Churche of England, whereof his hieghnes immediatly, under God is iustely and laufully soverayn, chefe and supreme hedd in erthe immediatly under Christ Estimyng also that by occasion of sundry prynted bookes in Englishe tonge as be brought from outward partes and by such like books as have been prented within this his realme sett forth wt priviledge conteyning annotacions and additions in the margines, prologs, and calendars, imagyned and invented by the makers dyvisers and printers of the same books, as by sundry

strange persones called Anabaptists and Sacramentarys which be lately comen into this realme where some of them remayn privily unknownen. And by some other his hieghnes subjects using som supersticious speches and rashe words of erroneous matters, and fantastickall opinyons bothe in their prechings and famylyar communications wherby dyverse and many of his simple loving subjects have ben enduced and encoraged arrogantly and supersticyosly to argue and dispute in open places tavernes and alehouses not wonly uppon baptysme but also uppon the holy and blessed sacrament of the aultre," etc.

The reprint in Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, II, 256, from the MS. in the British Museum (Cleopatra E, v., 321) shows by italics "several corrections and additions in the hand-writing of Henry VIII." Among the italicised passages is the one Mr. Pollard is explaining:

"Item that no person or persones in this realm shall from hensforth printe any books in the Englishe tonge *onles* uppon examynacion made by some of his grac's pryve counsaile or other such as his hieghnes shall appoint, *they shall have lycence so to do and yet so havynng nott to put thes words cum privilegio regali wt owght addyng ad imprimendum solum.* And that the hole copie or ells at the lest theeffect of his licence and privilege be therew t printed and playnly declared and expressed in the Englishe tonge vnderneath them nor from hensforth shall print or bring into this his realme any boks of dyvyn scripture in the English tong wt any annotacions in the margyn or any prologs or addytions in the calendar *or table* except such annotacions be first vieued examyned and allowed by the kings hieghnes or such of his counsaile or other as it shall please his maiestie to assigne therto," etc.

Now, reading this over and considering the corrections and additions, we recognize the first, *onles*, as merely a necessary correction of an omission occasioned by failure to remember that the item began with a negative. The second, like the third, seems to be an effort to interpret more strictly what immediately follows or precedes. The passage makes good sense without the second addition; but the second addition read after what follows, "And that the whole copy . . . of his licence," etc., seems to be to provide against a deceptive garbling of the royal privilege to make it seem to be a larger protection of a work than a mere protection of exclusive printing rights, such as, for example, a protection against

recall and suppression. If the reader will take the time to read the whole proclamation, I believe he will agree with me that this is not a forced interpretation.

As I have already suggested, it would probably not trouble a Tudor scholar to translate *ad imprimendum solum* as *for printing sole*. This quasi-adverbial use must have been familiar enough in English legal parlance not to seem strange in the kind of Latin then in use. The New English Dictionary lists (388) several examples of the meaning "with no other person or persons, without participator, partner, sharer, especially in rights, duties, or possessions":

1450. *Rolls of Parlt.* v, 190-1. Eny thing by us to hym graunted soule, or by us graunted to hym and eny other person or persons joyntly with hym.

1477. *Ibid.*, vi, 194-2. Every other persone to whose use the said Duke is sole seised in eny Castelles.

1596. W. Barlow, *Third Serm.* II, 49. The intollerable licenses of Monopoles and Solesales. (The construction of this is not in point, but the meaning is decidedly so.)

1621. Elsing *Lord's Deb.* (Camden) App. 153. The privilege of the sole printing of the Bible.²

If we turn now to the privileges as listed in Rymer's *Foedera*, we see indubitable evidence that the privileges were granted to guarantee exclusive printing rights to the owner, that he might reap financial benefits from the work. "Sole printing" does not occur in all, but it occurs in many of these privileges. Where it does not, there is an equivalent.

Palsgrave's seven year privilege, printed in the 1530 Folio of *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse*, does not contain the phrase in question, but, like other privileges, charges and commands all subjects that none print or cause to be printed any books after the copy of this work.

Thomas Cooper's privilege for *Bibliotheca Eliota*, 12 Mar. 1563 (Rymer, xv, 628) reads:

"We therefore of our Grace especiall and mere Mocion, have licenced and privileged, and, by these Presentes, do graunte and gyve Lycence and Priviledge, unto the said Thos. Cooper and his

² Cf. the use of "sole printing" as granted by letters patents in the Statute of 21 Jac. 1 (Rymer, *Foedera*, xvii, 522).

Assignes onelye, to prynte, and set fourthe to sale the said *English Dictionarye* (before tyme name *Bibliotheca Eliota*) . . .”

A characteristic form of grant for the age of Elizabeth is that of the rights in *Tacitus* to Richard Wright, 1591 (33 Eliz., p. 17, m²):

“Knowe ye that We . . . doe graunte and give Licence and Priviledge unto . . . Richard Wrighte of Oxford and his Assignes onelye, duringe the naturall Lyfe of the said Ricarde Wrighte, to imprinte or cause to be imprinted the Hystorie of Cornelius Tacitus, straightlie inhibitinge and forbidding all and everye other Person and Persons whatsoever, aswell our Subjects as Straungers, that they or anye of them, . . . do not . . . printe . . . the said Historie. . . .”

Fynes Morrison got a privilege not only for sole printing but also for sole selling of a work in 1617 (Rymer, xvii, 10-11):

“Know ye that We . . . give and grant full and sole Privilege and Licence and Authoritie unto our well beloved Subjects Fynes Morrison Gentleman his Executors, etc. . . . for . . . one and twenty years . . . to imprynt, or cause to be imprynted, and to sell utter convert assign and dispose . . . to his . . . best Benefit and advantage, the Booke and Books called an *Itinerary* written by the said Fynes Morrison.” As one or two parts were not yet finished, the allowance was provisional: “being first seene viewed & allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bp. of London or by one of them.” This shows the relation between allowance and privilege very clearly. It comes out still more clearly in the privilege of Caleb Morley, 9 Mar., 1626 (Rymer, xviii, 857-60):

“. . . That, by his paynfull Studies and greate Chardges, by the Space of Twenty Yeares and upwards, he hath invented a Method for the firme and infallible Helpe of Memorie, and grounding of Schollers in severall Languages . . . and that the said method, being lycenced to be printed, hath beene approved by three Reverend Doctors, and therefore hath humbly besought us in Recompence of his paynfull Study and great Charges, that We would be graciously pleased to grant him Our Letters Patents of Priviledge, under Our Greate Seale of England for Twenty and One Yeares for the sole printing, venting, and selling of his owne Labours.”

George Sandis secured a privilege for the “sole printing” of a

translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 24 April, 1626 (Rymer, xviii, 676).

Joseph Webb secured a very exclusive privilege for a way to teach speaking and writing of languages 26 April, 1626 (Rymer, xviii, 680): "Letters Patents of Privilege, as well for the sole Teaching by himselfe or Substitutes, the Writing and Speaking the said Tongues, by the Way & Method by him inuented, as for the Sole Selling and Printing of suche Bookes, as are or shall be of his Invention, or by him made serviceable and conducing to that end."

In view of the nature of these privileges, the reader will no doubt agree that if we interpret *ad imprimendum solum* in any way which robs the privilege of exclusiveness, we have made the royal privilege a mockery. Exclusive right in a property was the fundamental aim in seeking a patent. The patent might protect a natural right more powerfully or create an artificial right, as is illustrated in printing: where the author's own right in his work is protected (or that of his chosen printer); or where a printer is given the right to a whole field of work, thus creating a monopoly.

Some light may be thrown upon this question by considering a law case in which the argument turns upon the absence of the *sole* in a grant of printing rights in the Psalms. It appears, in *Stationers v. Oxford*, 4 Jac. 2, B. R. (Shower, i, 671 ff.) that the Stationers had had granted to them *plenam potestatem privilegium et licentiam imprimendi*. Serjeant Holt, defending the Oxford stationers, raises the interesting legal quibble whether "full power," with a prohibition of others' printing, is identical with sole privilege of printing a certain thing.

"By the words of the patent he gives them power to print &c with a prohibition to all others. Now the question is, whether this vests a sole interest or no? The king grants to them—the words are a grant of "*officium impressoris* of all books. Theirs is of several in particular, with a prohibition to all others not to print:—licence and liberty, &c.

"Those words in the case of a subject make not a grant to be sole: as if I grant to a man *plenam licentiam et libertatem piscandi*, this doth not amount to a sole grant, but ought to have the words *several fishery*. . . . So that, if it was the intention of the king to have granted the sole licence and liberty of printing, there ought to have been apt words put into the patent. For if in the case of a subject before mentioned, the grant of a common is not sole, with-

out special words; *a fortiori* in the case of the king, whose grants are interpreted more strictly and in which grants nothing passes without express words. And as to the words of prohibition of all others to print &c. these words cannot amount to a grant, neither can anything pass thereby."

The course of the argument was, that the prohibition ended with the king's death and did not vest an interest in the grantee. The court inclined for the defendants, says Skinner. This is what one would expect at a time when monopolies were so much opposed. The argument above shows clearly that the attorney construed the "sole" as vesting *exclusive* rights in the grantee, *i. e.*, as vesting in him an interest in an exclusive property right.³

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REVIEWS

Materials and Methods of Fiction, Revised and Enlarged. By CLAYTON HAMILTON. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. xxvi + 233.

In revising his well known manual, mainly by the addition of review questions, sectional "heads," and a few deprecatory remarks about O. Henry, Mr. Clayton Hamilton has effected little alteration in the original. By a clever publisher's trick, however, the new edition has been put forth under two titles, both as given above and as *A Manual of the Art of Fiction, Prepared for the Use of Schools and Colleges*; but prospective purchasers should be warned that the two apparently distinct works differ only in the title page and in the wording of one sentence in the "Foreword."

During the ten years that have elapsed since the *Materials and Methods of Fiction* was first published it has become a standard work. In spite of the many competitors which the decade has brought into the overcrowded field of textbooks for story writers, it remains perhaps the most thoughtful and the most genuinely

³ Since this article went to press, Mr. Pollard has informed me of the intended publication of an investigation by Mr. A. W. Reed, who presented a paper on this subject before the Bibliographical Society of London in November.

helpful. Certain chapters, particularly such as Chapter VI, entitled "Setting" (on the whole the most original contribution of the book), or Chapter VII, "The Point of View in Narrative," present the student of the mystery of story telling with a clear-headed and penetrating analysis such as he may seek in vain in other hand-books. The chapter on "Characters" is almost as good; but it contains one passage that seems to need reconsideration. After an illuminating distinction between the typical and the individual method of character drawing, we are referred, quite correctly, for examples of characters that are purely typical to the personages of the morality plays; but for the other extreme, that of purely individual characterization, the illustrations given are the minor figures in Ben Jonson's plays and Dickens' novels. The truth is surely, however, that Jonson and Dickens in their personifications of exaggerated single traits use essentially the same method of characterization as the moralities, a method historically in large part derived from them; for the evolution can be traced by imperceptible stages of the personified abstraction into the moral type or "humor." Very different results are produced by the opposite method of character-drawing; for a character becomes more individual, not as it is more simplified, but as it is made more complex. An instance of this extreme, where the portrait has been overloaded with detail beyond the point where the imagination can fuse it into unity, is perhaps to be found in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*; and the error of attempting to present personalities that are too many-sided, in a way that may be true to life but is not true to art, occurs often enough in over-scrupulous historical novels and dramas. Mr. Hamilton's inadvertence here, however, if it be one, is small, and his treatment of the problems of characterization is as a whole sound and suggestive. Many of his other pages also, such as his analysis of the triple process of the writer thru scientific discovery and philosophic understanding to artistic expression, his discussion of the relation of fact to truth in fiction, and of what constitutes immorality in a work of art, and his description of the necessary endowment of a writer of fiction, summed up in the happy phrase "an experiencing nature," are altogether satisfying. The unfailing evidence of painstaking and penetrating reflection, and the always lucid and often notably effective expression, set this work agreeably apart from the crowd of hasty and commercialized

guides to would-be practical story writing, with their foggy thinking and muddled style.

While there is so much in the book that commands instant agreement and warm approval, there are not a few passages that would have gained by a more thoro reconsideration than the present revision has received. The admirer of the treatise of 1908 cannot but regret to find still unaltered in the new edition the old inadequate and misleading theory of the difference between romance and realism—a theory which was first put forth by Mr. Hamilton as early as 1904 and has perhaps become a hobby with him, but which surely ought to have been revised out of existence. The unfortunate identification of romanticism with deduction and realism with induction as the fundamental distinction between the two literary methods of presentment rests upon a false basis and leads to absurd conclusions. If the methods of fiction bear any analogy at all to those of argument, such terms as induction and deduction would more appropriately describe the difference between a detective story and an ordinary narrative: the ordinary tale, in which the suspense is aroused about the effects to follow upon given causes, might be described as *a priori* or deductive, whereas the detective story, which arouses its suspense about the causes that have produced given effects, is perhaps safely to be characterized as *a posteriori* or inductive. But neither realist nor romanticist *per se* is concerned to prove anything by the processes of logic, nor is the main appeal of either to the intellect, the only field where logical categories have a just application. Were classicism, the third great literary attitude, which Mr. Hamilton has unaccountably omitted altogether, the subject under discussion, words like deduction and induction might be in place, for the classic artist is predominantly intellectual, just as the romanticist is predominantly imaginative, and the realist predominantly merely an observer. Mr. Hamilton mentions and dismisses, rather superficially, several other solutions to this problem beside his own. But he has ignored altogether the most satisfactory analysis of the three perennial tendencies in literature that has yet appeared. So important a book as Professor Neilson's *Essentials of Poetry*, published in 1912, should certainly have found a place at this point at least in the bibliography of the new edition.

Merely as a passing analogy, Mr. Hamilton's theory might be harmless enough. But it leads immediately and quite logically to

certain unhappy conclusions. We are informed, first, that realism is essentially a modern product, because, forsooth, induction was first introduced into philosophy by Bacon. "All fiction," says Mr. Hamilton, "was romantic till the days of Bacon. Realism is contemporaneous with modern science and the other applications of inductive thought. Romance survives, of course; but it has lost the undisputed empery of fiction which it held in ancient and in medieval times." Readers of the *Acharnians* and the *Symposium*, of the first oration of Lysias and the fifteenth idyl of Theocritus, of Plautus and Petronius, of *Maître Pathelin*, the *Townley Shepherds' Play*, and the *Prolog to the Canterbury Tales*, not to speak of many a medieval fabliau or Icelandic tale, will be surprised to learn that genuine realism waited for its first appearance in literature till after the *Novum Organum*. A second consequence is equally surprising, namely, that almost all short stories are necessarily romantic, because the inductive process is practically impossible in the brief space allotted. Kipling and even Maupassant are expressly affirmed to be romanticists in their short stories. One wonders if Mr. Hamilton is consistent enough to hold that the Russians Gogol and Gorky and Tchekhoff, whom he nowhere mentions in this treatise, are also romanticists. Surely such a method of classification darkens counsel.

There are other evidences of a failure to take into account modern developments in the art of fiction; none of which perhaps lead to lapses so serious as have just been discussed, but some sufficiently unfortunate. Beside the omission of the great Russian story tellers, there is no mention of the stories of Conrad and Wells, with their noteworthy innovations in technique; and there is even an attitude of contempt toward the whole modern movement of naturalism, which is dismissed with the following bit of sentimentalism: "So-called 'naturalism,' a method of art which casts the unnatural emphasis of photographic reproduction upon phases of actual life which are base in themselves and insignificant of the eternal instinct which leads men more naturally to look upward at the stars than downward at the mud." Whatever one's attitude toward the work of Zola and Hauptmann, their influence on later literature bulks too large to be disposed of in quite so rhetorical a fashion.

A less prejudiced attitude toward the naturalists would perhaps have saved Mr. Hamilton from the blindness which he reveals to

another distinctive manifestation of our day—namely, the return of the epic mood to literature. In an otherwise judicious chapter on “The Epic, the Drama, and the Novel,” he declares that the epic today is dead. The reasons assigned for its decease are that “we have lost belief in a communal conflict so absolutely just and necessary as to call to battle powers not only human but divine”; that “we have grown to set the one above the many, and to believe that, of right, society exists for the sake of the individual rather than the individual for the sake of society”; and that the epic “presents the individual mainly in relation to a communal cause which he strives to advance or retard.” These affirmations about the spirit of modern society read strangely in the present year of grace. Surely every one of the marks which Mr. Hamilton finds necessary for the epic mood are essentially present today to an overwhelming degree. For at least a century we have been constantly becoming less individualized and more socialized; and the result in our literature has appeared in the steadily increasing predominance of the community and the environment over the individual, shown so distinctly in modern naturalism, in the modern way of bringing the background into the foreground as is done by Hardy and his disciples, and finally in the notable modern revival of the epic itself in such examples as *The Dynasts*, *Drake*, *The Dawn of Britain*, and many another genuine modern reincarnation of the ancient type.

Another belated observation that has likewise escaped revision is that the novel today tends necessarily to shorten. In spite of the support which Mr. Kipling lent to this theory in his *The Passing of the Three Decker*, it is more than debatable, in the face of the astonishing and unprecedented lengths to which leading modern novelists have been extending their productions. *The Old Wives' Tale*, *Somehow Good*, *Jean Christophe*, and the host of recent trilogies and “life novels,” suggests that it is time for Mr. Kipling to issue a supplement in which he might consider the coming of the literary leviathan and the convoy.

Closely connected with the theory that fiction is becoming, or ought to become, shorter, is the doctrine of the short story derived from Poe. In spite of many signs that the so-called “short-story,” the literary type fathered by Poe, is passing in modern literature, Mr. Hamilton stands out strongly for the Poe ideal. His definition

of this distinctive American product of the later nineteenth century as designed "to produce a single narrative effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis" is easily the best yet offered; for it not only defines the type, but, perhaps unintentionally, indicates its essential artistic defect. The American variety of the ancient tale succeeded only too well, especially in the hands of its later practitioners, in its efforts after "the utmost emphasis." It is too emphatic, too "loud," to take a permanent place in the gallery of the really great types of literature. It embodied the current ideal of "efficiency" as applied to story telling, and as such was eternally false to the principles of true art. Today, in spite of or perhaps a little because of the throng of manuals and textbooks that essay to teach it, we are returning with relief to the unemphatic but unartificial masterpieces of the Russians as truer models. The mechanical ideal to which the theory of the "short-story" inevitably leads is illustrated by Mr. Hamilton's assertion that there is only one right way to construct a story, that the theme of *Ligeia*, for instance, could be developed in story form only as Poe has developed it. By a highly debatable analysis he attempts to show that the structure of this tale is "at all points inevitably conditioned by its theme, and that no detail of the structure could be altered without injuring the effect of the story." Today most of these inevitabilities are cheerfully discarded by really original writers such as Conrad and Tchekhoff; and the result is as refreshing as it always is when genius disobeys the codifying dogmatism of the would-be literary lawgivers.

It is perhaps inevitable that any book on literary technique should bristle with points that invite controversy; and if space permitted one would like to take issue with several other affirmations found in Mr. Hamilton's treatise. To affirm, after Maeterlinck and Andreyeff, that the dramatist must select from life only its active moments, and that his characters must "constantly be doing something"; that a drama must be based on a struggle between individual human wills (a doctrine ascribed to Brunetière, who expressly recognized many other forms of dramatic conflict beside the struggle between two characters—a limitation that would exclude equally *Oedipus*, *Macbeth*, and *Ghosts*); that the connotation of a word inheres solely in the sensuous appeal of its sound and the suggestions thereby called up—these and other dicta might well be subjected to prolonged discussion. To do so, however,

would give an impression disproportionate to the larger number of sound and thoroly convincing pages with which the book is filled. Had Mr. Hamilton designed it, as perhaps he did, and as his predecessor Aristotle is said to have done with his manual on the materials and methods of Greek fiction, merely as a codification by induction of the principles of the generation just preceding, the number of passages that call for disagreement would be considerably diminished; and the measure of accomplishment which the comparison suggests is after all not undeserved by the book's real achievement.

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Georg Rudolf Weckherlin. The Embodiment of a Transitional Stage in German Metrics. By AARON SCHAFFER, Ph. D., Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. (Hesperia: Studies in Germanic Philology, No. 10.)

In this monograph Dr. Schaffer presents the results of a careful and exhaustive study of the metrics of Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, the German poet of the seventeenth century, who, it may be incidentally remarked, was Milton's immediate predecessor as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Committee of the Two Kingdoms.

Weckherlin's verse-technique has been a much discussed topic since the days of Herder, who was the first to rescue the poet from oblivion. The critics are clearly divided into two camps, the one holding that Weckherlin wrote in conformity to the then prevailing principle of the so-called *Silbenzählung*, of which Hans Sachs is supposedly the most renowned exponent; the other, that he wrote according to the free accentuating principle of Early Germanic versification, of which again Hans Sachs is looked upon as the highest representative. It was, therefore, with the purpose of reconciling these differences of opinion that Dr. Schaffer undertook this difficult investigation.

The first part of the dissertation is devoted to a survey of "Germanic Metrics from Earliest Times to Opitz," in which the attempt is made to get at the underlying principles of German verse-technique in so far as they may be applicable to Weckherlin's poetry. This review is decidedly the most unsatisfactory part of the mono-

graph. Dr. Schaffer has permitted himself to be influenced too much by the older and more dogmatic views of Germanic versification and has treated the later and more profound theories of Paul, Sievers, and Saran more or less flippantly. Anyone who has taken up the study of metrics seriously and who is not merely content to have an iron-bound theory as a working principle, will agree that the older views of Lachmann, as embodied in von Muth's *Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik*, not only do not do justice to the verse as it has been transmitted, but actually do violence to it in many cases. It is true, we have learned much from Lachmann and Koegel, as Dr. Schaffer has rightly observed, but their four-stress theory of alliterative verse ought to be considered obsolete, as also Koegel's ingenious attempt to connect the four-accented verse of Otfrid with the old alliterative verse.

As regards the Middle High German period, Dr. Schaffer has clearly noted the gradual evolution from the old accentuating principle to the regularly alternating, "often at the expense of the natural prose accent." In his estimate of the *kurze Reimpaare* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he accepts the so-called theory of *arrhythmia*, i. e., the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables without regard to the normal prose accent. However, he modifies the general conception in so far as he wishes to keep "the conflict between arsis and thesis excluded from the final foot." In order to explain these accentual conflicts, Dr. Schaffer has recourse to the following devices: 1. Hovering accent. 2. Secondary stress. 3. Crypto-rhythmia ("a subdivision of hovering accent").

His application of the theory of *schwebende Betonung* (hovering accent) as enunciated by Saran does undoubtedly ameliorate a multitude of accentual conflicts. Likewise does the theory of secondary accent account for a considerable number of violations. But in Dr. Schaffer's opinion there still remain a number of conflicts, as for instance the "reversed accent" in dissyllabic words such as *ufèr*, *dahèr*, that cannot be explained by either of these theories. To quote his exact words: "The hovering accent invariably lends to the thesis a 'secondary,' artificial accent. This artificial accent may or may not coincide with a secondary, natural accent. It is the latter of these two that is, in this study, designated simply as 'secondary' accent. The former, artificial rhythm,

or 'crypto-rhythmia,' results from the desire on the part of the poet to break away from the deadly monotony of 'routine scansion.'" These are the three fundamental principles by means of which the author intends to explain all the metrical difficulties that appear in Weckherlin's poems.

Before proceeding from this point to a detailed discussion of Weckherlin's verse-technique, Dr. Schaffer briefly comments on the "three distinct metrical tendencies that were at this time clamoring for hegemony: 1. The semi-rhythmic (or irregularly alternating)—the vehicle of the 'kurze Reimpaare.' 2. The accentuating—the vehicle of the 'Volkslied,' the 'Kirchenlied,' and the 'Fastnachtspiele.' 3. The rhythmic (regularly alternating)—the technique later borrowed by Opitz from Romance poetry." This third tendency is but insufficiently developed by the author. If he agrees with Saran that French poetry is *strengh alternierend*, and accepts, as such an agreement would imply, gross violations of prose accent as a necessary concomitant, then it is difficult to see how Opitz was deeply influenced by French technique in his development of a regularly accentuating-alternating principle of versification. It is on the other hand quite apparent that Weckherlin, Lobwasser, Schede, and others looked upon French technique in much the same way as Minor, namely, "that it consisted of a fixed number of syllables, of which several at definite positions always had the accent, not only the verse-accent but also the prose-accent; the remaining syllables were absolutely free and read entirely according to the word-accent, or rather to the sentence-accent, which predominates in French. A pronounced cadence (rhythm), verse-feet or beats, in our sense of the word, are unknown." It is, therefore, impossible to see how the Romance technique in either case was of much influence in establishing the regularly accentuating-alternating principle that had already been clearly expounded by such an authority as Clajus, and put into practice with marvelous consistency by Rebhun and his followers.

After giving to Opitz the "credit for having introduced a much needed reform in German metrics," Dr. Schaffer deplores the fact that Opitz' "total ostracism of irregular alternation was doomed to make for that very monotony which he thought to be the great blemish in the technique of the 'kurze Reimpaare.' It is his insistence upon and persistence in the use of rhythmical variation

that Weckherlin's value rests." This last statement is momentous. Does the author really believe that the reading of Weckherlin's poetry with the practical application of hovering stress, secondary accent, and crypto-rhythmia produces a rhythmical variation? It is not the purpose of the reviewer to enter into a detailed discussion of rhythm. Most of us have a fairly definite conception of the rhythm of alliterative and classical verse. Likewise do we understand what is meant by variation in both alliterative and classical verse. But with respect to the rhythm of fifteenth and sixteenth century verse, no such unanimity prevails. Scholars are to-day in utter disagreement as to how to read the verse of such poets as Hans Sachs and Weckherlin. Dr. Schaffer has clearly set forth their several views. For our purpose we may divide them into two groups: those that maintain that Weckherlin wrote in accordance with the accentuating technique, and those that declare that his technique is strictly alternating, often with gross violation of natural prose accent. Dr. Schaffer agrees with the latter group, but with the modification that he would smooth the harsh accentual conflicts by employing hovering accent, secondary stress, and crypto-rhythmia. He has shown the predominance in Weckherlin's poetry, with the exception of his earliest productions, where accentual conflicts are amazingly numerous, of regular iambic and trochaic rhythm, and accordingly feels justified in saying that Weckherlin's verse is regularly alternating. He would naturally "contend that the reading of Weckherlin's verses with preservation of natural accent introduces a slipshod, jerky metre which tends to destroy rhythm; in addition, such a method cannot be consistently applied without resulting frequently in a larger or smaller number of arses than the particular verse requires." Accordingly, he rejects *in toto* the accentuating theory.

But let us examine for a moment some of the verses that are adduced in support of his contention:

"Néin, es ist nicht mehr nóht, der frémdben Kúnst und Witz,
 Erfíndungen und Spihl únnachthúnlich zuáchten,
 Téutschland wélches wol íst der Erfíndungen Sítz,
 Théilet den frémden mít viel mehr Kúnst zu betráchten."

If we accept this as the scansion with preservation of the natural prose accent, we find that only lines 1 and 4 have the required

number of accents. Lines 2 and 3 each lack one accent. But this deficiency is readily supplied in both lines by a secondary accent on the syllable *-ung-* of *Erfindungen*. This is no forced, unnatural stress. Ordinarily, in speaking, we accent this syllable. In fact, most words of four or more syllables have a strong secondary accent. How much more rhythmical is this natural accentuation than the regular iambic with its monotonous movement when read with observance of the devices proposed by Dr. Schaffer. The distinction he makes between pitch and accent for the purpose of counteracting this monotony, however correct in theory, is impracticable in sustained reading. We cannot, therefore, subscribe to the statement "that accentual arses which are forced by the exigencies of any particular verse to fall into rhythmical theses are read with the voice at a higher pitch, while accentual theses appearing as rhythmical arses are given the stress."

We would propose the following scansion of the verses given on pages 82 ff.:

Der stérnen gewóhnlichen dántz.
 Vór der göter gesícht aufführet.
 Síe mit íhrem kráftigen prácht.
 Ó ihr áller Princéssin rúhm.
 Múss man éuch mit wúnder anscháwen.
 Damít éwere stírn sich éhret.
 Mit stéhts-wéhrender máyestét.
 Und ihr líeblich-léuchténder prácht.
 Muss éwerer wéissheit náchgéhen.
 Kan an zier vor éuch nícht bestéhen.
 Íst der göter und ménschen prácht.
 O Ihr Góttin déren fürtréfflíkéit.
 Wíder séinen willén gestéhen.
 Dích villéicht móchte verdriessen.

A regular iambic rhythm in these lines would be a monstrosity. In the subsequent version of 1648 these verses are made to conform to the Opitzian law. Verse 18, p. 84, is to Dr. Schaffer's mind a change for the worse in the 1648 edition. But we see in it merely a corroboration of the fact that the accentuating principle was still an entity. Weckherlin was well aware of the offense to the iambic

rhythm, but for the sake of the contrast he deemed a violation justifiable:

Ist des Tágs zier und der Náchť prácht.

Dr. Schaffer calls attention to a circumstance that in his estimation makes it impossible to apply the accentuating principle consistently to Weckherlin's poetry. The line

Und mit dem haupt, hut, knü, fuss, hand

contains "five arsis-words" and consequently cannot be scanned with the regular four accents.

How are we to explain this inconsistency? Evidently thus: The development of a regular iambic or trochaic rhythm had in its wake the determination of the number of syllables in a verse; for the four-beat iambic verse with masculine rime, eight syllables became the norm, with feminine rime, nine. The old accentuating verse with its variable number of syllables was soon made to conform with respect to the number of syllables in the verse to the regular iambic verse with its fixed number of syllables. In this way the accentuating verse received a stricture which ultimately led to the so-called *Silbenzählung*, while the old freedom of accent continued to obtain. Thus it comes that we find an accentuating verse with a fixed number of syllables employed by the side of a verse with a regularly accentuating-alternating rhythm. Of course, the natural result of such a technique was the occasional variability of the number of accents in the accentuating verse. But the variability is not nearly so prevalent as one would *a priori* suppose.

A careful study of the poetry of the sixteenth century, particularly that of Hans Sachs, from the above point of view, will establish without a doubt that the so-called *Silbenzählung* was never a recognized principle of versification, but merely the result of an awkward blending of the above-mentioned techniques.

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The Northern Passion. Four Parallel Texts and the French Original, with Specimens of Additional Manuscripts. Edited by FRANCES A. FOSTER. [Early English Text Society. Original Series, 145 and 147.] London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1913, 1916.

The first impression the reader receives on examining Miss Foster's edition of the *Northern Passion* for the Early English Text Society is that the work embodies the result of many hours of accurate and painstaking study. The first volume (No. 145) contains the four parallel texts, with collations from five other mss.; and the second volume, the French original and specimens of five mss., discovered after the first volume was in type.

The poem, which belongs to the school of thirteenth and fourteenth century religious literature represented by the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Southern Passion*, and the *Passion of Our Lord*, is the work of an unknown fourteenth century clerk, who translated his French original for the purpose of furnishing the laity with a palatable form of religious instruction. Although some of the mss. are contaminated and therefore show a mixed dialect, the author's original seems to have been composed in the Northern dialect, a conclusion which is confirmed by the presence of pure Northern rimes. In view of the fact that the poem has been copied and recopied many times, it is almost impossible to determine exactly the affiliations of the extant mss.

The ultimate source of the poem is to be found, of course, in the mass of Gospel Harmonies, commentaries, hymns, sermons, histories, and legends. The major portion of the poem, however, is based directly on the Old French *Passion*, composed in octosyllabic couplets about the year 1200. The author of the *Northern Passion*, however, does not follow his original very closely; only the first 800 lines may properly be called a translation. He takes many liberties with his source, rearranging the narrative, omitting some incidents, adding others, and expanding or contracting at will. The author of the expanded version of the *Northern Passion*, c. 1350, added further material not only by drawing upon the works already used in the original English version, but also by borrowing from vernacular English literature.

Such matters as date, dialect, and sources, however, afford little

interest to the general student. The most interesting and important side of Miss Foster's study is the relation of the *Passion* to the English religious drama, for, as is observed, "the recognition . . . that the *Northern Passion* directly influenced the drama is in itself sufficient to justify a critical study of the poem." The careful and excellent study of this relation is the most noteworthy feature of this edition.

The numerous MSS. of the poem, its incorporation in the *Northern Homily Collection*, a widely used and very popular collection of sermons, and the dramatic character of the *Passion* explain the use of the poem by the dramatists.

The York, Towneley, and Hegge plays are indebted to the *Passion*, the first borrowing from the more Northern or expanded form; the others, from the more Southern version. Another distinction between *York* on the one hand and *Towneley* and *Hegge* on the other consists in the fact that "in the York plays, the influence of the *Passion*, already present at the formative stage of the cycle, is more evident in the incidents than in the phraseology," while in the other two cycles "the original cycle appears to have been independent of the *Passion*, and not till the plays came to be recast and rewritten did the influence of the poem make itself felt."

In the York cycle the indebtedness to the *Passion* can be seen in the presence of incidents not found in M. E. outside of the *Passion* and *York*, and in a few similarities of phrasing. Since all three stages of the York cycle are similar in phraseology to the *Passion*, it is very probable that the poem was known to all three authors. This evidence would show, then, that the earliest stage of the York cycle was not composed before 1345-50, since the date of the expanded version of the *Passion* used by the York dramatists was about 1350.

The influence on the Towneley cycle is confined to Play xx, "The Conspiracy and Capture," which is probably a combination of a lost York play and some play dealing with the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, and the Arrest of Jesus. The extensive verbal parallels establish the *Passion* as the source of the second part of Towneley xx.

Verbal parallels and a similarity in the order of events prove that the Hegge plays also are indebted to the *Northern Passion*. The study of the relation between these three cycles and the *Passion*

suggests many questions as to the close relation between the English drama and English vernacular literature, and is by far the most significant portion of Miss Foster's work.

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CORRESPONDENCE

PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES

His purchas was wel bettre than his rente.

This line, which refers to the disreputable money-winning activities of the Friar, is correctly explained by Skeat (v, 28). "Purchas" means, he says, "proceeds of his begging," and the line, as a whole, then means that "what he acquired in this way (i. e., by "purchas") was greater than his *rente* or income." Skeat, also, quotes as a parallel, *Canterbury Tales*, D, 1451 (IV, 363, in his edition): "My purchas is theeffect of all my rente," spoken by the fiend, who is matching rascalities with the Somnour, and a couplet from the Middle English fragmentary version of the *Roman de la Rose*, the Chaucerian authorship of which has been so much debated, viz:

To winne is always myn entent.

My purchas is better than my rent.

Romaunt of the Rose, 6837.

He quotes, too, the French original of the second line of this couplet, which occurs in Jean de Meung's division of the *Roman de la Rose*: "Miex vaut mes porchas que ma rente" (l. 11760). Skeat's reference is to M. Méon's edition of the French poem (3 vols., Paris, 1814). In the better edition of Francisque Michel (2 vols., Paris, 1864), II, 28, it is numbered 12493. Neither Skeat nor any of the other editors of Chaucer, however, have recognized that this line is not original with Jean de Meung, but a French proverbial expression, which must have enjoyed many centuries of existence. And what is true of the editors of Chaucer is true, also, of the editors of the *Roman de la Rose*. The expression occurs, however, already in a fragmentary Arthurian romance (in octosyllabic couplets), which was discovered only a few years ago and which has been edited by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, xxxix (1910), 1 ff. under the title of *Enfances Gauvain*. Here, to be sure, the expression is not quite so concise in form, for the poet compels it to supply rimes to the line that precedes and the line that comes after. It runs as follows (*ibid.* p. 27, ll. 344 f. of the Second Fragment):

Et miels me valent mi porcac

A double que ne fait ma rente.

The unique ms. of the *Enfances Gauvain* dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century—that is to say, from about the

time that Jean de Meung was born—but Meyer, rightly, I believe, assigns (p. 19) the composition of the poem to the beginning of the century. The author shows a marked *penchant* for proverbial expressions, all instances of which in the text, except the one now under discussion, Meyer has commented on.

We do not find the expression in the standard nineteenth century compilations of proverbs, such as the *Sprichwörter der Germanischen und Romanischen Sprachen, vergleichend zusammengestellt* of Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld (2 vols., Leipzig, 1872-1875), or Le Roux de Lincy's *Le Livre des Proverbes Français* (2nd edition, 2 vols., Paris, 1859), not to mention less well-known works, but this is what was to be expected, for "pourchas" is obsolete in Modern French, and the locution, naturally, perished with the word. On the other hand, I find it recorded in two eighteenth century collections of proverbs and proverbial expressions, viz., *Dictionnaire des Proverbes Français et des Façons de Parler, Comiques, Burlesques et Familières*, p. 314 (Paris, 1748),—an anonymous work, which was really compiled, however, by A. J. Panckoucke,—and *Dictionnaire Comique, Satyrique, Burlesque, Libre et Proverbiale*, II, 345 (2 vols., Pampe-lune, 1786), by P. J. Leroux. Under "Pourchas" in both of these collections we have the expression under discussion in the following form: "Ses pourchas lui valent mieux que ses rentes."

So far as Chaucer is concerned, he was so familiar with the *Roman de la Rose* that he may very well have derived his line from that source, but the facts which I have just presented make it evident, I think, that he might also have picked up this proverbial phrase in the ordinary social intercourse of the time.

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OLD ENGLISH LEXICAL NOTES

I find in the *NED* sub *eaves* the following remark: "The forms ME. *ovese*, W. Somerset *office* (Elworthy), point to an OE. form **ofes*: = W. Ger. **obas(w)a*." The star affixed to *ofes* indicates that this form is not known to be on record. Now, it is true, none of our OE. dictionaries book *ofes* 'margin,'¹ but for all that it is on record in a grant of Coenwulf, dated A. D. 811, and this grant was as No. 10 available to the lexicographers ever since 1884, when under the auspices of the Ordnance Survey Office Mr. M. Basevi Sanders published the third part of the facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS., issued by the said office at Southampton, England. On lines 18-19 of the MS. of Coenwulf's grant as represented by the facsimile

¹ The second edition of John R. Clark Hall's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* exhibits only the by-form *ofesc*, 'border.'

we read in the boundary description the following: *ærest oneast² healfe betwynan leage 7 elman stede swa ofes scæt. oþ stæning mearce.* Mr. Sanders renders this passage thus: "First on the east side between Lee and Elmstead so over scæt as far stæning mark."

From this translation it would seem that Mr. Sanders misread the clear *ofes* of the MS. for *ofer*, i. e., *ofer* = Ger. *Ufer*. The verbal form *scæt* he apparently failed to understand, as he leaves it untranslated. I believe it is a contraction of *sceadeð*, a form which appears in the following passage on lines 20-21: *east onstræte³ noþealde³ þrymyrce lehware. 7 denwara. 7 elmes stedes. swadæc³ sceadeð on burhrode.* The passage affords evidence for two words not as yet booked, so far as I know. So I draw due attention to *primierce*, n., and *burhród*, f. The latter occurs again in the boundary description on line 19: *swa 7langdices³ west onburhrode.³ oferburhrode³ west on boddesham.*

Some years ago I had shown in *Anglia* that beside *cráwe* f. 'crow,' there is an older, well-authenticated form *cræ* f. 'crow,' which I connected with *crá* 'vox ranarum vel corvorum,' WW. 208¹⁰, arguing that the sound made by the bird came to serve as its designation. That this argument is true, may be seen from the compound *han-cræ*, 'cock's crow,' which the Canterbury MS. of the Chronicles, designated by Plummer as F, has preserved to us as equivalent to *han-créd*, used by the Laud MS. (E). While according to Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. 57, the entry in E under the year 795 reads: *Her was seo mona aðistred betwux⁴ hancred 7 dagunge*, F has *Her wæs se mona aðestred. betwux hancra 7 dagung* (Plummer, p. 56). While the Supplement to Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* takes cognizance of *crá*, 'the croaking sound made by frogs or crows,' it has failed to range with it the closely related *cræ*, proof of which it wrongly and insufficiently brings forward under *cráwe*. I am happy to say Dr. Clark Hall has been progressive enough to incorporate in the revised edition of his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* as a distinctly separate word *cræ* = *cráwe*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

(1) *A Parallel between Milton and Seneca*

After the Fall, Michael reveals to Adam the future sufferings of mankind, and as a result Adam declares that he desires neither to flee from death nor to prolong life. In reply the angel exhorts him:

² So distinctly joined in the MS.

³ So distinctly joined in the MS. On this particularity of writing as a unit the preposition and the noun governed by it I shall have some remarks to offer at another time.

⁴ I take occasion to recommend Plummer's edition for showing that

Nor love thy life, nor hate. (*Par. Lost* XI, 549)

Seneca writes to Lucilius:

In utrumque enim monendi ac firmandi sumus, et ne nimis amemus vitam et ne nimis oderimus. (*Epistle* 24, 24)

Hoc, quod vivit, stipendium putat. Et ita formatus est, ut illi nec amor vitæ nec odium sit, patiturque mortalia, quamvis sciat ampliora superesse. (*Epistle* 65, 18)

This section of *Paradise Lost*, for example in its remarks on old age, reminds one in general of Seneca and similar authors.

(2) *Words omitted from the 'New English Dictionary'*

I do not find the words *dead-furrow* and *inter-furrow* in the *New English Dictionary* or in Webster's *New International Dictionary*, though both are given in *The Standard Dictionary*, and *dead-furrow* is found in *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*. The word *dead-furrow*, applied to the ditch left between two ridges in ploughing, has long been familiar to every American farmer.¹ *Inter-furrow*² and *water-furrow*³ are equivalents used by English writers.

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NOTES ON LYLY'S *Euphues*

The following notes are offered as a supplement to my article on Lyly's sources, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 334-342. They are made with reference to two editions of the *Euphues* (by M. W. Croll, 1916, and R. W. Bond, 1902).

P. 99 (B. I, 251). "The old verse, 'That Galen giveth goods, Justinian honors.'" Add John Owen's epigram (*Elzevir* ed., 1647, p. 142),

Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Dum ne sit Patiens iste, nec ille Cliens.

P. 208 (B. II, 15). "As the cypress tree, the more it is watered the more it withereth, and the oftener it is lopped the sooner it dieth, . . . as that tree doth (hate) all remedies," etc. Pliny, *N. H.* XVII, 26, 247, "veluti cupressus et aquas aspernatur et fimum et circumfossuram amputationemque et omnia remedia odit."

certain prefixes are clearly separated in the MS. from the word to which they belong. It will be observed that the printer has properly spaced the *be* to indicate its separateness, on the one hand, and its forming a unit with *twux*, on the other. The thing is admirably done in Plummer's edition.

¹ Put in quotes in Bailey's *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 1917, vol. I, p. 383.

² *British Husbandry, Exhibiting the Farming Practice in Various Parts of the United Kingdom, with a Supplement* by Cuthbert W. Johnson, London, 1848, vol. II, p. 45.

³ Malden, *The Workman's Technical Instructor*, London, 1896, p. 105.

P. 287 (B. II, 82). "A strange tree there is called Alpina, which bringeth forth the fairest blossoms of all trees; which the bee either suspecting . . . neither tasteth it nor cometh near it." Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 18, 76 (of the 'laburnum'), "Alpina et haec arbor . . . cuius florem cubitalem longitudine apes non adtingunt."

P. 337 (B. II, 120). "For I love to stand aloof from Jove and lightning." *Adagia sive Proverbia Graecorum*, Antwerp, 1610, p. 517, Πόρρω Διὸς τε καὶ κεραυνῷ, "Procul a Iove et fulmine" (Suidas, *Cent.* XII, 4). Erasmus, *Adagia*, 148 D, quotes the same Greek proverb, but ascribes it to Diogenianus, not to Suidas.

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"NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE."

Some years ago in *Modern Language Notes*,¹ articles and notes appeared concerning the source and popularity of the apothegm "Never less alone than when alone." Quotations of the phrase and references to it were cited from Gibbon, Browne, Rogers, Byron, Drummond of Hawthornden, Milton, Sidney, and Cowley. Its source was determined as Cicero's *De Officiis* (3.1).

One quotation that was overlooked at the time is to be found in Scott's *Black Dwarf* (Chap. IV). Referring to the discussions of the Dwarf's mysterious companion he says:

They insisted, tho in a different sense from the philosopher's application of the phrase, that he was never less alone than when alone.

Cowper must also have had this in mind in his verses on *Alexander Selkirk* (5, 6):

Oh, solitude! where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?

A much earlier use of the line is to be found in a work of Pope Pius II, better known to literature as Æneas Silvius Piccolomini. It occurs in the author's *Miseriae Curialium*,² a prose epistle dealing with the evils of court life. In his description of the noise and tumult in which courtiers must live, he says:

Nusquam tibi angulus patebit quietus, in quo possis cum Scipione dicere: numquam minus solus quam cum solus.

While this quotation is not from an English work, the *Miseriae Curialium* was well known in England, and this may have been one of the channels through which the phrase entered English literature.

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¹ *M. L. N.*, XXIV, 54, 123, 226; XXV, 28, 96; XXVI, 232.

² *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*; Vienna, 1909.

A NOTE ON *The Ring and The Book*

So far as I am able to discover, no one has ever pointed out the absurd mistake which Stopford Brooke, in *The Poetry of Robert Browning*, p. 405, makes concerning the family of Dominus Hyacinthus de Archangelis. "The most vivid of these sketches," writes Mr. Brooke, "is Dominus Hyacinthus, the lawyer who defends Guido. I do not know anything better done, and more amusingly, than this man and his household—a paternal creature, full of his *boys* and *their* studies, making us, in his garrulous pleasure, at home with *them* and his fat wife. Browning was so fond of this sketch that he drew him and his *boys* over again in the epilogue" (*Italics mine*).

Mr. Brooke has evidently forgotten ll. 1136-37 of the *Prologue*, in which we are distinctly told that Dominus Hyacinthus had

A certain family-feast to claim his care,
The birthday-banquet for the only son,

and has presumably regarded each of the father's loving diminutives for "the only son" as the name of a separate and individual son. If Brooke were right, Hyacinthus would be the sire of no fewer than nineteen sons, named as follows: Giacinto (VIII, l. 1), Cinone (I, 2; XII, l. 349), Cinozzo (VIII, l. 11), Cinoncello (l. 11), Cinuolo (l. 20), Cinicello (l. 20), Cinino (l. 30), Ciniccino (l. 30), Cinucciato (l. 45), Cinoncino (ll. 62, 89, 466, 720), Cinarello (l. 63), Cinotto (l. 95), Giacintino (l. 110), Cinuccino (l. 135), Cintino (l. 284; XII, l. 343), Cineruggiolo (VIII, l. 290), Cinuccio (l. 828; XII, l. 333), Hyacinth (VIII, ll. 1735, 1740; XII, l. 328), Cinozzo (VIII, l. 275; XII, l. 386).

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BRIEF MENTION

The Writing and Reading of Verse. By C. E. Andrews (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1918). Another volume, of more than three hundred pages, is added to the treatises on English versification, not because the subject is inherently difficult of exposition, but rather because, in the judgment of Professor Andrews, there is still needed "a consistent prosody," based on the simple theory "that the rhythm of both music and verse depends upon an equality of time divisions." The book is divided into two almost equal parts. In Part I is treated "in a general way," what is necessary for the apprehension of the "theory of verse," the principles of meter, rhythm, movement, phrasing, etc.; Part II (pp. 139-327) "is

intended as a help to the more advanced student of composition who is interested in trying the technique of the different verse forms, or for the student who wishes to become a more capable critic of poetry." An easy and open style with a liberal share of examples illustrating the points of the discussion contributes to the amplitude of the treatise.

In his first pages (Preface; Chap. I, Preliminary) Professor Andrews exhibits liberality of mind toward what may be good tho not completely satisfactory in the theories of the prosodists, and sues for the confidence of the reader in a statement that is unassailable: "Our first approach to the study of verse should be scientific; only when we have agreed on certain fundamentals can we profitably discuss differences in taste" (p. 4). What should then follow would be an unimpeachable definition of the scientific study of versification; but at this point there is failure, for what could be less conducive to accurate inference than the suggested "first point of view," namely, "that anyone may read verse as he will" and from observation and record of these readings the student is warranted in deducing the principles of the science. "Taste, of course, must determine good reading," and "a dogmatic attitude in matters of taste is prejudicial to any scientific study," and where now is Professor Andrews' basis for a science? He has argued himself free from scientific responsibility: "Whenever a reading is marked in the following pages it is presented as a possible one—that which the author prefers—but not the only correct one." Even after this statement there is a reassertion of a scientific purpose in demanding a clear and consistent use of technical terms.

It should not be necessary to define the scientific method of investigation; but its very simplicity leads to perversions and misapplications of it. Observe an adequate number of phenomena or facts, and draw your conclusion; that may be the scientific thing to do, or it may be a procedure altogether profitless and non-significant. Now in the matter of "verse," the prosodist must keep the distinction clear between the making and the reading of verse-forms. The writer of prose must seldom enough be entirely satisfied by the manner in which his composition may be read aloud by another; more rare still must be the poet's chances for gratification in the hearing of his lines. Good readers are outnumbered by bad readers; the poets themselves are not all good readers, altho some of the greatest of them have been reported to read their lines in a manner that leaves no room for doubt as to their adherence in the act of composition to regular rhythm. From a description of the variations of the manner in which a given number of persons read poetry instructive inferences may be drawn, but these inferences will have a closer relation to the accidents of education, to individual caprice, and at best to temperamental expression than to data for the determination of the laws of verse-structure. These

laws are, however, deducible from the practice of the poets during a series of centuries.

The practice of the poets, then, displays the legitimate material for a strictly scientific investigation of the laws of verse-structure. No one denies this, yet a certain class of prosodists have been laboring to base theories on a perversion of this evidence, obscuring the direct process of reasoning by interposing capricious judgments of how one may read the poets with most pleasure or with closest attention to the 'sense.' The only way is to build on the true foundation. Let an intelligent reader, with average response to artistic design and without the bias of an indoctrinated theory, read Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Tennyson (and as many more of the poets as he may wish), and it is inconceivable that he will not conclude that English poetry is regular in rhythm, that routine-scaansion or scansion according to the rhythm-signature represents the structural design. This reader will here and there encounter surprises, as for example in Wyatt; but there will not be unexpected stresses enough to invalidate the main conclusion, for he will naturally come to make allowances for historic changes in pronunciation and for individual preferences or experiments in the modulations of the language. The more technical reader will be, or should be, even less accessible to a theory of verse-rhythm that is contradicted not only by the practice of the poets but also by the consensus of the prosodists (exclusive of a modern school), who have steadfastly maintained the demands of rhythm, admitting (in classic fashion) substitution of temporal equivalents but not rhythmic inversions.

Nor will the unsophisticated reader be led to conclude that English poetry is monotonous because of the regularity of its pulsations. Because of a perception of the 'weights and measures' of his vernacular, he will accept instinctively a variety of modulations, emphases, and stresses under a dominant exigency of artistic regulation. The more technical reader again will be, or should be, of the same mind, but to him is now presented the problem of examining the nature of these means for keeping regularity of movement from becoming monotonous. Here is the matter for a strictly scientific investigation. The details to be classified are governed by principles ranging from the simplest rules of word-accent and logical emphasis to stresses and emphases of a subtle character. A merely refined and elocutionary subjectivity will not prepare one for this investigation, which requires primarily a training in the accurate observation of the language as manifested thru its entire history.

In accordance with Professor Andrews' announcement of offering his preferred reading of lines, he begins by a wavering judgment as to the "possible" movement of such lines as "And breathe shortwinded accents of new broiles" and "No more shall trenching war channel her fields," in which he does not admit a stress on *of* and

the second syllable of "channel," with, however, a mitigating footnote, "Of course some readers may prefer" the stress on *of*; but even here his marking of time-equivalence misrepresents his supposed readers. The same inconclusive manner of reconciling his conception of time-parts with the regular occurrence of the stress is amplified in a consideration of the line "The applause of listening senates to command." The student can hardly be expected to derive satisfactory instruction from this mode of discussion: "the time between the emphasis in *senates* and the emphasis in *command* is twice that between any other two successive important syllables in the line. Some readers make it clear that there are two time divisions here by putting a slight emphasis on the insignificant syllable *to*; others, by giving this syllable a somewhat greater time value than in the normal pronunciation of it, but not giving it any special force of voice; and still others give all the syllables their normal value but fill up the time by a slight pause (like a rest in music) after the word *senate*." An example of the author's method when encountering another class of rhythmic elements is given in the reading of the following lines from Shakespeare: "An *extreme* fear can neither fight nor fly," and "To qualify the fire's *extreme* rage." The comment runs thus: "we may read *éxtreme* or *extrême* consistently in both lines and still divide them satisfactorily, into five equal parts. Isn't it better, then, to give all such words the modern accent, except where this makes a distinctly awkward reading?" Here again a footnote is added that does not clear up the matter, but shows conclusively that the author has misapprehended the fundamental facts in the artistic use of the language, ignoring the special demands of rhythmic subtlety in both melody and the articulation of the thought. No statement could more completely misrepresent the availability for stress than that in which a stressed second member of a substantive compound is held to produce an unusual if not, for the most part, an inadmissible effect.

The chapter on meter, stress, and accent is closed with a summarizing statement: "In general, if the poet has done his work well, the reader will find that giving the words in verse their normal sense accent, will bring out a division of the lines into approximately equal time parts." This is consonant with the view taken of scansion, as expressed in the opening paragraph of the next chapter: "Scansion is a means of indicating for the purpose of study the division of verse into feet. The scansion of a line should not differ from the natural verse reading of it except in exaggerating the special characteristics of that reading. That a scansion should be an indication or a record of somebody's reading; or, conversely, that any good reading is merely a refinement of scansion, is a principle to which the method of this book adheres." These statements definitely justify the disapproval of the 'method'

already advanced directly and indirectly; the industry, the scholarship, and the æsthetic purpose of the author have in this instance been shorn of effectiveness thru a mistaken approach to the subject and a consequent lack of precision in the preservation of its details. As a text-book the doctrinal portion of this treatise must surely contribute rather to the student's unrest and uncertainty than to his profitable and inspiring instruction. On the other hand, the mature reader will find this an entertaining and stimulating book, with a liberal share of instruction in details of literary history. The large division on the "Technique of Special Verse Forms" consists of good and appreciative description, with ample and well-chosen illustration, of the conventional forms, including (pp. 247-265) the exotic "French Forms," and, breaking thru the conventional barriers, a final chapter on "Free Verse" is added, which is altogether admirable in quality; this revolt is discussed with insight, and praise and censure are meted out with just discrimination.

J. W. B.

Pause: A Study of its Nature and its Rhythmical Function in Verse, especially Blank Verse. By Ada L. F. Snell (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1918). Poetry is now taken, tho not for the first time, into the psychologist's laboratory and subjected thru the agency of chance readers of it to the measurements of an ingeniously devised apparatus, so as to obtain precise records of the pauses made in the reading. The requirements of a scientific investigation are believed to be met by selecting eleven persons to read into the apparatus one hundred lines of *Paradise Lost*. "In the selection of the readers," it is stated, "it did not seem necessary or profitable to include persons who had no liking for Milton's blank verse, or persons who do not read poetry well. On the other hand, it did not seem wise to select only trained readers; but the attempt was made to select persons who are accustomed to read poetry and who take a certain amount of pleasure in it." The investigation, which embraces also some lyric poems, has apparently been conducted with the utmost care and with due reference to similar investigations. Results are tabulated in exact mathematical terms and competently discussed from many points of view. Significant as these results may be psychologically and for the theory of rhetorical expression, any contribution to the art of versification that may be deduced from them is of secondary value, for the 'rhythmical function' of the pause in verse is not identical with the function of the rhetorical pause, for which, in turn, precise rules are deducible only within restricted limits.

Whatever importance may be attributed to this investigation relates to an average manner of reading poetry, which does not much concern the scientific prosodist, except as a subject that calls

for his corrective advice. However, apart from several other indications of the evidence considered, especially those that are available in the study of the tempo or speed of a rhythmic pattern, the prosodist will observe that the last sentence of the "Summary of Results" confirms the view of the peculiar character (the linguistic character) of what in versification is described as regularity of rhythm: "All that the ear requires is an alternation of sounds varying in value and falling within the time limits essential for the perception of rhythm."

J. W. B.

By the publication of *Mark Twain's Letters* (arranged with comment by A. B. Paine, Two Volumes, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1917) the study of Mr. Clemens' relation to the land and people of Germany has been made very convenient. Naturally, one must not expect to find any specifically literary opinions in the Innocent's letters, for he was always unliterary in the sense that he had no clear or well-thought-out views of literature. On December 30, 1898, *e. g.*, he writes to his friend William Dean Howells: "We saw the 'Master of Palmyra' last night." That is all, and the student asks in vain how Wilbrandt's highly significant drama impressed Mark Twain, whose love of the drama is sufficiently known. His inner relation to German music, in general, and to Richard Wagner, in particular, fares a little better. Another post-humous publication, *What is Man? and other Essays* (also published in 1917 by Harper & Brothers) is to be mentioned in this connection, bringing to light a delightful essay of the year 1891, "At the Shrine of St. Wagner." In the same book there is to be found an amusing sketch entitled "Taming the Bicycle," heretofore unpublished, from which may be quoted a passage comforting to both teachers and students of German: "The steps of one's progress are distinctly marked. At the end of each lesson he knows he has acquired something, and he also knows what that something is, and likewise that it will stay with him. It is not like studying German, where you mull along, in a groping, uncertain way, for thirty years; and at last, just as you think you've got it, they spring the subjunctive on you, and there you are. No—and I see now, plainly enough, that the great pity about the German language is, that you can't fall off it and hurt yourself. There is nothing like that feature to make you attend strictly to business. But I also see, by what I have learned of bicycling that *the right and only sure way to learn German is by the bicycling method. That is to say, take a grip on one villainy of it at a time, and learn it—not ease up and shirk to the next, leaving that one half learned.*"

F. S.

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TEXTUAL NOTES ON *BEOWULF*

After an interval of several years a number of *Anglia* (Vol. XLII, No. 1) arrived at the library of the University of Minnesota. Of the articles contained in it one proved of especial interest to me, namely Ernst A. Kock's "Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts. IV" (pp. 99-124), being a set of notes on the textual interpretation of *Beowulf*. As my edition of *Beowulf* is being put into type at present, and no additional comments of any length can be inserted in the text of my Notes, I ask permission to state here my views on a few passages discussed by Professor Kock. The fact that in the following details I cannot agree with the Swedish scholar should not be construed as a reflection on his distinctly valuable contribution to Beowulfian studies.

22-4. *bæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen*
wilgesīpas, þonne wig cume,
lēode gelāsten.

Kock proposes to take *lēode* as the dative of *lēod*, 'lord,' 'prince,' so that *lēode gelāsten* and *hine gewunigen* would be considered exactly parallel expressions. The objection to this new explanation is that it presupposes an unwarranted function of *lēod*. It has been generally assumed, apparently without looking into the matter, that the singular *lēod* carries the plain meaning of 'prince,' 'chief.' But what is the evidence? In the Laws *lēod* denotes both 'man,' 'person': *gif man lēud ofslāa*, Wihtr. 25—also 'fine for slaying a man,' 'wergild,' *Æðelb. 22* (evidently an abbreviation of *lēodgeld*)—and 'member of a tribe or nation': *gif hwā his āgenne lēod* (ms. H) *bebycge* (Varr.: *gelēod, lēodan, compatrio-*

tam), Ine 11. (Perhaps the former meaning should not be separated from the latter.) The same function is well illustrated from two passages in *Bede*, viz. *þæt hē wære Bretta lēod*, 180.13 = de natione Brettonum (Varr.: *lēode*, of *Brytta lēode*, of *Bretta þēode*); *sē was Contwara lēod* 194.2 = oriundum de gente Cantuariorum (Var.: *lēode*).¹ A reminder of this old meaning² of 'member of a tribe,' 'countryman,' is the fact that the plural *lēode*—unlike *men(n)*, *guman*, *weas*, *secgas*, etc.—is in most instances in *Beowulf* used with a genitive plural (*Gēata*, *Wedera*, *Deniga*, *Swēona*) or a possessive pronoun expressed or understood (as in *læddon tō lēodum* 1159).

It may be mentioned here that the deviations from the normal declensional type of *lēod*, plural *lēode*, resulting in the formation of a feminine *lēod* are satisfactorily explained by the analogical influence of *þēod*.

Now, in the earlier poetical texts, *lēod* appears frequently with a genitive plural denoting a tribe or people, e. g., *Secgena lēod*, *Finnsb.* 24; *Ebrēa lēod*, *Gen.* 2163,—expressions that bear a striking resemblance to a combination like *ides Helminga*, *Beow.* 620, or again, (*Hrēpel*) *Gēata*, *Beow.* 374. In accordance with the heroic contents and the idealizing manner of the poetry, this *lēod* naturally assumed the sense of 'noble member of a tribe,' 'member of the nobility'; thus *Wulfgār* is called *Wendla lēod*, *Beow.* 348, *Wiglāf*, *lēod Scylfinga*, *ib.* 2603, *Bēowulf* (even before his accession to the throne), *Weder-Gēata lēod*, *ib.* 1492. As it could be applied to kings as well as to ordinary nobles (see *Beow.* 1653, 2159, 2551),³ it was perhaps occasionally understood as 'chief,' 'prince,' but was never used without the qualifying genitive plural containing the name of the people.⁴ In other words, the semantic development never went as far as in the case of *þēoden* (cf. *þēod*), which

¹ Cf. *Anglia*, xxvii, 272.

² Which is not necessarily the exact basic meaning in primitive Germanic or Pre-Germanic, see *New English Dictionary*, s. v. *lede*.

³ With *Finnsb.* 24: *Secgena lēod* may be compared *Wids.* 31: *Sæferð [wēold] Sycgum*.—The one example of the corresponding expression in Old Norse, *Volundarkv.* 13: *álfa ljópi*, has been commonly translated by 'prince of elves,' but Lünig defines *ljópi* as 'Landsmann,' and the Cleasby-Vigfusson rendering is 'the elf-man.'

⁴ On the other hand, *cýning* appears only once with such a gen. plur. in *Beowulf*.

is freely used without such a complement, either alone or in conjunction with an epithet like *mære*.

- 86-7. *Ðā se ellengæst earfoðlice*
þrāge gepolode, sē þe in þýstrum bād. . . .

Kock connects *earfoðlice* (acc. sing. fem.) with *þrāge*, "an irksome time," supporting it by reference to *earfoðþrāge polian*, 283 f. This is certainly tempting. But something may be said in favor of the usual explanation of *earfoðlice* as adverb. Perhaps the separation of *þrāge* from *earfoðlice*, though somewhat out of the ordinary, need not be seriously objected to. It is more important to note that in a corresponding passage (telling of the dragon's impatience to fall upon his enemies), which clearly harks back to the lines in question,⁵ we read: *Hordweard onbād / earfoðlice, oð ðæt æfen cwōm*, 2302 f. This is not decisive, but deserving of consideration. Which interpretation is right?

- 189-90. *Swā ðā mælceare maga Healfdenes*
singāla sēað.

- 1992-3. *Io ðæs mōdceare*
sorhwylmum sēað.

Exception is taken by Kock to the explanation, based on the regular transitive use of *sēoðan*, which assigns a vigorous metaphorical sense to the unique phrase, literally 'he caused the care to well up,' i. e. 'he was agitated by care.' Kock virtually returns to Heyne's view in translating *ceare sēoðan*, literally 'seethe in care,' i. e. 'be tormented or agitated by care.' After careful consideration I see no reason to abandon my interpretation (*Archiv*, cxxvi, 351).

The well-known instances showing "the sufferer," not "the tormenting thing or feeling" as "the logical object of the transitive *sēoðan*," viz. *mid þý hē . . . nearonissum his mōdes ond mid þý blīndan fýre soden wæs*, *Bede* 128.14 f.; *hēo . . . mid þā untrumnesse . . . soden wæs*, *ib.* 290.8; *Herebyrht wæs ær mid singāltre untrumnesse soden ond geswenced*, *ib.* 372.26 cannot be allowed any weight in the discussion, especially as two of them have all the appearance of being slavish renderings of the Latin *decoquere*. As to *mē searonet sēoðað*, which has also been cited, the form

⁵ The analogous case of *oð ðæt ān ongan / fyrene frem(m)an fēond on helle* 100 f., *oð ðæt ān ongan / deorcum nihtum draca rīcs[i]an* 2210 f. is well remembered.

sēoðað is, without doubt, an error for *sēowað*,—*mē elpēodige inwit-wrāsne*, / *searonet sēowað*, *Andr.* 63 f., cf. *Beow.* 406: *searonet sēowed* and 2167: *inwitnet . . bregdon*.

Besides, it is hazardous to operate with the intransitive use of *sēoðan*, which has not been established, although it might be admitted theoretically. More than that, conclusive evidence of the transitive function of *sēoðan* in 189 f. is afforded by *ðā*, which is not adverb, but definite article,—*ðā mælceare*, 'that sorrow,' referring to the king's afflictions described before. It certainly remains to be shown that a combination *swā ðā* 'so then' is a possibility in *Beowulf*.

489-90. *Site nū tō symle ond onsæl meoto,*
sige hrēð secgum.

Kock understands *meota* (em.) as imperative of *me(o)tan*, which he construes with *on*, i. e. *on sāl*, [*on*] *sige hrēð*: "think on joy, on conquest's glory for the men." This, it will be seen, is practically a revival of Körner's view (*Engl. Stud.* II, 251): "sei nur auf Heiterkeit bedacht, auf den Ruhm, der dir nebst deinen Mannen aus deinem Siege erwachsen wird." I confess that I have serious doubts regarding this interpretation as well as my own former explanation (*Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* VI, 192 f.). After the metrical status of the imperative *onsæl* in 489^b has been vindicated by Professor Bright's investigation (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, 217-23), it seems best to me to take *meoto*—whatever its precise meaning may be—and *sige hrēð* as the objects of *onsæl*. That *sāl* should be meant here as 'joy,' is very far from probable, for the sense of 'happiness,' 'joy,' is almost entirely limited to the plural. (It is best known, of course, from the stereotyped expression *on sālum*.) Moreover, the function of the dative (*secgum*) is far less convincing in Kock's version than in connection with a clause expressing the idea: 'speak your mind freely'; cf. *Andr.* 171 f.: *þā him cirebaldum cininga wuldor*, / *Meotud mancynnes mōdhord onlēac*, *ib.* 315 f.

1783-4. *unc sceal worn fela*
māþma gemænra, siþðan morgen bið.

Here the emendation *gemæne* is recommended and, incidentally, reinforced by citing the commonly accepted emendation of 1857 (*gemæne*, MS. *ge mænum*). Kock is undoubtedly right in his

observation that the predicative *gemāne* is what we should expect under ordinary circumstances. At the same time, the form *gemānra* is not necessarily to be laid at the door of an irresponsible scribe. It may very well be due to a natural process of attraction, by which the predicative relation became converted into an attributive one. I am confirmed in this belief by a few similar cases which have been incidentally noticed. *Chron. A. D. 871: pær wearð Siðroc eorl ofslægen . . . ond Osbearn eorl . . . ond Hareld eorl, ond pā hergas bēgen gefliemde, ond fela pūsenda ofslægenra* (MS. B: ofslegen), *ond onfeohrende wāron oþ niht; A. D. 1001: ðær wearð Æðelweard cinges hēahgefēra ofslegen . . . ond Wulfhere . . . ond Godwine . . . ond pær wearð pāra Denescra micla mā ofslegenra; ib.: hȳ ðær āflȳmede wurden, ond ðær wearð fela ofslegenra.* Cf. *Oros. 17.31: fela spella him sēdon pā Beormas . . ., ac hē nyste hwæt pæs sōpes wæs;*⁶ *Holy Rood-Tree* (ed. Napier) 24.13: *wolde witan hwæt his sōðes wære;* also *Mat. Rush. 27.19: nāwiht pē sīe on pām sōpfæste gemānes* (WS. texts: *gemāne*).

2163-4. *Hyrde ic, pæt pām frætlicum fēower mēaras lungre gelice lāst weardode.*

Neither of the two current translations, viz. 'perfectly alike' and 'equally swift,' appeals to Professor Kock. "I think," he says, "that the two interpretations are, if not perfectly like, yet equally wrong." He regards *lungre gelice* as coördinate adjectives of the type *frome, fyrdhwate* 2476, *undyrne, cūð* 150, 410⁷ and translates: ". . . four horses . . . quick and all alike." This makes admirable sense. But in view of the fact that in all the instances of such asyndetic parataxis, whether of nouns or adjectives, the two coördinate members are synonymous or, at any rate, of distinctly similar import, and one of them is invariably a regular compound, a skeptical attitude may well be pardoned.

I beg to add here an illustrative passage from the *Hrólfs saga*, without insisting on its probative merits. *Drotning lætr leiða fram hesta tólf, alla rauða at lit, nema einn, sá var hvítr sem snjór; þeim skyldi Hrólf konungr ríða; þessir váru þeir, sem bezt reynduz af öllum Aðils konungs hestum, allir albrynjaðir.* 89.9 ff. (ch. 29).

⁶ Possibly influenced by the legitimate use of the partitive genitive as in *ðeah hē nyte hwæt hē sōðes secge, Cur. Past. 217. 15.*

⁷ Cf. *Anglia*, xxviii, 440.

The great value of Professor Kock's textual studies lies in his application of the comparative method. His extensive knowledge of the minutest syntactical and stylistic details of Old English and related Germanic texts enables him to throw light on numerous passages which have suffered at the hands of commentators. But, of course, the subjective element can never be completely eliminated in such investigations. As an example, I mention the remarkable suggestion offered in regard to the allusion of 81-3, *sele . . . heaðowylma bād, / lāðan liges*—: "That the poet alludes to the universal conflagration and not to some future hostile deed, seems to me fairly probable." It is quite true that "the fated destruction of all things by fire is often alluded to in old literature." But there must be at least some sort of excuse for it. Is it not far more natural, we may ask—employing the same subjective method—that the mention of the typical hall called up the vision of its possible, if not probable fate in the genuine heroic fashion? (*Nibelungenlied*, *Völsungasaga*, *Njáls saga*, etc.).⁸ Besides, it is difficult to understand why the definite connection between ll. 81^b-83^a and 83^b-85 should be deliberately sacrificed.

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THE CONFESSION OF THE PRINCESS OF CLÈVES

Mr. Woodbridge in an interesting article¹ that has only just come to my notice reopens the discussion of a problem of literary research—*L'aveu de la Princesse de Clèves*. While suggesting a possible source, he omits from his discussion one of the most important elements in the case, and thus does not do full justice to his own contribution. I feel sure, therefore, that he will pardon my adding a few notes to his presentation of the subject.

Mme de La Fayette was one of the best-informed persons in

⁸ Cf. Earle's note on l. 781: ". . . it almost seems in this place that the thought is of destruction by fire as the natural end, sooner or later, of a timbered edifice,"—to which a quaint modern parallel is added.

¹ Mme de Montespan and *La Princesse de Clèves*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiii, 79.

Paris on all that happened in or near the court,² and was as likely to know of the anecdote that is the *raison d'être* of Mr. Woodbridge's article, as was Saint-Simon. The demonstration of the relations existing between Mme de La Fayette and Montalais breaking down as is admitted, just at the time when the *liaison* with the King was beginning and the *aveu* was made, was scarcely necessary to convince us of this. We know that Mme de La Fayette was on such good terms with Mme de Montespan herself that the latter made her presents.³ Having conceded this point, we may pass to a consideration of the omission to which we have alluded. Early in his article Mr. Woodbridge mentions in a foot-note Valincour's *Lettres à la Marquise de* At the close of the article occurs the following statement: "The only other (*i. e.*, other than Mr. Woodbridge's) effort to find anything like a source which has come to my knowledge is the article by Professor Baldensperger."

There is, however, an effort, and a serious one, in the very book Mr. Woodbridge mentions—Valincour's *Lettres à la Marquise de*, and this in the year of publication of the *Princesse de Clèves*. In this criticism appears the following passage:

Je scay bien que dans le second tome d'un certain livre que l'on appelle, si je ne me trompe, *les Désordres de l'Amour*, on trouve une histoire qui a quelque rapport avec celle-cy. On y voit le Marquis de Termes amoureux de sa propre femme: on voit cette femme répondre aux empressements de son mari avec beaucoup de froideur et d'insensibilité, chercher la solitude, fuir le grand monde, et enfin devenir malade de chagrin. Son mari en est au désespoir: il ne la quitte point: et l'ayant un jour surprise comme elle fondait en larmes, il la presse de luy découvrir le sujet qui les faisoit couler. Elle s'en défend longtemps, et enfin elle luy avoue qu'elle aimoit le jeune Baron de Bellegarde.⁴

Immediately Mme de La Fayette's champion comes to the rescue with this statement:

Ce qu'il y a de seur à l'égard de l'auteur de la *Princesse de Clèves*

² Her stepfather acted as agent for the Court of Savoy, and she rendered similar service to Madame Royale. So well-informed was she that the properly accredited agent referred to her as a "petit furet."

³ Mme de Sévigné, *Lettres*, 1862, III, 273 (Les Grands Ecrivains de la France).

⁴ *Lettres à la Marquise de . . .*, p. 216.

et que je scay de bonne part c'est qu'il avait fait son Histoire longtemps avant l'impression du livre des *Désordres de l'Amour*.⁵

He did well to make this statement—accept it or not, as one may—for the *aveu* in the *Désordres de l'amour* has much in common with the situation in the *Princesse de Clèves*. The former novel is rare, the National Library in Paris possessing only one, and that an incomplete copy, so that the passage may well be quoted. The Marquis de Termes, uneasy about his wife's health, goes to her room and finds her in tears.

Ne vous contraignez point pour ma présence, Madame, lui dit-il, je suis moins un époux sévère que le plus intime de vos amis; dites-moi confidemment ce qui vous oblige à verser des larmes, et croyez qu'il n'y a rien que je ne fasse ou que je n'entreprenne pour en arrêter le cours.

—Vous êtes trop bon, repartit tristement la belle malade, de vous apercevoir de ces effets de ma faiblesse, ils ne méritent pas d'être remarqués, et ce sont des sensibilités ordinaires à une jeune personne qui a sujet d'aimer la vie et qui se voit en danger de la perdre.

—Ha! Madame, s'écria le Marquis, ce n'est point là ce qui vous fait pleurer, le malheur que vous feignez de craindre n'est encore, grâce au ciel, ni déclaré, ni prochain. Et quand il seroit vrai qu'il vous arrachât des larmes, vous ne feriez point d'efforts pour me les cacher. Elles pourraient au contraire être expliquées à mon avantage, la douleur d'être séparée de moi y servirait d'un légitime prétexte; mais, Madame, ce n'est point cette crainte qui vous trouble, vous avez des maux plus sensibles et plus pressants, et vous m'en causerez de mortels si je ne vous trouve plus d'ouverture de cœur et plus de confiance.

Le marquis accompagnait ces paroles de caresses si touchantes et les mouvements de son visage exprimoient si bien le chagrin qu'il avait de celui de sa femme, qu'elle fut honteuse qu'il lui en restât encore. Elle donna un libre cours aux larmes qu'elle avoit retenues, et serrant une des mains du marquis entre les siennes: Ah! lui dit-elle avec une foule de sanglots, que votre honnêteté m'est cruelle, et que je vous serois obligée si vous me témoigniez autant de mépris et de dureté que vous me témoignez de tendresse et de considération.

Un discours si bizarre ayant augmenté la curiosité du Marquis, il n'y eut rien qu'il ne mit en usage pour la satisfaire. Il pria, il promit, il employa jusqu'à son autorité et fit des commandements. Plus la marquise tâchoit à modérer ce désir plus il devenoit violent.

—Hé bien done! lui dit-elle, vaincue par ses importunités, vous

⁵ Anon. (L'abbé de Charnes), *Conversations sur la critique de la Princesse de Clèves*, Paris, Barbin, 1679, in 12mo., p. 231.

saurez ce que vous avez tant de curiosité de savoir : quelque malheur que cet aveu m'attire, il aura de la peine à me rendre plus infortunée que je la suis, et en tout cas je me sens si abattue que le secours de la mort ne me sera pas longtemps refusé.

Alors elle lui raconta comme dès son enfance elle avait eu une violente inclination pour le Baron de Bellegarde, qui en avait une semblable pour elle, mais qui n'ayant pas assez de bien pour satisfaire l'avarice de son père, le marquis lui avoit été préféré.

—Envisagez-moi dans cet état, poursuivit-elle, fondant en larmes, et jugez s'il y a un au monde plus malheureux. Vous méritez toute ma tendresse, et bien qu'il me soit impossible de vous la donner, je mourrois mille fois plutôt que de rien faire indigne de la vôtre. J'ai banni le jeune Bellegarde, et vous pouvez avoir remarqué que depuis notre mariage il n'est pas venu en cette province; c'est par mes ordres qu'il en demeure absent, je ne lui ai point écrit, je lui ai sévèrement défendu de m'écrire, et quand ma vie dépendroit d'un moment de sa conversation particulière, je ne m'y exposerois pas. Cependant, puisque vous me forcez à vous l'avouer, moins je le vois et plus je sens le désir de le voir; son absence, qui devoit l'effacer de ma mémoire, ne sert qu'à me persuader de sa déférence pour mes ordres. Je ne pousse pas un soupir où je ne m'imagine que les siens répondent, et jugeant de ses peines par les miennes, il se fait en moi un combat de pitié, d'amour et de devoir, qui semble déchirer mon âme, et dont les effets sont si cruels pour elle, que de quelque côté que penche la victoire, elle me sera toujours également funeste.

Cette belle affligée auroit pu continuer de parler plus longtemps si ses sanglots ne l'en avoient empêchés. Le marquis, son époux, étoit si surpris et si touché de ce qu'il entendoit qu'il n'avoit pas la force de l'interrompre.

The question of prior claim to the *aveu* between Mme de Ville-dieu and Mme de La Fayette appears to have been neglected from 1679 until 1889, when M. Armand Praviel published in the *Revue littéraire* an article that seems to have escaped the notice of bibliographers. In this article M. Praviel assigns to the *Désordres de l'Amour* the date 1664-5, on the authority of the *Histoire littéraire des femmes françaises*. It is difficult to fix the date of the first edition, of the *Désordres de l'Amour*, but we believe that 1664 is too early. Emile Magne⁶ mentions an edition *chez Barbin* 1670 in 4to. It will be noted that this is the year of the death of Madame Henriette, and about three years after the *aveu* of Mme de Montespan, if the anecdote is true.

⁶ Magne, E., *Mme de Villedieu*, Paris (Mercure), 1907.

This strengthens considerably Mr. Woodbridge's thesis in that it allows him to present the Saint-Simon anecdote as a common source for the confessions in the *Désordres de l'Amour* and in the *Princesse de Clèves*.

Another hypothesis is of course possible—that of an indiscretion on the part of Mme de La Fayette's friends, seized upon and used by the unscrupulous Mme de Villedieu. It is easy to prove that Mme de Villedieu knew Mme de La Fayette and her circle, but here also are pitfalls for the unwary. As the *Désordres de l'Amour* is generally attributed to Mme de Villedieu, we have heretofore referred to her as the author, but would not be surprised to discover that this novel was one of many published in her name because her reputation insured a ready sale. According to Magne, the first edition appeared in 1670. In the sixth part of her *Journal Amoureux* Mme de Villedieu gives a list of her works "fidèle jusqu'à la fin d'Avril de l'année 1671," and she protests that she has not had printed any other books. The *Désordres* is not mentioned. It would be rash, however, to conclude that Mme de Villedieu did not write that novel. Mme de La Fayette wrote to Lecheraine that she was not the author of the *Princesse de Clèves*;⁷ but she also wrote to Ménage to say that she was the author, and that she had no collaborators.⁸ The problem will have to remain unsolved until further documents are available.

Having brought evidence in support of Mr. Woodbridge's theory, we may be allowed to take exception to two statements in his article. "Bussy's comments," he writes, "and the fervor aroused by the scene are good proofs that it was not common in life as in literature." Bussy never contested the *vérité* of the *aveu*; in fact, he says that it could only find a place in a *true* story,⁹ but he does question the *vraisemblance*. His letter is a contribution to a most animated contemporary discussion on the *vrai* and the *vraisemblable* in literature, and this should be borne in mind.¹⁰ Bussy

⁷ *Rassegna settimanale*, March 30, 1879, Turin.

⁸ *L'anonymat des œuvres de Mme de La Fayette*, *Revue d'Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXI, 712.

⁹ See passage quoted by Mr. Woodbridge, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 79.

¹⁰ See Segrais's account of discussion on this subject between Made-moiselle, Mme de Frontenac, Mme de Valençay, Comtesse de Fiesque, Marquise de Morny, and Mme de Choisy at Saint Fargeau. Segrais, *Les*

was not likely to have met the *aveu* in literature, as he admits that he had not read a novel since he left school.

Lastly, Mr. Woodbridge mentions the fact that Mme de La Fayette returns to the subject of the *aveu* in the *Princesse de Tende* (*Comtesse de Tende?*), and that this has been taken as an answer to the critics. There are certain commonplaces of literary history that should be allowed to die of old age, and this is one of them. Mme de La Fayette was intelligent enough to know that a confession by letter of an infidelity that would soon be obvious was much more *vraisemblable* than the oral confession of the *Princesse de Clèves*—so much more that it was no answer to the critics, but a capitulation. She never published the *Comtesse de Tende*, so that it could not be an answer to any one. Personally I have grave doubts as to whether it was written after the *Princesse de Clèves*, as it bears every mark of an earlier and less skilful production, and may be the first rough sketch of the idea of the *aveu*. It did not see the light until 1724, long after Mme de La Fayette's death.

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FOLK-SONG IN AMERICA—SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The last two years have seen a notable activity in this country in the publication of traditional ballads and songs taken down from the mouths of the folk. Ever since the completion of Child's great work twenty years ago collectors have been busy in various parts of the country, and have found a surprising number of English ballads still alive here in oral tradition, often in better poetical estate than in the old country. Up to the present some seventy¹ of the ballads in Child's corpus have been recorded, besides

nouvelles françaises ou les Divertissements de la Princesse Aurélie, Paris, 1656, 2 vols.

¹ See Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in the South," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxvii, 55 ff., and "The Traditional Ballad in the South during 1914," *ibid.*, xxviii, 199 ff. Professor Smith lists 76; Mr. Sharp has since added 3 more. Some of those in Professor Smith's list, however, can hardly be said to have been found in living American tradi-

a large number that are unquestionably traditional but were not admitted to the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. This persistence of old world ballads is not limited to any one part of the country; they are found in the New England, Middle Atlantic, North Central, Western, and Southwestern states as well as in the Southern mountains, and in urban as well as in rural populations. But the results of the collectors' work have remained in great part unpublished or have appeared only piecemeal and in journals of limited circulation. For the most part, also, the collectors have not been able to record the tunes;² and folk-song with the singing left out stands to living folk-song very much as the dried specimens in an herbarium do to living flowers. It is, therefore, most fortunate that the student of music has entered the field in the publications here under review. The present reviewer, however, has unfortunately no competence in music, and must restrict his account to matters of text.

Lonesome Tunes (Ditson, Boston, 1916), by Loraine Wyman and Howard Brockway, contains twenty-five folk-songs taken down in eastern Kentucky in 1916. Six of them are forms of ballads in Child,³ viz., *Barbara Allen* (84), *The Hangman's Song* (95), *Lord Batesman* (53), *The Mary Golden Tree* (286), *Six Kings' Daughters* (4), and *Sweet William and Lady Margery* (74). Of those not in Child nine may fairly be called ballads: *Jackaro*, *John Riley*, *The Lady and the Glove*, *The Little Mohee*, *The Nightingale*, *Peggy Walker*, *Pretty Polly*, *The Sweetheart in the Army*, and *William Hall*. All these except *The Nightingale* are or have been current as stall ballads in England, tho in some cases the text has suffered considerable change. *Pretty Polly* is a truncated form of *Polly's Love*, or *The Perjured Ship-Carpenter*; Polly's avenging ghost has been forgotten. *John Riley*, on the other hand, one of the innumerable ballads on the theme of the returned disguised lover, has been better preserved here than in the old country, at least if Pitts's and Catnach's prints fairly represent the English

tion. Let me take this occasion to correct an error in his list, due, I presume, to a slip of my own in reporting to him. Child No. 185 is not in the Missouri collection, and has never, I believe, been found in America.

² A notable exception is the work of Mr. Phillips Barry in many articles in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* since 1905.

³ Numbers in parenthesis following ballad titles are those of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

form of the piece. In them, the girl rather lamely abandons the hope of Riley's return and goes off with her new and unknown suitor; in Miss Wyman's copy the story runs true to form, the unknown suitor revealing himself in the last stanza as the long lost Riley. *The Nightingale* is apparently known only in America. Tho its general theme of easy roadside seduction is old, having come down from the French *pastourelles* of the thirteenth century, and tho its method of *double-entendre* is a familiar form of wit in seventeenth-century vulgar balladry, yet this particular development of the theme seems never to have been a part of the stock of British ballad printers; and according to Mr. Sharp it is likewise unknown in living English tradition. It is, however, a great favorite in America—where, it should be noted, it is commonly sung without consciousness of its original meaning. Of the remaining ten, one, *Brother Green*, is homiletic; one, *The Old Maid's Song*, is comic; four, *The Barnyard Song*, *The Bed-time Song* (a version of *Kitty Alone and I*), *Billy Boy*, and *Frog Went A-Courting*, are nursery songs; and four belong to the class which may conveniently be called folk-lyric. Two of them, *Sourwood Mountain* and *The Ground Hog*, are clearly native American products, and a third, *Little Sparrow* (known also as *Say Oh! Beware* and as *Come All Ye Fair and Tender Ladies*), appears as an integral song to be known only in America, tho it is reminiscent thruout of the commonplaces of English folk-lyric; the fourth, *Loving Nancy*, is a version of *The Wagoner's Lad* with one stanza from the English cuckoo-song.

Folk Songs of the Kentucky Mountains (Boosey & Co., New York, 1917), by Josephine McGill, contains twenty texts, one of them with two airs, collected in Knott and Letcher Counties in 1914. Thirteen are versions of ballads in Child. The three of these that are also in *Lonesome Tunes* (Nos. 74, 84, 286) differ from the texts there given chiefly by the addition or omission of traditional stanzas. The other ten are *Lord Randal* (12), *Bangum and the Boar* (18), *The Greenwood Side* (20), *John and William* (49), *The Cherry Tree* (54), *Lord Thomas* (73), *Lord Lovel* (75), *Lady Gay* (79), *The Gypsie Laddie* (200), and *The Mermaid* (289). The British traditional balladry outside of the Child corpus is represented by *Babes in the Woods* only. The remaining six are folk-lyrics, viz., *Little Sparrow* and five not given by Miss

Wyman—*As I Walked Out, The Forsaken Girl, The Cuckoo* (which should perhaps rather be called *The Unconstant Lover*, since it is often found without the cuckoo stanza), *Her Cheek Is Like Some Blooming Red Rose*, and *Loving Hannah*.

English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians (Putnam, New York, 1917), by Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp, is the most noteworthy publication dealing with folk-song in America that has yet appeared. Mrs. Campbell had been collecting ballads, chiefly in Kentucky and Georgia, for some years. Forty-two texts, three of them without tunes, representing thirty-two different songs and taken down between 1907 and 1914, appear to represent this earlier work of Mrs. Campbell. In the summer of 1916 Mr. Sharp, long recognized as the foremost student of living folk-song in England, joined forces with Mrs. Campbell and in nine weeks, with the help of an expert stenographer, recorded the text and tunes of the remaining two hundred and eighty-four items in the volume. In all there are one hundred and twenty-two songs and three hundred and twenty-three tunes—for in different localities or in the mouths of different singers a song may have four or five, sometimes ten or more, different tunes. The texts also vary widely. The two hundred and eighty-four tunes of Mr. Sharp's collecting were found in a rather small territory in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, and at Charlottesville, Virginia. He has collected many more since then, and holds out the prospect of another volume soon. In the Introduction he describes the life and manners of the mountaineers, the peculiarities of their music, the place it holds in their culture, and its relation to the folk-song of the mother country. At the end of the volume are brief but extremely helpful notes listing versions previously printed in the chief British publications, in Child's work, and in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.

Mr. Sharp divides the collection into fifty-five 'ballads' and sixty-seven 'songs.' The distinction is, as he acknowledges, more or less arbitrary. It is not apparent, for instance, why *Poor Omie* should be accounted a song rather than a ballad, or why *Awake, Awake* (better known as *The Drowsy Sleeper*) should be accounted a ballad rather than a song. Of the fifty-five, thirty-seven are ballads found in Child's collection (Nos. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 20, 26, 49, 53, 54, 62, 68, 73, 74, 75, 79, 81, 84, 85, 93, 95, 99, 155,

200, 209, 243, 248, 272, 274, 277, 278, 286, 295, 299). That is, in this limited field and in these few weeks Mr. Sharp found more than half the total number of the Child ballads heretofore reported from American tradition, and added three to the list—for *Johnnie Scot* (99), *The Grey Cock* (248), and *The Suffolk Miracle* (272) had not been recorded before. Certain others had been found but seldom, e. g., *Edward* (13) and *The False Knight upon the Road* (3). It should be noted, however, that this last seems to have lived better in the new land than in the old. Child knew it only from Motherwell's recording; in this country it has been found, with interesting variations of form, in Maine, Missouri, and now in Tennessee and North Carolina. Indeed, Mr. Sharp notes that about a third of these ballads—Nos. 3, 11, 13, 18, 49, 62, 68, 81, 99, 248, and 272, including such ballad masterpieces as *Edward*, *Fair Annie*, *The Two Brothers* and *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*—have not been recorded in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, and are therefore presumably extinct in English tradition.

Among the ballads found by Mr. Sharp but not admitted to Child's collection some are of unusual interest. *In Seaport Town*, which has been several times recorded in recent years in both England and America, but of which no printed copy has been found, tells in vulgar ballad style the fifth story of the fourth day of the *Decameron*, but without the pot of basil or the buried head. *The Shooting of His Dear* (otherwise known as *Polly Van*) embodies the folk belief that a spirit may return to rescue a loved one from danger. *The Three Butchers*, often printed as a stall ballad in England, is an admirable ballad story effectively told, and one is glad to find it still alive in America. All but one of the eighteen (and that one is but the hack-balladist's variation on a familiar theme) are known in the mother country either in tradition or as stall ballads or in both ways. One wonders whether Mr. Sharp failed to find or preferred not to record such well established American favorites as *The Silver Dagger* and *Fuller and Warren*. Another widely known American ballad, *McAfee's Confession*, is represented by a fragment of three stanzas which Mr. Sharp places among his 'songs' under the title *Harry Gray*.

Of no less interest to the student of folk-poetry than the ballads are these 'songs,' especially those of purely lyric character. They run upon a few themes, most often that of love betrayed, with a

few 'simple images simply expressed—the mourning dove, the little sparrow that can fly, as the disconsolate girl cannot, and 'flutter in his breast with tender wings,' the red, red rose and the weeping willow tree, the 'ten thousand miles' of separation, the vow to be faithful until 'the raging sea shall burn' and the crow turn white—the poetical commonplaces of folk-lyric. It is in their very simplicity that their poetical power lies, as Burns, who used them freely, well knew. The fact that these images have an emotional potency by themselves and may be arranged and combined in a great variety of ways makes it hard to say whether any given combination of them is a unitary poem or not. I have amused myself by arranging a series of these songs (the texts only, of course, for the tunes have a unity independent of or at least separable from the words they carry) in my possession in such a way that each is evidently and closely connected with its neighbor but the last of the series has no element in common with the first. A like difficulty sometimes presents itself in ballads, but in the lyrics with added force because these have no definite story, as a ballad has, to determine what elements belong together. They are sometimes spoken of as detritus lyrics, as tho they were but chance aggregations of the *disjecta membra* of earlier unitary poems now lost. In some cases they may be so. More often, I think, the lyric image or thought is the germ, the original creation, having an independent life in tradition and attracting to itself from time to time baser matter until it achieves the form of a song of three or four stanzas; then again losing these adventitious elements and floating free in the folk-memory until it shall gather another body. However that may be, and however various the combinations into which these lyric elements may enter, they do sometimes take fairly definite and persistent shape. *Little Sparrow*, included in all three of the publications here considered, and twice recorded in Missouri, has substantially the same text in all the copies. There is a certain degree of coherence, too, about *The Unconstant Lover*. Miss McGill gives it under the title *The Cuckoo*; a London ballad printer, Evans, issued substantially the same text under the same title a hundred years ago; I have a version from Missouri tradition with a different title, but agreeing pretty closely in text with Miss McGill's. In Mr. Sharp's volume it has been combined with another song (*The Wagoner's Lad* A stzs. 2-5), and has lost the

cuckoo stanza. Versions B and D of *The Wagoner's Lad* are akin to Miss Wyman's *Loving Nancy*; and in this the cuckoo stanza reappears. A still feebler integrity appears in the songs that have gathered about the lines:

Oh, who will shoe my little foot,
And who will glove my hand,
And who will kiss my red and rosy cheeks
While you're in a distant land?

English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians is especially rich in these popular lyrics. It would be of little use to list them here, since the titles are in most cases useless as a means of identification; the student must go thru the texts and all their variants, and learn the tunes too, if he would trace their relation to texts published elsewhere. Many of them can readily be identified, are identified by the editor, with songs that are or have been current among the folk in the old country; others, made of like material and on the same models, are yet in their present American form unknown in English tradition. Mr. Sharp lists a baker's dozen of them that "are not to be found, so far as I have been able to discover, in any of the standard English collections."⁴ A few, like *Sourwood Mountain* and *Harm Link* (better known as *The Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe His Corn*), appear to have sprung up in this country and to reflect American conditions. Yet even they are properly enough comprized under the title of English folk-song; they are the product of the old stock in a new soil.

Much labor and intelligence have been spent, not unprofitably, upon the study of British balladry in this country. It is now time to turn our critical attention to the more elusive but probably even more fruitful study of the folk-lyric—a study which can be prosecuted successfully only when folk-music, which is an integral not to say the basic element of folk-song, is given its due place. Of such a study these three collections, and especially the last, are at once a means and a promise.

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⁴ There is an error in this list, perhaps a misprint. *William and Polly* is clearly the same as *Lisbon*, printed by Mr. Sharp himself in the *Jour. of the Folk Song Society*, II, 22.

JOHN FLETCHER AND THE *GESTA ROMANORUM*

Some years ago I pointed out (*Mod. Lang. Notes* xxiv, 76-77) the fact that the dénouement (Act v, sc. 4) of *The Queen of Corinth* by Fletcher, Massinger, and Field is derived from the tale of the two maidens and their seducer found in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 33, p. 440). This story presents the rival claims of two maidens violated by the same man. When the man is brought to trial, each of the maidens invokes one of the alternative penalties of a law which permitted the injured party to choose whether she would have the offender killed or would have him make reparation through marriage. In all essentials the scene in the play follows the story.

A later reading of the plays that appear under the names of Beaumont and Fletcher has convinced me that the above-mentioned story is not the only one borrowed by Fletcher and his collaborators from the *Gesta Romanorum*. In Act iv, sc. 5 of the *Loyal Subject*,—a play for which Fletcher is solely responsible,—Archas is threatened with death because of an offence that “carries a strangeness in the circumstance,” to quote the phrase of Borosky, the accuser. The circumstance so strange bears too striking an analogy to the story in the *Gesta Romanorum* entitled “Emperor Titus (Of the Knight Who Saved a City and Was Ungratefully Put to Death by Some of Its Inhabitants)” to make it likely that the resemblance is accidental. The story is printed by the Early English Text Society, Extra Series 33, p. 9. The essential incidents common to both the story and the scene in the play are these: A warrior is entreated by the inhabitants of a community, threatened with destruction by an enemy, to rise in its defense. Having no other equipment available, he borrows armor, the use of which is forbidden under penalty of death. He defeats the enemy and saves from destruction the people in whose interest he has put on the armor. Nevertheless, he is accused by malicious individuals within the community, who demand the enforcement of the law. In his own defense he pleads that his deed is an honorable one, that had he failed to make use of the forbidden armor, all would have been destroyed. According to the version in the *Gesta*, the

judge dismisses the charge, but "the false traitours that accused him slowe" the knight. Fletcher, however, finds a more happy solution for his loyal subject, who not only escapes with his life but becomes the father-in-law of his sovereign.

Owing to the fact that in the two instances above cited the *Gesta* clearly served as the source of scenes in the dramas, I am emboldened to suggest that to some extent the tale entitled "Dolfinus a Wise Emperoure (How a Prophecy Was Fulfilled)" influenced the plot, especially the dénouement (Act v, sc. 4) of the plot, of *A King and No King*. Prof. Ashley H. Thorndike has ingeniously suggested (*The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*, p. 82) that in a passage of Fauchet's *Les Antiquitez et Histoires Gauloises et Françoises* and the situation developed from it in *Thierry and Theodoret* we have the source of *A King and No King*, and such a conclusion seems to me well sustained. But it is not impossible, in my opinion, that the story from the *Gesta* may have had a contributing influence. The points of similarity between the story in the *Gesta* and in *A King and No King* are as follows: In both accounts a newly-born male child is taken from its parents by order of a ruler: in *A King and No King* by Arene, the queen, who desires to deceive the king into believing that it is a child of her own; in "Dolfinus" by the emperor himself on the plea that he wants to nourish it in his palace. In both accounts the child is the prospective heir to the throne: in *A King and No King* because, as a result of the queen's deception, he is believed to be the eldest born of the royal blood; in "Dolfinus" by virtue of a prophetic dream. In both accounts the child stands in the way of the rightful heir to the throne, a daughter (who is already in existence in "Dolfinus" and in *A King and No King* is born subsequent to the adoption); and in each case the child incurs the deadly hatred of the royal parent. The queen in *A King and No King* and Dolfinus in the story so entitled attempt the life of the child but fail in achieving their wicked purpose. Finally in both accounts the difficulty is solved by marrying the rightful heir (the daughter) to the child (now grown to manhood) that innocently stood in the way of her attainment of the throne. The story of "Dolfinus" is printed by the Early English Text Society, Extra Series 33, pp. 206-216.

If the impression above conveyed that the story of Dolfinus influ-

enced the dramatists be accepted, some general conclusions are permissible regarding the use of the three sources cited. In two cases, that of *The Queen of Corinth* and *A King and No King*, the derived story is applied in the dénouement, introducing an element of surprise and giving a startling culmination to the plot, at the same time smoothing out difficulties that seemed insurmountable. In the case of *The Loyal Subject* the borrowed story is introduced at a turning point in the plot and precipitates the solution. All three sources have, therefore, a vital structural part in the dramas.

I have preferred to speak of the dramatists as being collectively borrowers from the *Gesta* where more than one hand was engaged in the writing rather than to assign the credit exclusively to Fletcher. While verse and other tests have enabled critics to discriminate between the contributions of the collaborators, the task of determining their respective parts in the construction as distinguished from the writing of any particular drama presents greater difficulties. Nevertheless, such evidence, admittedly not final, as can be applied weighs in favor of Fletcher. In the first place, as the exclusive author of *The Loyal Subject*, he was solely responsible for the borrowing in that play. *The Loyal Subject* is very close in sequence if not actually contiguous to *The Queen of Corinth*. *The Queen of Corinth* was probably acted early in 1618 and *The Loyal Subject* was licensed by Buck November 16 of the same year (Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 206). One is tempted, in view of this fact, to conjecture that Fletcher, a short time before or during the composition of these plays, was reading or rereading the *Gesta* and was responsible for the introduction of the story in *The Queen of Corinth* as well as in *The Loyal Subject*.

Scene 4 of Act v of *A King and No King*, in which occurs the situation that to some extent may have been influenced by the story of "Dolfinus," critics are practically unanimous in assigning to Beaumont. Scene 2 of Act III of *Thierry and Theodoret*, in which a parallel passage occurs, is probably also his. Very much the same situation occurs, however, after a lapse of years in Act III, sc. 2 of *The Maid in the Mill*,—a play in which Beaumont, being then dead, could not have had a part. Fleay assigns this scene to Fletcher (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 217). On the authority of Herrick "the rare plot" of *A King and No*

King was Fletcher's achievement. It may well be, therefore, that though scene 4 of Act v of *A King and No King* was written by Beaumont, it was conceived by Fletcher.

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KEATS: *The Eve of St. Mark*

In *The Bookman* (London) for October, 1906 (pp. 16-17), there was printed for the first time an interesting fragment of Keats's poetry, found by Mr. H. Buxton Forman in a scrap-book belonging to a Mr. Frank T. Sabin. The fragment is a rejected passage of *The Eve of St. Mark*, and runs as follows (I copy as exactly as possible the photographic reproduction in *The Bookman*):

Gif ye wol stonden hardie wight—
Amiddes of the blacke night—
Right in the churchè porch, pardie
Ye wol behold a companie
Appouchen thee full dolourouse
For sooth to sain from everich house
Be it in City or village
Wol come the Phantom and image
Of ilka gent and ilka carle
Whom coldè Deathè hath in parle
And wol some day that very year
Touchen with foulè venime spear
And sadly do them all to die—
Hem all shalt thou see verilie—
And everichon shall by thee pass
All who must die that year Alas

The lines are in Keats's handwriting, much corrected, as though this were the first draft of them; they are immediately followed, says Mr. Forman (*Poetical Works of John Keats*, Oxford, 1910, p. 1),¹ by lines 99 ff. of the poem as it usually stands—

—Als writith he of swevenis,
Men han beforn they wake in bliss,
Whanne that hir friendes thinke hem bound
In crimped shroude farre under grounde;

¹ See also *The Bookman*, October, 1906, p. 16.

And how a litling child mote be
 A saint er its nativitie,
 Gif that the modre (God her blesse!)
 Kepen in solitarinesse,
 And kissen devoute the holy croce.

Long before the discovery of the rejected lines, Dante Gabriel Rossetti had noted ² that the legend of St. Mark's Eve ran that if on that evening "a person . . . placed himself near the church porch when twilight was thickening, he would behold the apparitions of those persons in the parish who were to be seized with any severe disease that year go into the church. If they remained there, it signified their death; if they came out again, it portended their recovery."

It is evident from the discovered lines that Keats originally intended his unfinished poem to concern itself with this legend; and the question at once arises, why did he not include the lines? They are quite as meritorious as the pseudo-Middle English passage which was retained; and moreover they furnish an essential connection between the supposed plot of the poem and the situation as we have it. Bertha is sitting alone, reading an old book. The book is described minutely, and is apparently of great importance in the story. Now if the tradition already quoted is to be followed—if Bertha is somehow to be shown a vision of those who are to die that year (and the fact that it is all taking place on St. Mark's Eve would make that probable, even if we did not have the rejected lines)—it is necessary to the unity of the story that the book should play some part in it; and the natural way is for Bertha, in her reading, to come upon the legend. In other words, the omission of the passage actually detracts from the clearness of the poem, always supposing that the hypothesis of Keats's sticking to the legend is true.

Let us now consider the history of *The Eve of St. Mark* as we know it. On February 14, 1819, Keats wrote to his brother and sister-in-law in America,

"In my next packet I shall send you my *Pot of Basil*, *St. Agnes' Eve*, and, if I should have finished it, a little thing called *The Eve of St. Mark*. . . . I have not gone on with *Hyperion*, for, to tell the truth, I have not been in great cue for writing lately."

² See *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. E. de Sélincourt, London, 1905, p. 525.

At this time, then, Keats was either at work on the poem or had written a part of it and laid it aside.

He mentions it again in a letter to his brother written from Winchester seven months later—September 20, 1819:

“Some time since I began a poem called *The Eve of St. Mark*, quite in the spirit of town quietude. I think it will give you the sensation of walking about an old country town in a coolish evening. I know not yet whether I shall ever finish it. I will give it as far as I have gone—*ut tibi placeret*,” and then follows the poem, in just what form is doubtful.³

As for the date of the rejected passage, Mr. Forman says (p. li), “It is not clear which was written last, the draft whereof the new passage is a fragment, or the [British] Museum copy [which follows the accepted text], which is also a much revised draft.”

Leaving this for the present, we must now consider another poem of Keats’s—*The Cap and Bells*, begun soon after the poet’s return from that visit to Winchester already mentioned. Charles Brown says of this:

“By chance our conversation turned on the idea of a comic faery poem in the Spenser stanza, and I was glad to encourage it. He had not composed many stanzas before he proceeded in it with spirit. It was to be published under the feigned authorship of ‘Lucy Vaughan Lloyd,’ and to bear the title of *The Cap and Bells*, or, which he preferred, *The Jealousies*.”

Brown is writing of the period immediately after October 8, 1819, on which date Keats returned from Winchester. Keats himself mentions the poem in letters of February, 1820 and of May or June, 1820; in both he has laid it aside, but hopes soon to take it up again.

The relation between *The Cap and Bells* and *The Eve of St. Mark* has frequently been noticed. *The Cap and Bells* has as its hero a fairy emperor, Elfinan, who is betrothed to Bellanaine, a princess of his own race. He confides to Hum the soothsayer, however, that he is in love with an earthly maid named Bertha, who lives “at Canterbury with her old grand-dame.” Hum replies that

³ The letter was first printed in the *New York World*, June 25 and 26, 1877, which seems (see *Works of John Keats*, ed. H. Buxton Forman, London, 1889, vol. iv, p. 19 note) to have omitted the poem. See also *Poetical Works*, ed. H. B. Forman, Oxford, 1910, p. li.

this Bertha is a changeling, "born at midnight in an Indian wild"; that that very evening, St. Mark's Eve, is the only time she can be stolen from her home. He gives Elfinan "an old and legend-leaved book, mysterious to behold," and tells him to lay it on Bertha's table, where it will "help [his] purpose dearly": it is "the potent charm that shall drive Bertha to a fainting fit." Elfinan, armed with the book, departs on his journey; he is invisible, and is to "be in Kent by twelve o'clock at noon." Here the story, or that part of it with which we are concerned, is broken off. It is impossible to guess how Keats would have brought about its *dénouement*; but we are at least safe in surmising that in some way the book, brought under Bertha's eye by the invisible Elfinan, would have caused her to faint, and that then the fairy would have made an attempt (whether successful or not there is no telling) to abduct her.

The Eve of St. Mark ends almost immediately after the quoted lines from the old book over which Bertha has been poring all day. We are told—

At length her constant eyelids come
Upon the fervent martyrdom;
Then lastly to his holy shrine,
Exalt amid the tapers' shine
At Venice—

Cetera desunt.

In view of all this, does it not seem at least plausible that when Keats began *The Eve of St. Mark* early in 1819 (or even before this) he intended following the legend connected with the day, and that the leaf from Mr. Sabin's scrap-book represents a fragment of his original draft (it is not unlikely that he would write his "Middle English" passage separately); that he laid the poem aside until months after, when he was reminded of it by the cathedral town of Winchester; and that then he rewrote it, leaving out the lines which foretold the end because he had decided not to use the tradition in his poem, but to write an entirely different story—a story which a few weeks later he tried to tell in another form? On this assumption, the British Museum manuscript would represent his second attempt at *The Eve of St. Mark*, made at Winchester after he had changed his plot. It is worth noting that in this manuscript there are no alterations of the "Middle English"

lines which remain except the spelling of a few words; it would seem that when Keats came to this part he had it well in mind. This is not the case with the fragment from Mr. Sabin's scrap-book, which bears every evidence of the labors of composition. Moreover, the "als" which begins the passage as it now stands would make it more likely that something preceding it has been dropped than that the rejected lines were an after-thought, composed by Keats on a second consideration of his poem.

Every reader of Keats's letters knows how dissatisfied the poet was with his work, especially during this year of 1819—how he cast about in every direction to find something which should be his true *métier*. This tentativeness explains, of course, the many different kinds of poetry he left, and the fragmentary state of much of it. On November 17, 1819, when he certainly was, or had just been, working at *The Cap and Bells*, he wrote to John Taylor:

"I have come to a determination not to publish anything I have now ready written: but for all that, to publish a poem before long, and that I hope to make a fine one. As the marvelous is the most enticing, and the surest guarantee of harmonious numbers, I have been endeavoring to persuade myself to untether Fancy, and to let her manage for herself. I and myself cannot agree about this at all. Wonders are no wonders to me. I am more at home amongst men and women. I would rather read Chaucer than Ariosto. The little dramatic skill I may as yet have, however badly it might show in a drama, would, I think, be sufficient for a poem. I wish to diffuse the coloring of *St. Agnes' Eve* throughout a poem in which character and sentiment would be the figures to such drapery."

The beginning of this extract shows plainly that the poem he desired to write as yet existed only in his mind; and mixed with it there, I think, was the unfinished (for us) story of Bertha, which he had already lately attempted in two ways. He had many doubts concerning this: the satirical, fanciful treatment he had just given it in *The Cap and Bells* (which, let us note, he had not wholly abandoned so late as May or June of the following year) he did not feel fully in sympathy with; "the coloring of *St. Agnes' Eve*" (probably a reference to *The Eve of St. Mark*, which has much of the same atmosphere as *The Eve of St. Agnes*) seemed to him at the moment of writing to be the better method. He was evidently vacillating between two widely different ways of treating the same subject, and was not even sure, on account of its "marvelous"

quality, that the subject suited him. He ended by doing nothing at all with it; and even had he lived it is very likely that he would never have found his way out of this particular dilemma. He had what he must have considered a good story; but he could not decide how best to tell it.

What that story was to be no one can say. I am, however, certain that it would have been substantially the same in both *The Eve of St. Mark* and *The Cap and Bells*, and that it would not have been the old legend of St. Mark's Eve, already considered and discarded. An additional scrap of evidence occurs in line 69 of *The Eve of St. Mark*, which runs,

Down she sat, poor cheated soul!

The British Museum manuscript shows a cancelled reading of this line—

The Maiden lost in dizzy maze.

There does not seem to be much point, as the poem stands, or in view of the tradition, in calling Bertha a "poor cheated soul"; yet Keats actually preferred to use this epithet. Its aptness can easily be seen if we follow *The Cap and Bells*, and suppose the invisible fairy lover present, tricking Bertha into becoming engrossed in the magic book which is to prove so dangerous to her; also, the fact that she is a changeling would give point to her being called "cheated." Consider these lines from *The Cap and Bells*:

"Good! good!" cried Hum, "I've known her from a child!
She is a changeling of my management;
She was born at midnight in an Indian wild;
Her mother's screams with the striped tiger's blent,
While the torch-bearing slaves a halloo sent
Into the jungles; and her palanquin,
Rested amid the desert's dreariment,
Shook with her agony, till fair were seen
The little Bertha's eyes oped on the stars serene";

and these from *The Eve of St. Mark*:

And how a litling child mote be
A saint er its nativitie,
Gif that the modre (God her blesse!)
Kepen in solitarinesse,
And kissen devoute the holy croce.

If Keats meant to make these words which Bertha read from her book awaken ideas concerning her own birth and character in her mind, the true facts as set forth in *The Cap and Bells* would lend full force to the "cheated."

It is, of course, possible that Keats's first idea for *The Eve of St. Mark* was changed, earlier than I have here suggested ⁴—even before he first referred to the poem in February, 1819. The important thing, however, is that it probably was changed; and his renewed interest in the whole matter in the autumn of 1819 makes that a likely time for the altered story to have occurred to him.

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THE PAMPHLETS OF THE BYRON SEPARATION ¹

"The pageant of his bleeding heart" which Byron bore across Europe resembles other pageants in that behind it one finds a litter of paper and odds and ends; bibliographers, those patient sweepers, have been busy gathering them up ever since, yet, despite their efforts to collect them into the proper receptacles, many scraps are still blowing about the world. In these unconsidered trifles, as in all the relics that humanity leaves behind it on its stormful journey across the astonished earth, I find something of interest, something of pathos. Five stages in Byron's pageant are specially marked for us by the amount of litter that remains: the period immediately

⁴ Sir Sidney Colvin, in his recent life of Keats (New York, 1917), gives it as his belief that "Keats never got on with this poem after his first three or four days' work" (p. 437).

¹ From a large quantity of material that the writer has been gathering for several years in preparation for a study of the prestige of Byron in England, to be completed, it is hoped, by the centennial anniversary of his death, it is possible, and seems worth while, to publish certain selections of sufficient interest in themselves to stand alone. Part of this material has already appeared in the *New York Nation*, in *Notes and Queries*, and in *Modern Language Notes*. This method of calling attention to various items of Byroniana serves by way of invitation to other specialists to make suggestions with regard to *addenda* and *corrigenda*. In the present instance I shall be very glad to hear of other pamphlets dealing with the period of the separation.

following his separation from his wife; the period from 1819 on, when the English world was scandalized openly and secretly delighted by *Don Juan*; the years that followed Byron's death, when the first attempts were being made to judge and appraise his work and career; 1869-70, when the Stowe scandal was much discussed; and 1898-1906, when the publication of the definitive edition of his works and the *Astarte* "revelations" turned attention to him anew. It is with the first stage that I am here concerned; not with the old unhappy far-off story of the separation itself but with the comment, set forth in quaint, shabby little pamphlets, that it evoked.

The strain of vulgarity in Byron which shocked Matthew Arnold was mixed with an even more repellant strain of what our ancestors called "sensibility." Something of both these qualities went to the making of the poem "Fare thee well!" into which Byron poured his overwrought feelings in the spring of 1816 at the time of the separation and which, unwisely, he printed for private circulation among his friends. I do not think that he intended to publish these verses and the companion satiric *Sketch* of Lady Byron's housekeeper; but the two pieces were piratically printed in the *Champion* newspaper of April 14, 1816, and from its columns were widely copied in the press. There followed immediately a number of pirated editions of Lord Byron's *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances*, among the publishers being R. Edwards and the redoubtable William Hone, both of them men whose names occur frequently in the history of Byron's early reputation. An incredible number of these issues appeared from various presses,² Hone's pamphlet alone, going through fifteen editions in 1816. And as they grew in number these collections increased also in size, taking on accretions in the shape of various spurious pieces, political and personal, that were audaciously attributed to Byron. (The history of these forg-

² The list of these editions in Mr. E. H. Coleridge's bibliography, notwithstanding the admirable care with which that compilation is put together, is not complete. For example: *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances by Lord Byron . . . to which is prefixed, The Life of the Noble Author*. London: Richard Edwards, 1816, which is of some importance because of Edwards' other connections with Byron bibliography, is omitted. In this pamphlet all the poems are genuine save "O Shame to thee, Land of the Gaul," concerning the curious history of which piece I shall have something to say on another occasion.

eries will be found in some notes on "The Byron Apocrypha" that I am going to publish presently.) Public opinion was against Byron, the more so because the private scandal synchronized with the publication of certain lines against the Prince Regent and with certain others that were thought to betray an unpatriotic sympathy with Napoleon. The personal and political *motifs* intermingle in a sort of counterpoint.

Lady Byron was a good, well-meaning and odious creature. "She should have married Wordsworth," Henley once remarked; "he would have had plenty of opportunity to learn 'how awful goodness is.'" Being good, well-meaning and odious, she had the British public back of her. They rushed into print in her defense.³ Richard Edwards, having helped stir up interest by pirating Byron's pieces, published *Lady Byron's Responsive "Fare thee well"* (London, 1816) which is described in an introductory note as "the offering of a common friend of the persons most nearly concerned." The poem is in 23 four-line stanzas and is dated April 29, 1816. Lady Byron is made to assert her continuing love for her husband and to declare that she and her lord were parted by treachery. In the future she will renew in her child's face his "thrice dear lineaments" (an anticipation of "Is thy face like thy mother's, my fair child?"). "Every glimpse of future gladness" has vanished from her; but her doubts, fears and woe would cease did she know that Byron was at peace. This production is followed by nine stanzas called *Conciliator to Lady Byron* in which she is urged to

"put forth a hand
The more than classic head to raise."

A son of Phoebus must be expected to roam wide; Daphne and Thetis must both be loved; Christian forgiveness (apparently despite the confusion of theologies) must be practiced.

"I countenance no debauchees;—
I urge no justifying prayer;—
I joy to see him on his knees;
But wilt thou not receive him there?"

³ Many of these pieces, despite the diligence of various workers, especially Elze and Kölbing, are here described for the first time. It is strange how comparatively ignored they have been by most of Byron's biographers.

So shall the darling of the Nine
 Bless thee with unremitting love:—
 So shall the little darling join
 In chorus with the blest above."

As unctuously charitable as this is *A Reply to Fare thee Well!!! Lines Addressed to Lord Byron*. [Motto] London: R. S. Kirby, 1816. This is a hoax, the pretended author being Lady Byron. It is in 21 four-line stanzas. Lady Byron declares that Love, if nursed by fond affection, endures forever, but that neglect and insult kill it. Yet she has compassion on Byron's frailties and admits his "matchless talent." What a pity that he allowed himself to be led astray! "The tender pledge of soft affection" will "oft revive fond recollection"; perhaps the prayers of mother and daughter will gain pardon for Byron's errors; he is already forgiven by his wife. This is followed by *To a Sleeping Infant*, "by the same," in nine stanzas. If "the pledge of love" knew how "that breast is fraught with woe" she would refuse to be fed "from sorrow's stream." And much more to like effect.

A third *Reply to Lord Byron's "Fare thee Well"* (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, 1817) is in a different tone, its hostility towards the poet being unmixed with any charity towards his faults. "Talk not of sever'd love," exclaims the author (who signs himself "C"), while you boast of your errors. You have the

"Sceptic's art
 To charm the fancy—but corrupt the heart."

A companion piece from the same press, in the same year, and (judging from the style) by the same hand, is: *Lines Addressed to Lady Byron*. This is very sympathetic in tone and bids her Ladyship trust in God in whom peace will be found and find consolation in "her little form rear'd on thy bosom." A great deal of "sensitivity" was evidently expended by worthy people upon Ada, future Countess of Lovelace!

The fashion of replying to *Fare thee Well* did not quickly die out; as late as 1825 one finds *Lady Byron's Reply to her Lord's Farewell, with Referential Notes to the Lines in Lord Byron's Poem particularly alluded to by her Ladyship*. This title is given by Bertram Dobell in *Notes and Queries* (6th Series, vi, 17), without a publisher's name. I have been unable to discover a copy. H. Sculthorp (*ibid.*) says: "A gentleman . . . hazarded the assertion that [these

lines] were composed for Lady Byron by Campell, the poet." This is at least possible, for Campbell was a friend of her Ladyship, and later ill repaid the favors done him by Byron by blackguarding his memory at the time of the appearance of Moore's *Life*.

Byron's satiric *Sketch from Private Life* (on Mrs. Clermont, Lady Byron's companion) occasioned the bitter parody: *A Sketch from Public Life: A Poem founded upon recent Domestic Circumstances; with Weep not for me! and other Poems*, London: William Hone, 1816. This was probably written by that picturesque fire-brand, Hone, himself, who annoyed Byron on various later occasions. A prose foreword notes that this *Sketch* is designed as "an antidote to the poison" of Byron's poem. In the verses themselves "Harold" is called "a base, un-loved, un-loving, sordid elf" who feels only for himself. The public has been "gulled into admiration of a knave." His song shall not protect him:

"Injured power of Virtue! come along!
And crush the worm through all its slime of song."

The fallen weak are merely pitiable; but derision and contempt follow the great who are vile and base. They shall live

"and wish in vain to die,
Scorched in the burning sun of infamy."

A charitable and sane account of the separation is contained in the prose *Narrative of the Circumstances which attended the Separation of Lord and Lady Byron; Remarks on his Domestic Conduct, and a complete Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated by Public Writers*, London: Richard Edwards, 1816. It declares that Byron, exposed by his talents to the "shafts and sarcasms of pretenders," has foiled all their attacks on his poetry. They now attempt to deform his character. There is a long account of the methods employed by such assailants. The public has a right to know the true explanation of the affair. There follows a fairly accurate account of Lady Byron's departure from her home and of her suddenly announced resolution (following more than one friendly letter) not to return there. The "panders to a depraved taste" who have perverted this plain tale are denounced; and the pamphlet ends: "Recal him, recal him, noble Lady; be yours the gentle hand stretched out to save him; recal him to your heart," etc., etc.

Byron's departure for the continent created a new sensation one

result of which was the publication of some extremely censorious *Lines on the Departure of a Great Poet from his Country*, London: John Booth, 1816. The preface begins:

"However great the poetical merits of that celebrated person may be, who has for some years past been wearying the public with the waywardness of his fancies, and the gloom of a misguided imagination, the blemishes of his character are equally glaring."

The author's object is to give "at least one public expression" to sentiments generally held concerning these blemishes; the justification for such personalities may be found in Byron's own publication of his domestic pieces. The poem begins:

"From native England, that endur'd too long
The ceaseless burden of his impious song,
His mad career of crimes and follies run,
And grey in vice when life was scarce begun;
He goes . . ."

Does he leave friends behind? No: all "suppress the generous tear." Genius still dwells in that sinful mind, but she holds a barren court there. There are no signs of repentance. Byron may scorn these lines, but his heart must confess the truth of this "plain picture of [his] guilt and woe." The whole closes with a final appeal to repent:

"Wert thou advanc'd beyond all bards in fame,
In wit unrivall'd—as thou art in shame—
How would it profit thee in time to come,
When summon'd to thy last most dreaded home,
Tho' praise should dwell upon thy latest verse,
Tho' mournful Muses should adorn thy hearse,
To be recorded, when thy race is run,
England's best Poet, and her guiltiest Son?"

Two sets of spurious poems accompanied Byron's departure from England: *Lord Byron's Farewell to England* . . . (London: J. Johnson, 1816) and *Reflections on Shipboard, by Lord Byron* (London: Kirby and Allason, 1816). These are sufficiently related to the separation-theme to require mention here, but I reserve a detailed account of them for my notes on the various Byron forgeries. There, too, will be found a description of the curious piece, *Lord Byron's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (London: J. Johnston, 1817), which is more remotely connected with the separation.

The most disreputable of all the pamphlets concerning the separa-

tion is *Leon to Annabella. An Epistle after the Manner of Ovid* (London: MacJohn, Raymur and Co.). This piece should be classed among the Byron fraudulent poems except that the motto, "Se non è vero, è ben trovato" is a confession that it is a hoax. A prose "Notice to the Reader" recounts how the confused fragments of manuscript from which the poem was pieced together were found in a peasant's hut near the roadside outside of Pisa, where an English gentleman "whose name could not be learned" used to come to shoot at a target. The poem occupies fourteen pages; it is in rimed couplets; and pretends to be by Byron himself. It narrates his evil upbringing; his marriage; his growing disillusionment; the separation; and his flight from England. It is very coarse and cynical. The pamphlet is printed in a most slovenly fashion. It is undated, but belongs evidently to the Venetian period of Byron's life. It is of the utmost rarity, the only copy that I have ever heard of being in the library of Mr. J. P. Morgan, through whose courtesy I have been permitted to examine it. In 1866 it was reprinted along with the shameless fabrication *Don Leon*.

As the sensation caused by the private scandal died away adverse criticism turned more exclusively to Byron's impiety and immorality for subjects of attack. This will appear some day from my notes on the *Cain*-pamphlets and the *Don Juan*-pamphlets. An appropriate close to the series of pieces concerning his private affairs is one called forth by *Manfred: An Address to the Right Hon. Lord Byron, with an opinion on some of his writings, by F. H. B.*⁴ (London: Wetton and Jarvis, 1817). This poem begins with an appeal to Byron to "mingle with his kind"—

"The spirit of thy loneliness, the strain
Pervades—'tis seen in Conrad,—and its chill
Gives Lara deeper horror.—Manfred, now,
Surpasses all; cold damp surmounts my brow,
As pond'ring o'er his incantation dread!"

The poet is warned that knowledge misapplied and talents abused "shall work eternal woe." He should make God's glory his theme; his heroes should be virtuous, patient, tender, religious; if Byron aims at Singularity, then let it be the "singularly good." Of

⁴ Not "T. H. B." as given in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, I, 167, and in Lowndes' *Bibliography*, I, 340.

Manfred (which a generation later was to provoke Meredith's satire) a note says:

"Bad as is the age, we yet dare hope and believe no English audience would endure the daring impiety of many of the scenes. Even in the closet it shocks us to peruse dialogues between demons, spirits, a star, a witch, and *Manfred*."

Another note refers to the "Hymn of the Spirits" in the second act: "We forbear to quote the passage, which is dreadfully impious." All this calls to mind the wise disrespectful words:

"Considerably was the world
Of spinsterdom and clergy racked!"

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KING CNUT'S SONG AND BALLAD ORIGINS

King Cnut's song, according to Professor Gummere,¹ gives us our "first example of actual ballad structure and the ballad's metrical form, which is to be met in English records." He quotes the account from the *Historia Eliensis* of 1166. Cnut, with his queen Emma and divers of the great nobles, was coming by boat to Ely, and, as they neared land, the King stood up, and told his men to row slowly while he looked at the great church and listened to the song of the monks which came sweetly over the water. "Then he called all who were with him in the boats to make a circle about him, and in the gladness of his heart he bade them join him in song, and he composed in English a ballad [*cantilenam*] which began as follows:

Murie sungen the muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut ching rew ther by.

Roweth, cnihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches saeng!

The chronicler turns this into Latin, saying then, "and so the rest, as it is sung in these days by the people in their dances, and handed down as proverbial."

The Latin original reads: *quae usque hodie in choris publice*

¹ *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 58 ff., 249; also *Old English Ballads*, 254.

*cantantur; et in proverbiiis memorantur.*² Professor Gummere takes many chances when he translates, with the certainty implied by italics, *in choris publice* as "sung in their dances." The classical Latin *chorus* had three meanings—a choral dance, the persons singing and dancing, and a crowd or throng of any kind. For mediæval Latin *chorus*, the meaning choral dance fades. The citations given by Ducange³ refer to groups of singing people, often ecclesiastics, and they do not imply dancing by the participants in the singing. The presence of the dance element in the twelfth century singing of Cnut's song is anything but certain. But let that pass for the moment. The validity of the song as material for illustration of ballad history turns, it seems to me, upon whether the missing lines are epic or lyric, *i. e.*, whether the piece was a ballad or merely a song. If it was lyrical only, or the chronicler's story of its origin posthumous and spurious, the four lines are of doubtful value for affording us our first glimpse of actual ballad structure. But, granting that the chronicler's story is genuine, or fairly so, and that the missing verses were epic, these things may be noted:

1. The improvisation pictured is the King's, as he is surrounded by his nobles. It is aristocratic, not humble. If the ascription of the song to Cnut himself be denied, the authorship must go to his professional bards.

2. Cnut's song is not, in its origin, a dance song, whether or not it became one. The King's boat would be no appropriate place for a typical festal throng to dramatize a ballad—that species which, according to the current American view, is differentiated from other lyric verse chiefly by having had its origin in the dance. The testimony of the chronicler and of the song itself points to the inference that it started as a rowing song. Many Danish songs seem to have been rowing songs, judging from their refrains. Here are some illustrations:⁴

² Thomas Gale, *Historiæ Britannicæ, Sæxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1691. Vol. I, p. 505. *Quo difficultate ad suam festivitatem Rex Canutus in Ely pervenit, et de longe audiens Monachos cantilenam composuit.*

³ *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*. Equally venturesome is Professor Gummere's translation of *cantilena* as ballad rather than song.

⁴ From *The Mediæval Popular Ballad* of J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, translated by E. G. Cox. The numerical references are to Grundtvig's *Danmark's Gamle Folkeviser*.

All ye row off. No. 124.

Betake yourself to the oar. No. 140.

To the north—

And now lay all these oars beside the ship. No. 460.

Row off noble men!

To the maiden. No. 244 (Norwegian).

Row out from the shore, ye speak with so fair a one! No. 399.

Cnut's song ranges itself very well beside these—

Row, cnihtes, noer the land,

3. As to form, the song presents no very clear testimony. There is rhyme, possibly, though not certainly. The assumption of it necessitates giving the name *Ely* a final accent. The septenar rhythm is absent, as expected in a twelfth century lyric. There is some alliteration, "murie sungen the muneches," and "Cnut ching" and "cnihtes," but this, like the rhyme, may be accidental. The form is not that used by the Old English professional bards, but is more lyrical. Whether there was strophe structure, say two or four lines, rhymeless or rhymed, with refrain,⁵ is not clear from the lines that remain to us. Nor should it be forgotten that they do not come down to us in eleventh but in twelfth century form.

4. If the chronicler gives the history of the song accurately, and Professor Gummere interprets *choris publice* correctly, that history follows a usual process. There is origin among upper circles, descent among and preservation by the people, and utilization of the song by them as a dance song. Compare *The Hunt Is Up* of the reign of Henry VIII, used long after its upper circle origin widely and popularly as a dance song.

If Cnut's song is a ballad, or narrative song, it points to aristocratic emergence for this species, and away from its origin in the festal dances of villagers. I believe, however, that Professor Gummere's latest position⁶ is that, having originated as dance songs, ballads became real ballads, *i. e.*, narrative songs, only by "augmen-

⁵ *Deor's Complaint* from the Exeter Manuscript of Cnut's century, with its two to seven lines plus refrain, has similar structure, but is more literary—is less simple and oral.

⁶ The Popular Ballad, 1907, and his chapter in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1908.

tations," by an "epic process" after they have become "divorced from the dance."

The conditions that produced the mediæval ballads are supposed by Professor Gummere to have prevailed till about the close of the fifteenth century,⁷ after which communal ballads can no more be made, because of changed social conditions; ballad-making becomes a "closed account." The eleventh century ought to be early enough, then, to be valid for illustration of ballad origins. How does Cnut's song help the theories of the communalists, in particular of the Harvard school of communalists? It did not originate in the dance, as it should have done to be an early ballad—indeed we do not know that it was ever a ballad at all, in theme or structure; and, if it was ever utilized as a dance song, it was at a time when it should have been divorcing itself from the dance and submitting to the "epic process."

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REVIEWS

English Pageantry, An Historical Outline. By ROBERT WITHINGTON. Harvard University Press, 1918. Vol. I.

The work presented in Dr. Withington's review of the English pageant will have a broad appeal, and indeed the scope of the first volume is unusually wide. Such material as the first chapter affords on the subjects of folk-mumming, processions, and minstrelsy, is even more comprehensive than that to be found in Brotanek's somewhat similar study of the Masque. If Dr. Withington's discussions seem at times disproportionate, it is often because he prefers to amplify rather than to quote all the known facts about various topics, and because some topics naturally call for more investigation than has been accorded to them hitherto. One may sometimes question the logic of the present arrangement of the substance, as for example when Folk-Mumming, Processions, Men in Armor,

⁷ "Conditions favorable to the making of such pieces ceased to be general after the fifteenth century." *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, xvii, 448.

Giants, and Animals, are treated apparently as parallel categories under the caption Elements of the Pageant. One is inclined to wonder whether it is possible to get an adequate idea of the mummings and ridings without a suggestion as to the extent of the use of men in armor and animals in those fields. Even so, the material is all present somewhere and furnished with an excellent bibliography. In the second chapter he deals with the contribution of the Tournament, of the Early Masque, and of the Morality. Here the elaborate disguisings of a form closer to the pageant, the development of "pageantic" properties, and full accounts of celebrations having possible influence, make the coming of the pageant itself seem more comprehensible. The criticism might be made that many of the examples cited are those of cases which appeared after the pageant was fully developed. Dates are relative, but after the statement "Informal dancing at court seems to be an old tradition" one might well expect something earlier than the instance which immediately follows from 1472. Or again, in a limited study, why mention the tournament of 1609 in Stuttgart? Yet the discussion is useful in showing a comparison of the contemporary growth of allied material. The third chapter covers the "Royal Entry," 1298-1558; the fourth, Elizabethan Pageantry; and the fifth, the "Royal Entry" in the seventeenth century.

So far as sources are concerned, both of the pageant as a type and of its materials, practically all that we find here is dealt with in the first two chapters. One cannot help wishing that the question of foreign influence were more specifically investigated. There is some slight hint of the borrowing from the French, but only incidentally. And since the Court of Love elements in the pageant were so generally utilized, the indebtedness in this respect must have been great. Dr. Withington has referred to the tradition of the castle¹; but he fails to give any idea of the detail or of the importance of this. In 1330 at Valenciennes we find a "grant chasteau" with its "quatre josnes enfans et pa deseuse le dieu d'amours,"² and then in 1377 in England appears a castle with four towers on each of which stands a "beautiful virgin" and "betwixt the towers" a "golden angel."³ Perhaps this is the same device that is displayed in Cheap in 1415.⁴ Castles or similar

¹ P. 101.

² See p. 128.

³ See p. 94.

⁴ P. 134.

devices appear perhaps a dozen or more times in the years that follow. Other material apparently from the Court of Love is the garden of pleasure in 1511; the "Herbar" of 1522; the "Bower of Plenty" in 1604; the garden of 1624; the "field of happiness" (a pun on the mayor's name, Campbell) in 1629; and the "Bower of Blisse" in 1633. Such characters as Deep Desire, Cupid, Venus, Chastity, Modesty, Shamfastnesse, Genius, Amoure loyall, Valyant desyre, Bone joy, Bone volure, Bone espoir, Cuer loyall, seem to come from the same tradition.

It may be asked whether Italy could not have offered as much of this material as France. Although the possibilities there may have been less, owing to the remoteness and to the different style of the allegory,⁵ one may indeed object that the Italian contributions are not more fully entered into. Here and there in the study a footnote alludes to what was going on in Italy,⁶ but one would hardly suspect how much the fifteenth-century Italian pageantry resembles that of the sixteenth century in England. Much that redeemed the English productions from their early chaos may perhaps be found in the structure of the Italian *trionfi*. And although we have many of these, our records of these entertainments are probably not complete. We may only guess at the variety and richness of the undescribed *spectacula* from such reflections as the tablets and descriptions in Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Of this work Ephrussi remarks: "Ici encore Colonna ne puise pas dans son imagination seule les matériaux de ses trop riches descriptions. Petrarque, avec ses Triomphes . . . avait mis à la mode dans les arts ces sortes de fêtes dont s'empara bientôt la réalité."⁷ And he describes survivals of the old triumphs in 1434 and thereafter, a period when English pageantry was somewhat lean. Part One of this very book of Colonna's was translated into Elizabethan English, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and in 1597 was to be found at the booksellers' at Paul's. Facts like this lead us to inquire how much more material was accessible in literary form as well as in the actual entertainments.

And in art, too, the resources for this field were great, partly because allegorical paintings were so much favored in the middle

⁵ Cf., however, Neilson, *Court of Love*, Harvard Studies and Notes, pp. 254 ff.

⁶ See p. 148, n. 4.

⁷ *Etude sur le Songe de Poliphile*, Paris, 1888, p. 49.

ages. When one reads Dr. Withington's description of the pageant for Louis XII in Paris,⁸ where the king is enthroned with Good Counsel on his right and Justice on his left, under his feet Injustice, about him the Church, the People, the Nobility, Power, Union, and Peace, one may think perhaps of the fresco of Good Government done by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in Siena. The tradition goes on in England in 1503,⁹ and in 1558.¹⁰ With issues like these in mind, we may consider the summaries of the elements Biblical, Historical, Romantic, Allegorical,¹¹ and the like, somewhat inadequate, especially in the light of the following extensive note on "Subtleties."

It may not be fair in a study of this kind to ask for critical discussion, and yet in the field of the pageant such a technical review would be particularly illuminating. The development from the good work done by Lydgate, with the remarkable increase in skill in the sixteenth century, the versatility in structure, the influx of a great variety of characters, until one comes to the real art of some of the seventeenth century pageants like Middleton's *Triumph of Truth* in 1613, is instructive to observe for the light that it sheds on the contemporary growth of the drama. Furthermore, in the sixteenth century the Classics come in with a rush in such a *mélange* as: Jupiter, Triton, Neptune, Diana, Sylvanus, the Fawns, Satyrs, Dryads, and Hamadryads, along with Mermaids, Dolphins, Virtue, Noblesse, Equittee, Liberalitee, and Compassion. Topics like this, however, and the allied topic of the influence on the drama of the time are possibly to be studied in Dr. Withington's second volume. Here we may note the use of the Echo theme in the pageant (*e. g.*, 1575) and again in *Old Fortunatus*; the Judgment of Paris familiar in the pageant in 1503 and 1533, and also in the drama. In 1596 Envy is described "like a furie with haire of snakes and a murtherous knife in her hand"; in the *Poetaster* (pro. ll. 5 ff.) we read the speech of Envy:

Here will be subject for my snakes and me.
Cling to my neck and wrists, my loving worms, etc.¹²

⁸ Pp. 163-4.

⁹ P. 169.

¹⁰ P. 200.

¹¹ One may well question Dr. Withington's distinction between allegorical and symbolical. "Allegorical" seems for him chiefly "moral."

¹² See also Dekker's *Troia Nova*, 1612. Interestingly enough Spenser's

And so the interchange of figures goes on, and the old properties are brought forth from the store-room of the pageant to be used again and again or loaned temporarily to the drama. An estimate of the contribution of the pageant in scenery, plot, and character, would be very desirable.

If, however, it is Dr. Withington's purpose merely to give us an accurate account of the material available in the pageant, with only the minimum of comment, leaving everything in the way of critical review to others, one must admit that in general we are more than well served. And in so doing this he had more than usual difficulties to encounter in facing the problem of how much to present and how much to omit. It is sometimes puzzling to discover just what principle did govern the author in this respect. For instance, he seems entirely to neglect to mention the entertainment of October, 1518, although it is one of the combinations of tournament and masque for Henry VIII and is fully presented by Brotanek.¹³ It happens to be particularly interesting for its elaborate emblematic symbolism, and for its use of the device of the rock. Preliminary material of this kind, however, is not the immediate business of the study; more extraordinary is the incomplete account of such episodes in the pageant itself as those which do not appear in the description of one pageant in Arber which Dr. Withington happens to be using,¹⁴ but which are well authenticated elsewhere. For their particular interest I shall quote the accounts of them from Hall:

"Mt. Pernasus [appeared] with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble and iiii streames w^tout pype did rise an ell hye & mette together in a litle cuppe above the fountain, which fountain ranne abundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Apollo & at his feete satte Calliope, and on every syde of the mountain satte iiii Muses playng on several swete instruments, and at their feete Epigrammes & Poyses were written in golden letters, in which every Muse accordyng to her propertie praised the Quene."¹⁵

picture is quite different; see the *Faerie Queen*, I, iv, 30. With Envy's tradition one may also compare Report in 1518 "apparelled in Crimson satyn full of tonges" (Hall, *Union*, p. 595), and Rumor "painted full of tongues" in *Henry the Fourth, Part Two*.

¹³ Brotanek, *Die engl. Maskenspiele*, p. 20; Hall, p. 595; Strutt, p. 161.

¹⁴ Withington, pp. 182 ff.; Arber, *English Garner*, II, pp. 46 ff.

¹⁵ Hall, p. 801. See Withington, p. 182, n. 5.

Here we find the Otherworld mountain and streams; and later we have the castle:

"Upon the conduite was made a toune (*sic*) with iiii Turrettes, and in every Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, which had several speches, promisyng the Quene never to leave her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her. And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche several solempne instrumentes, that it semed to be an heavenly noyse, and was much regarded and praised, and beside this the said Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoon."¹⁶

Dr. Withington says merely that "Arber's account mentions a tower with four turrets and vanes, wherein were music and singing children. This must be the conduit."¹⁷ Hall would have settled the matter and cleared up the details.

The footnotes in the work are ample but need some further additions, and some points in the discussion need brief criticism. P. 3, note 3, here belongs the allusion to the Dunmow Flitch in the *Wife of Bath's* prologue, ll. 217. P. 13, here may be added a reference to the processions in the Germanic cult of Nerthus (Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 234 ff. gives a convenient account). Compare p. 50, n. 4. P. 19, in relation to the matters discussed here one might well include a note on *The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend*, N. Y., 1917, by L. A. Andrews. P. 24, n. 1, add Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, N. Y., pp. 128 ff. The entire discussion of St. George does not seem the fruit of a careful working over of all the available material in criticism as well as in legendary lore. For instance, it is hardly illuminating and certainly not true in the historical sense to say that St. George "is—after all—nothing but an armed knight," (p. 47) or indeed to apply a similar comment to Arthur (p. 79), unless more is adduced in relation to the antiquity of the "armed knights" in the pageant as a class. P. 50, n. 4, here add Robinson, "Human sacrifice among the Irish Celts," *Kittredge Anniversary Vol.*, pp. 185 ff. P. 51, n. 2, "The Judas-burning of foreign sailors in English ports (cf. above, p. 16)." There is a slip here. On p. 16, the burning is not of Judas; and it is apparently not conducted by sailors. P. 54, the "metallic giants" are Otherworld figures and

¹⁶ Hall, p. 801-2; Withington, p. 184, n. 4.

¹⁷ P. 184, n. 4.

might be noted as such, along with a good deal of other material in the tradition from romances and from the Court of Love. For a study of the type some reference should be made to the article by Professor Bruce, *Modern Philology* x, pp. 511 ff. P. 54, n. 2, "Lebeaus" misprint for Libeaus. P. 89, n. 4, here ought to be some allusion to *The Three Days' Tournament*, J. L. Weston, D. Nutt, London, 1902. P. 90, and p. 95, n. 1, such a statement in regard to the source of the Round Table should not be made without some regard at least to Brown's essay "The Round Table before Wace," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, vii, pp. 183 ff. P. 92, n. 6, here seems to be an implication, which of course Dr. Withington does not mean, that "burghers" is the English form of "bourgeois," when as a matter of fact that form is "burgess." P. 109, n., "Gynewulf's" misprint for Cynewulf's.

P. 136, n. 1, also p. 109, the idea that the pageant is much indebted to the morality play may be tested by comparing the groups of figures in each type. Chambers (ii, pp. 151 ff.) finds that the following four themes led to the establishment of the morality: the Antichristus, the Danse Macabre, the Four Daughters of God, and the Conflict of Vice and Virtue. Of these, the Antichrist theme does not seem to appear at all; Death, of the Danse Macabre, appears but twice—1596, 1639, and never in relation to this theme; the vices and virtues of the last two themes appear in scattered succession, so that there is hardly any reflection of the conflict involved, and then usually in traditional groups such as the Seven Deadly Sins, The Three Theologic Virtues, and the Four Cardinal Virtues. Certainly allegorical literature in general will explain these treatments as much as any influence from the morality. And an examination of the figures in the sixteenth century productions will show a wide divergence from the morality equipment. P. 147, and p. 165, Dr. Withington thinks that a classical element "may be said to have appeared" in Precyane, Aristotle, Boece, Pyktegoras, Euclid, and Albmusard, who stand by the figures of the Seven Liberal Arts in 1432. This statement is without importance in regard to the approach of the Renaissance; for nothing could be more thoroughly mediæval than this allegory. And Dr. Withington gives the adequate corrective when he says later (p. 165): "It is interesting to note that the first appearance of the classical element in pageantry . . . is made in Edinburgh" in 1503. P. 150, n. 2,

the "pageant" of the Nine Worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* is surely not an interlude, but rather a masquerade. P. 207, n. 4, add Brotanek, *Eng. Maskensp.*, p. 22 f., pp. 326 ff.; and Chambers, II, pp. 263 ff., pointing out that Gascoigne omits the "Coventrie." See also Strutt, pp. 162 ff. I happen to have an edition of the "Princely Pleasures" printed by John Merridew, 1825, which is not in Greg's list cited by Dr. Withington. Finally this bibliography on the Kenilworth festivities should also contain Schelling, *The Queen's Progress*, Boston and N. Y., 1904, pp. 1 ff.

From the foregoing observations and suggestions the impression may easily be gained that much of importance is wanting in Dr. Withington's book. But if a criticism is to be really useful it must lay more emphasis on the deficiencies than on the merits of a work, with the possibility of pointing out future lines of investigation. Criticism would err seriously in this case, however, if it failed to make clear that the defects are chiefly of a very minor character and that they are greatly outweighed by the value of the study as a whole. Pageant material is exceedingly scattered, and confused and confusing, and as a rule lacking in organization. Dr. Withington has produced order and clarity. He has rendered much that has been unknown accessible, and has made the task of him who perhaps did not wish to investigate the entire troublesome field but needed only to ascertain a few facts in their proper background light indeed. Perhaps it is because this volume is so much more than the "historical outline" which it purports to be, that we expect every possible phase of the subject to be dealt with. The fact remains that within its limits it is authoritative, besides being entertaining and readable.

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The Classical Influence in English Literature in the Nineteenth Century, and Other Essays and Notes. By WILLIAM CHISLETT, JR. Boston, The Stratford Co., 1918.

Dr. Chislett has essayed an ambitious task. To trace the influence of the ancient world upon the literature of a century in one hundred and fifty pages, of which only forty-seven are specifically devoted to this purpose, is a fairly formidable design. What the

book actually furnishes, however, is chiefly a set of jottings from the author's notebooks, but slightly digested, and in many cases only remotely connected with the theme announced. The desultory character of the work is emphasized by its form of presentation. It consists, except for the introduction and conclusion, of long lists of names with a sentence of two attached to each, after the following fashion: "Jane Austen reacted against the Gothic romance, and wrote six realistic novels of the best type showing distinct traces of her knowledge of French.—Charlotte and Emily Bronte also knew French, together with a little Latin from their father. Emily's *Wuthering Heights* has been compared to Greek tragedy, but it is lacking in restraint; a quality on the other hand, which characterizes most of her exceedingly subjective poetry.—Miss Mitford is still read for her *Our Village*: among her dramas *Rienzi* was successful.—Mrs. Gaskell's books show fineness and poise, especially her *Cranford* and *Cousin Phillis*." Occasionally, it is but just to say, these compressed estimates have rather more pith in them. Christina Rossetti is summed up happily enough when we are told that she "knew Homer, temperamentally, at second hand, through her brothers and sisters and a haze of modern world-weariness. She is both finely Greek and exquisitely English, however, in her lyrical *Venus's Looking-Glass*"; and there is a rather neat epitome for Robert Louis Stevenson: "Stevenson was a realistic romanticist who appreciated Homer, caught the Greek spirit, praised Latin for its conciseness, knew Roman Law, imitated Cicero, quoted Virgil and Horace, admired Martial, and called Petronius "silly stuff."

Dr. Chislett evidently aims in his little appraisals at what he calls in the introduction "classical brevity." Unfortunately many of them are notable only for brevity, and some have hardly enough of that quality. Such tags as the following might without loss have been made even shorter: "Dora Greenwell's *Demeter and Cora* records a conversation between Demeter and Proserpine"; "Robert Stephen Hawker lived in Cornwall, where he wrote much good romantic poetry"; "Frederick Locker-Lampson wrote graceful *vers de société*." Other aphorisms are disputable: "George Russell ('A-E')'s paganism is that of earth worship"; "Lafcadio Hearn . . . died a Japanese citizen. His work has the restraint of his adopted people"; "Francis Thompson's essay *Paganism Old and New* holds that paganism with the Christian leaven in it is alone

poetical." This last statement is varied on another page to read: "Francis Thompson, in his essay on *Paganism Old and New* declares only paganism with a Christian leaven in it is true paganism." The position which Thompson upheld in this brilliant paper is neither so narrow as the first of these sentences would suggest, nor so nearly meaningless as the second. His central thought is quite clearly formulated in these words: "The poetry of Paganism is chiefly a modern creation; in the hands of the pagans themselves it was not even developept to its full capabilities." Finally, in not a few cases where some of a writer's works are selected for special mention, Dr. Chislett has omitted just those most conspicuously imbued with the classical spirit or reflecting classical interests: thus there is no mention under Mrs. Browning of *Aurora Leigh*, under Stephen Phillips of *Christ in Hades*, under Lawrence Binyon of *Porphyryion*, or under Bernard Shaw of *Cæsar and Cleopatra*.

Completeness is hardly to be expected in a catalog of this kind; but the method by which it seems to have been put together is favorable to omissions. This method is rather ingenuously indicated by a set of postscripts headed as follows: "The following poets are added from Arthur Symons' *The Romantic Movement in English Poetry*"; "The following additional poets, showing classical influences, are taken from Miles' *The Poets and Poetry of the Century*"; "Additional Minor Poets from F. St. John Corbett's *A History of English Poetry*, 1904." The advisability might be suggested to Dr. Chislett of increasing the number of his postscripts by the use of such standard manuals as Hugh Walker's *The Literature of the Victorian Era* or Leon Kellner's *Die englische Literatur im Zeitalter der Königin Viktoria*. These would have suggested a considerable number of rather important further additions. Thus he has failed to include William Johnson (later William Cory), the author of *Ionica*, whom Mr. Gosse has declared the greatest Hellenist of the age; Charles Mackay, whose works include the *Studies from the Antique*; Ernest Myers with his *Hellenica*; John Mason Neale, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, and Margaret L. Woods, each of whom in diverse ways drank deep from classic streams. We also miss the whole of that interesting group of humorists who have used classic mythology as material for burlesque and whose success has indicated at the same time the familiarity of the English public

with the classics and the widespread reaction against their domination: the Victorian extravaganza writers J. R. Planché, R. B. Brough, W. S. Gilbert, and F. C. Burnand; Owen Seaman, the editor of *Punch*, who has turned Horace so brilliantly to account for purposes of current comment; and Mr. Maurice Baring, whose *Dead Letters* and *Lost Diaries* treat the ancients in true Shavian fashion as contemporaries. A much more serious omission is that of almost all the great succession of classical scholars and historians: Arnold, Thirlwall, Grote, Merivale, Hodgkin, and Jowett; Mr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Mr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Violet Paget ("Vernon Lee"), and Miss J. E. Harrison. Possibly these were passed over as being outside the realm of pure literature,—tho how is it possible to deal with the use made of the classics by the literature of our time without taking into account the influence of a Jowett or a Frazer? And certain of the group—notably Gilbert Murray and "Vernon Lee"—have done memorable work of a purely creative sort. Among later poets, furthermore—and Dr. Chislett comes down to 1916 in some of his references—we fail to find Eugene Lee-Hamilton, among whose finely chiselled sonnets and ballads classic themes are less numerous only than those from medieval and modern Italy; Mr. John Masefield, whose historical drama *Pompey the Great* is one of his most original achievements; Mr. Charles Montagu Doughty, who has not only gone to Greek models for his epic *The Dawn in Britain* and his drama *Adam Cast Forth*, but has shaped his style and even his syntax more closely on the classical languages than perhaps any other English poet has dared to do; and Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie.

But the most important single name that Dr. Chislett has omitted is that of Mr. A. E. Housman. Professor Housman's little series of lyrics *A Shropshire Lad*, first published in 1896, is one of the few volumes of essential poetry of its generation, and one of the very few in which the genuine classic spirit—the spirit of Lucretius and the Anthology—lives again for our day. If nineteenth century Epicureanism found its final expression in the *Rubaiyat* of Fitzgerald, the soul of ancient Stoicism has as authentic and as perfect a reincarnation in the sixty-three songs of *A Shropshire Lad*. One catches echoes from its music everywhere in the work of the younger English poets, particularly those writing since 1914, who have learned from it the classical note that sounds increasingly in their

pages, as from no other intermediate source unless it be the example of Mr. Bridges.

The summaries which Dr. Chislett includes in his introduction and conclusion contain some useful generalizations; and the essays brought together in the second part of the book are distinctly less open to criticism than is Part I. They are chatty and harmless, and would find an appropriate place in those pages at the back of a "high-toned" family magazine where the editor unburdens his soul. There they might perhaps have been allowed to remain. It is well worth while, however, to reiterate the truth, too often overlooked, that the classics were far from being always classical, and that both realism and romanticism as well are abundantly present in Greek and Latin literature. It follows as a natural corollary that the modern Englishman "finds the Greek genius so complex that he can discover Puritanism, paganism, temperance, extravagance, tragedy, comedy, didacticism, emotionalism, classicism, romanticism, or realism in it as he pleases." All this is well worth repeating, as Dr. Chislett does more than once; for when all is said the last word for the genius of ancient literature is universality; and perhaps the best claim that our age can make to having duly appreciated the classics is that more than any previous century ours has done justice to their inexhaustible variety.

One of the "Notes" in Part II invites more particular comment, for it illustrates the danger of neglecting the background of current scholarship in interpreting a current poem on a classical theme. It is entitled "Additional Note on the Sources of Moody's *Thammuz*." In this curious little poem, one of the last he wrote, William Vaughn Moody departed widely from the lines of the myth of Thammuz, or Adonis, as laid down in ancient literature as well as in Shakspeare and Milton. Moody represented Thammuz as having been slain, not by the boar, but by the frenzied women who are his own worshippers, and who now proceed to mourn his fate beside the blood-stained stream for a summer's night. With the rising sun their grief departs upon the return of "radiant Thammuz, risen anew." Dr. Chislett explains this radical alteration of the story as due to a "combination" of the Thammuz-Adonis myth with the Orpheus story and the *Bacchae* of Euripides. But as a matter of fact neither of these additional sources would have given Moody the feature which is the essence of his new version, namely

the slaying of a god by his own worshippers. Besides, the method of "combination" may describe correctly the practise of a Milton, but it presupposes an attitude toward the classics foreign to his more modest or more scrupulous modern successors. The royal privilege of arbitrarily changing or blending ancient myths, formerly exercised by the poets, is now the prerogative of professors of comparative religion. For his transformation Moody had no less an authority than Mr. J. G. Frazer, whose *Attis, Adonis, and Osiris*, published in 1896, had already effected just the innovations that appear in the poem. Mr. Frazer found the detail of the boar rather inconvenient for his theory that all divinities of the Adonis type were originally identified with a consecrated human sacrifice; and he has calmly assumed, altho without a shred of positive evidence, that Adonis was primitively so slain. The other peculiar feature of Moody's version, by which the death and resurrection of the god are made to coincide with the setting and rising of the sun, was also probably suggested by Mr. Frazer's volume. In treating Osiris, whom he expressly identifies on the same page with Adonis, he says: "It may readily be admitted that the daily appearance and disappearance of the sun might very naturally be expressed by a myth of his death and resurrection," altho he inclines rather to interpret all such myths as based upon the annual growth and decay of vegetation. All these fascinating new theories had reached the crest of their popularity and authority just about the time when Moody probably wrote *Thammuz*; and his beautiful stanzas were doubtless poetical reconstructions of the scene from primitive religion imagined by Mr. Frazer. It is not the first time that a poet has gained from a scholar a fresh vision of the ancient world.

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España Pintoresca, The Life and Customs of Spain in Story and Legend. By CAROLINA MARCIAL DORADO. Ginn and Company, 1917. viii + 332 pp.

España Pintoresca is a remarkable *tour de force*. The author, who understands Americans as well as Spaniards, has realized that the American student in taking up Spanish reading finds himself in an atmosphere so foreign to anything with which he is familiar

that he is lost unless his teacher is a well-informed and sympathetic interpreter of Spanish life. He needs a background to familiarize him with "the unaccustomed perspective of a life not less foreign to him than the language itself." It is the aim of *España Pintoresca* to provide this background.

This is furnished, not in the rather overworked travel form, but in a series of selections. They comprise legends of Spain, accounts of the principal cities, their art and monuments, pictures of customs, a series of short poems, and songs. All except the poetry, the songs, and two of the prose selections taken from Pío Baroja, are the work of the author. The articles are written in a pleasing, rather easy style, reflecting a sensitive appreciation of, and enthusiasm for things Spanish that makes pleasant reading and cannot help but give the reader a general knowledge of Spanish life and people that will be of the greatest value as an introduction to the literature.

The picture of Spain thus furnished differs considerably, however, from that found in the works of foreign travelers and from that obtained by the ordinary student either of the land or the literature. Like them it is the picture of an old and picturesque land, but it lacks the somewhat harshly realistic elements that are too apt to impress the traveler or student from other countries. There is nothing of the religious fanaticism, the materialism, the crushing poverty, the primitive passion and cruelty of the Spain of Galdós, Pereda, Pío Baroja, Blasco Ibañez. It is rather a picture of the gentler aspects of Spanish life, seen through the eyes of a Spanish woman with a keen appreciation of its color and romance, but who either does not see or who has intentionally kept in the background the cruder aspects and colors. It is a charming and pleasing picture, one that cannot but prove attractive to the beginner in Spanish, who is apt to be repelled by the rather tragic and unpleasantly realistic contents of the short stories of the usual reader, the place of which it is designed to take.

As a substitute for these the book deserves the warmest praise. We have had until recently too few reading books in Spanish easy enough for early reading in the language and giving the general information regarding the country and people that should precede the more localized and limited accounts to be found in single literary works. *España Pintoresca* supplies this lack admirably,

Primeras Lecciones de Español. By CAROLINA MARCIAL DORADO.
Ginn and Company, 1918. xv + 307 pp.

Tho it is not expressly so stated, *Primeras Lecciones de Español* is obviously intended for very young beginners. On the other hand, it is stated in the publisher's announcement that it is not "strictly a direct method book." This statement, evidently intended to encourage those timid souls who start at the name "direct method," is misleading. If that name means a method in which the language is taught orally, with as little use of the student's mother-tongue as possible, in which the grammar is largely subordinated to the language itself, then this is a direct-method book in spite of the fact that "the grammatical rules and explanations are given in English." Certainly, the striking features of the book, the use of objects and pictures, the conversational exercises, dictations, memorizing, songs, the dramatization of exercises and reading lessons, the comparative infrequency of exercises from English to Spanish, constitute most of the distinctive elements of that method.

The book is made up of 230 pages of text, the usual introduction and vocabulary, and an appendix of thirteen pages of rules of grammar and verb forms. The early lessons are chiefly devoted to the common objects about the pupil, the usual and natural material of the direct method. From this vocabulary—most commendably limited—and the simple grammatical points involved, the author passes on to very simple reading selections. These are admirably chosen for the pupils the author has in mind. They consist of animal stories, Spanish legends, folk tales, a word about Spain and South America and the amusements of Spanish children. It is a most happy and varied selection, and the articles, together with a considerable number of charming Spanish illustrations, will not fail to interest the pupil and make Spanish life very real to him. Occasional exercises for translation from English to Spanish are given, but the exercises consist mainly of Spanish sentences to be rewritten with changes or additions by the pupil. The author has shown unusual skill in these, and has produced a set of exercises that will require some thought on the part of the student. A degree of variety and life, unusual in a book of this kind, is secured by the frequent use of songs, rhymes, proverbs, and riddles. The text of the lessons contains but little grammar. The necessary forms

are given, but with only the most indispensable indications as to their use. What is practically an appendix, tho not so called, offers a brief statement of the most essential points of grammar, together with the forms of the regular and irregular verbs, the latter in a form that will be possibly a bit difficult to use. The proof has been carefully read. The writer has noticed only the letter missing in *zap tero* (p. 184), and the omission of certain irregular forms of *morir* (p. 256). The curious slip in the translation of *acuesto*, "I go to sleep" (p. 4), and the inadequate statement (p. 167) regarding the subjunctive after *aunque* and *hasta que* should, however, be corrected in a later edition.

Excellent as this new beginner's book unquestionably is, the writer ventures to differ with the author on two points in the matter of presentation. In the first place, the essentials of grammar are presented almost wholly in illustrations and exercises, without statement of the principles involved and with no reference to the summary of grammar at the end of the book. This method presupposes a high degree of linguistic discernment on the part of the student, and also a considerable amount of explanation on the part of the teacher. It is unwise to take too much for granted. Or, it implies sufficient repetition of the phenomenon to be taught to insure its becoming a natural and instinctive reaction. Now, at the age at which pupils begin the study of foreign languages it is too late to depend so much on the imitative instinct, and to neglect to formulate statements of linguistic principles is to fail to take advantage of the most important difference between the child and the adolescent. Moreover, altho it is pretty generally agreed that only a minimum of grammar is desirable in a beginner's book, it is a question whether in the present case the minimum has not been cut too close. In the case of the radical-changing verbs, for example, the only statement in the text is (p. 200) to the effect that the two verbs cited have the irregularity noticed, and no further information is offered in the appendix.

Secondly, the treatment of the matter of pronunciation, the feature in which the book departs most widely from the tenets of the direct method, is disappointing. Only a list of English approximates is furnished, and any one with even a tolerably good ear knows how inadequate this is. Possibly Miss Dorado feels that, since the best we can do is only an approximation, a degree more or less does not matter. The writer cannot share this opinion.

If the spoken language is to be taught effectively, pronunciation is its cornerstone. It must be taught constantly, seriously, and as accurately as possible. The teacher needs, and should be furnished, every possible aid to do the work well, and to impress its importance on the pupil. The only way to get both teacher and pupil out of the idea that Spanish is English sounds in new combinations is to present the matter phonetically, emphasizing the differences between sounds similar in the two languages, and the differences in enunciation and in sentence intonation. Moreover, after the first formal presentation of pronunciation the subject is apt to be pushed aside by the more interesting work of understanding and being understood in the language. To prevent this, both teacher and pupil should be encouraged to constant endeavor by short exercises in pronunciation at the beginning of each lesson. Miss Dorado is admirably equipped to treat the subject in some such way, and it is to be regretted that she has neglected the opportunity.

The writer trusts that these criticisms will not give the impression that he fails to appreciate the many excellent qualities of *Primeras Lecciones*. Its spontaneity, its vivacity, its very Spanish atmosphere, and its novel method of presenting the material, set it apart from the usual more or less wooden beginner's book. While a half-hearted teacher will miss the fixed lesson form that quickly falls into routine and makes the work easy, the competent and enthusiastic teacher will find a pleasure in a book that has life and distinct individuality. In the hands of such a teacher the book will prove a joy. It is decidedly a book of first-class merit.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Beowulf 1080-1106

In the account of the truce between Finn and Hengest (*Beowulf* 1080-1106) certain textual difficulties have long been a source of perplexity. Editors and translators agree in taking the term *wea-lafe*, which occurs twice in this passage (1084 and 1098), as referring in the first instance to the thanes of Finn and in the second to the followers of Hengest, though the employment of this striking phrase within the space of a few lines to designate both

the opposing parties must be regarded as confusing. In the case of the second *wea-lafe* the context makes it certain that the followers of Hengest are meant: it would appear more likely therefore that the earlier *wea-lafe* also should refer to Hengest's men. Let us have the text before us:

wig ealle fornam
 Finnes þegnas, nemne fœaum anum,
 þæt hē ne mehte on þām meðel-stede
 wig Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,
 ne þā wēa-lāfe wige forþringan
 þeodnes ðegne.

The question whether *wea-lafe* here refers to the followers of Finn or of Hengest cannot be settled without determining the proper translation of *forþringan*. The verbs *þringan* and *geþringan*, 'to press upon,' usually in a hostile sense, are of very frequent occurrence. The compound *forþringan*, however, so far as noted by Bosworth-Toller, is found only in the present passage and in the Old English *Rule of Benedict*.¹ In the latter case the definition given in the Supplement to Bosworth-Toller is: "to thrust aside, crowd out." In Middle English the compound again occurs in the phrase:

Forrbundenn & forrþrungenn,²

where it clearly means "oppressed." In both of these citations *forþringan* shows the ordinary force of the intensive prefix *for-*, precisely as in *for-sceadan*, *for-sceamian*, *for-swælan*, *for-þræstan*, *for-þryccan*, *for-þrysmian*, etc. Nevertheless, lexicographers and editors from Grein to Chambers translate *forþringan* in the Beowulf passage: "to snatch away, to rescue," though so far as I can discover none of them cites any authority for this reversal of its natural meaning.³

This unwarranted perversion of *forþringan* appears to have been occasioned by the troublesome phrase *þeodnes ðegne* which follows. If this is translated "from the thane of the prince," it becomes necessary to assign to *forþringan* some such meaning as "rescue." And it is in this phrase *þeodnes ðegne*, it seems to me, that the crux lies. The prince in question, as all agree, must be Hnaef, who according to *Widsith* (line 29) was the ruler of the Hocingas. The application of the term *þeoden* to Hnaef comes out unmistakably a few lines further on where after his death his followers are spoken of as *þeoden-leas* (1103). The "thane of the prince," according to the accepted interpretation, is Hengest, though this carries with it a serious difficulty. For "thane" would surely be an inappropriate designation for the brother of Hnaef, who at the time of which the poet speaks had actually succeeded to the command.

All these difficulties are removed by altering *ðegne* to the genitive

¹ Ed. A. Schroer. 1885, p. 115, line 7.

² *Orm.*, line 6169.

³ Thorkelin, it is interesting to note, rendered *wige forþringan* by "inter-necione delerent."

plural *ðegna* and making it depend on *wea-lafe*. The sentence quoted above would then be translated: 'War took away all the thanes of Finn, except a few so that he (Finn) could not at all wage battle with Hengest, nor crush utterly in battle the wretched remnant of the thanes of the prince (Hnaef).' The emendation of a single letter, it will be observed, restores to *forþringan* its natural significance, makes *wea-lafe* designate Hengest's party in 1084 as well as in 1098, and makes the whole situation perfectly intelligible.

Emendations of the text, it is true, should not be admitted without strong reason; but it may fairly be urged that no more violence is involved in altering a single letter in the text than in arbitrarily assigning to *forþringan* a meaning which is directly opposed to its etymology and to its clear significance elsewhere in Old and Middle English.

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CALVIN AND BOILEAU

Boileau was not the first in France to forbid the use of Christian subjects for artistic treatment. In the third chapter of his *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, Calvin, expounding the second commandment, writes:

"Je n'estime pas qu'il soit licite de représenter Dieu sous forme visible, pource qu'il a défendu de ce faire: et aussi pource que sa gloire est d'autant desfigurée et sa vérité falsifiée. Et afin que nul ne s'abuse, ceux qui ont leu les anciens Docteurs, trouveront que je suis de trèsbon accord avec eux en cela. Car ils ont réprouvé toutes figures de Dieu, comme desguisemens profanes. S'il n'est point licite de figurer Dieu par effigie corporelle, tant moins sera-il permis d'adorer une image pour Dieu, ou d'adorer Dieu en icelle. Il reste donc qu'on ne peinde et qu'on ne taille sinon les choses qu'on voit à l'œil. Par ainsi, que la majesté de Dieu, qui est trop haute pour la veue humaine, ne soit point corrompue par fantomes, qui n'ont nulle convenance avec elle. Quant à ce qui est licite de peindre ou engraver, il y a les histoires pour en avoir mémorial: ou bien figures, ou médalles de bestes, ou villes, ou pays. Les histoires peuvent prouffiter de quelque advertissement, ou souvenance qu'on en prend: touchant du reste, je ne voy point à quoy il serve, sinon à plaisir."¹

Of course, Calvin is attacking what he considered the idolatry of the Catholic Church. He would return to primitive Christianity. He saw too clearly the pagan trend of the Renaissance to approve the use of ancient mythology. He doubtless feared the idolatrous

¹ *Pages choisies de Calvin*, éditées par Daniel Jordan, D. C. Heath, 1914, pp. 20-21.

heart of man would begin to worship Zeus. The humanists were already too prone to revere the monuments of ancient genius. There is a right use to be made of the creations of God intended for man's enjoyment, but these must be subordinated absolutely to spiritual welfare. Calvin puts the matter squarely on theological grounds: the infinite cannot be represented to the physical eye, and it is blasphemous for man to create God in his own image.

Boileau's reasons for his famous protest are not clearly stated. It is well known that a personal animus caused him to insert the passage in his discussion of the epic poem. There is nothing in his objection that would not apply equally well to any other sort of profane poetry. It seems clear that his reasons were both æsthetic and reverential. He distinguished sharply between the things to be rendered unto Cæsar and unto God. Mythology he considered as having always been a mere poetic ornament. The *mystères terribles* of Christian faith are not suited to profane art, which has its own rights and laws. The *mélange coupable* of Christian story with *ces dieux éclos du cerveau des poètes* is blasphemy.

Et, fabuleux chrétiens, n'allons pas dans nos songes
Du Dieu de vérité faire un Dieu de mensonges.²

Both Calvin and Boileau are in revolt against the Middle Ages; the one would go back to primitive Christianity for unadulterated religious inspiration, the other to Athens and Rome for pure art.

Professor Babbitt allows me to quote from a personal letter in which he sums up the matter with his usual felicity: "Both Calvin and Boileau seem to me wrong as to the main issue involved: Calvin wants pure truth in religion, Boileau pure fiction in art. But, according to the sound conception of Aristotle, one gets one's higher truth with the aid of fiction or, if you prefer, through the veil of illusion. This failure to grasp the true rôle of the imagination points the way to very serious shortcomings both in the Protestant religion and in Neo-Classical art."

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² Cf. E. Martinenche: *La Comedia Espagnole en France*, pp. 11-12. "Il ne semble pas que ces tragédies religieuses, dont les *Juives* [1582] de Garnier sont le plus brillant exemplaire, aient obtenu, même chez les érudits, un bien vif succès. A mesure que les mystères tombent en décadence et que l'esprit de la Renaissance prend de lui-même une conscience plus nette, les poètes réprouvent davantage le mélange du sacré et du profane, et, bien que Vauquelin leur recommande de chanter les hauts faits de Jésus-Christ, ils souscrivent plus volontiers aux vers que Grévin met en tête de sa *Trésorière* [1558]:

'Car ce n'est notre intention
De mêler la religion
Dans le sujet de choses feintes.
Aussi jamais les choses saintes
Ne furent données de Dieu
Pour en faire après quelque jeu.'

CHARLES NODIER AND FERDINAND DENIS

Marie Mennessier-Nodier writes of her father's election to the French Academy: "L'année suivante (1833), l'Académie Française qu'il avait tant raillée, spirituelle comme elle sait l'être à ses heures, appela Charles Nodier à elle. Il me semble voir encore Ferdinand Denis, souriant, essoufflé, et si heureux de devancer les autres amis de l'élu pour lui apporter la nouvelle."¹

There exists in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève at Paris a manuscript note that gives a somewhat fuller account of the visit of Denis to the Arsenal the night of Nodier's election. This note is written in ink on the last blank leaf of a copy of the first edition of Nodier's *Jean Sbogar*.² The first blank leaf of the volume bears the name of Ferdinand Denis, and the note, in the same handwriting as the name, reads:

"Cet ouvrage est la première édition d'un ouvrage plusieurs fois réimprimé. Charles Nodier, né à Besançon le 24 avril, 1780, mort à Paris, le 27 janvier, 1844, était dans l'étendue du mot, un esprit charmant. Sur quelques points, c'était un homme d'un grand savoir. Ce fut moi qui lui appris en 1833 qu'il était de l'Académie Française.

"Je travaillais à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut et j'allai lui porter cette bonne nouvelle à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

"Je passai le reste de la journée avec lui et je dînai à l'Arsenal."

It may be interesting to recall the figure of this guest.

Jean Ferdinand Denis (1798-1890) was conservateur of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève from 1841 to 1865, and administrateur from 1865 to 1885. He was what biographers call an indefatigable writer, the author of several books on Portuguese literature, of several more on the history and customs of Brazil, a constant contributor to newspapers and reviews. He seems to have had an especial interest in proverbial literature, in folk-lore, and in spiritualism. In 1830 he published a *Tableau historique, analytique et critique des sciences occultes*; in 1832, *Le Brahme voyageur, ou la sagesse populaire de toutes les Nations*, which received the Prix Montyon from the French Academy; and in 1843, *Le Monde enchanté, cosmographie et histoire naturelle fantastique du moyen âge*.

Given these preoccupations of Denis, it is not surprising that Nodier found in his librarian confrère a sympathetic spirit. Nodier's own interest in the fantastic, especially in the fantastic of the Middle Ages, is too well known to need comment, and *Jean François les bas-bleus* attests his taste for the occult. As to his enthusiasm for proverbs and wise-saws, Denis himself acclaims it and at the same time voices a generous appreciation of Nodier in his essay

¹ Charles Nodier, Paris, Didier, 1867, p. 328.

² Paris, Gide fils, rue Saint-Marc-Feydeau, 1818.

on *La Philosophie de Sancho Pança*, which serves as a preface to Le Roux de Lincy's *Le Livre des proverbes français*:³

"Les Français disent: 'Qui se fait mouton, le loup le mange,' et l'Espagnol: 'Faites-vous miel, les mouches vous mangeront,' ce qui, aux yeux des gens de sens, sera éternellement une vérité de la même portée. Le spirituel Charles Nodier, qui sait tant de choses, et qui est même initié aux secrets les plus cachés de la philosophie proverbiale, Charles Nodier y trouve tout révélés certains arcanes de la construction des langues qu'ont scrutés laborieusement les savants de tous les pays; c'est là qu'il faut étudier (et dans ces sortes de matières je ne connais pas un homme qui ait plus continuellement raison que Nodier), c'est là qu'il faut étudier la partie des langues qui échappe aux règles des grammairiens. 'C'est dans ces idiotismes populaires, expression intime de l'esprit d'un peuple, qu'il faut chercher les tours propres et les véritables idiologies de son langage. Originalité d'image, hardiesse de figures, étrangeté d'inversions, exemples singuliers d'ellipse et de néologisme, recherche piquante d'euphonie: tout y frappe l'attention du grammairien philosophe.' Vous le voyez bien, voilà le secret de Nodier découvert, ce sont les proverbes qui ont formé en lui ce style si curieusement travaillé, sans que l'inspiration en soit un moment ralentie; ce style aux saillies brillantes, inattendues, que la science la plus variée n'a jamais comprimées un instant. On trouve tout dans les proverbes, mais personne malheureusement n'y a dérobé le style de Nodier."

It seems entirely natural that Ferdinand Denis should have felt impelled to carry to his friend and colleague the news of his election to the French Academy. What is surprising at first glance is that, given the social traditions of the Arsenal, the event was not celebrated with greater festivity. Had there been any distinguished guests, Denis would doubtless have named them. His note points rather to a quiet dinner and evening *en famille*. Nor would Marie have failed to mention it, had her father's friends given him an ovation. It is to be remembered, however, that by 1833 the "dîneurs de fondation" had lost the habit of coming to the Arsenal; the "boutique romantique" no longer was in vogue. The new young *chef d'école* had led his followers away.⁴ Nodier's personality had not been a match for Hugo's, and after *Hernani* Nodier became old-fashioned.

The third of October, 1833, Nodier wrote to his old friend, Charles Weiss:⁵

"J'ai reçu avec beaucoup de plaisir les deux aimables Franc-com-

³ Paris, Paulin, 1842, 2 vols., I, xiii.

⁴ In a recent article in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (avril-juin, 1918), entitled *Le "Moi" Romantique de Charles Nodier*, M. Léonce Pingaud discusses different phases in the relation of Hugo and Nodier after 1827.

⁵ *Correspondance inédite de Charles Nodier, 1796-1844*, publiée par G. Estignard, Paris, 1876, p. 273.

toises, et nos femmes feront tous les efforts pour rendre à ces dames leur séjour agréable à Paris, mais ce qu'elles peuvent se réduire à peu de chose. Il y a deux ans que les soirées de l'Arsenal ont cessé pour deux ou trois raisons, et je n'imagine pas qu'elles se renouvellent jamais."

Nodier always revealed his moods to Weiss. This letter was written in a particularly black one. He was ill, worried over financial matters, and solitary.

The breaking-up of the circle that had gathered with so much enthusiasm around Nodier is hard to reconcile with the charm that he certainly had exercised over its members during the great years of the Arsenal. It is not flattering to human nature to say that they slipped away from him because he left them too much freedom, because he had not known how to dominate them, but such seems to have been the case. A passage by Madame Victor Hugo, quoted by Marie Nodier,⁶ furnishes perhaps the clue to the very traits of generosity in Nodier that lost him his friends.

"Aucune hospitalité ne sera plus cordiale et plus franche que celle de Nodier. On conçoit qu'avec sa nature lâchée et involontaire, il ne pouvait rien avoir de ces maîtres de maison virils et souverains qui, même à leur insu, pèsent sur leurs invités, dont l'autorité inaliénable gêne instinctivement toute expansion, et chez lesquels vous sentez vaguement que vous n'êtes tout au plus que le locataire de votre joie.

"Chez Nodier, chacun possédait son plaisir en propre, et n'en devait compte à qui que ce fût. Nodier était trop impersonnel et se supprimait trop pour intervenir jamais en dominateur dans aucun élan. Ses amis étaient plus chez eux que chez lui.

"Faible, gracieux, et presque féminin, il faisait pour ainsi dire l'hospitalité femme."

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BRIEF MENTION

Expressive English. By James C. Fernald (New York, Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1918). An author of long experience in the making of books cannot but be aware of the essentials of a proper book-title, —accuracy and conformity to good taste. There is, however, something in the titular adjective here employed by Mr. Fernald that may, at least in the mind of some extreme purist, be suggestive of a grade of books in which such expressions as, for example, "intensive study" may be found in a congeries of professional jargon. After a reading of the Preface of this book, however, it is fair to state, no unfavorable inference from its title is likely to survive, for there is conveyed an enthusiastic concern for the future of the

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

language as an unsurpassed agent of expression, which is destined to keep step, by its resourceful adaptations, with the world's scientific, philosophic, and artistic progress. Nothing being weak or unworthy in the character of the language, nothing should be weak or unworthy in the manner of using it. The saying imputed to Prodicus would be accepted by the author of this book, that 'a right use of words is the beginning of wisdom'; and to assist the student and the general reader in the cultivation of good expression he turns rhetorician, not to write a treatise on the elements of rhetoric in the usual fashion, which he holds to be too ineffective, but to proceed eclectically and with simplicity of terms "to treat quite fully certain main elements of the study, opening vistas, at certain points, with confidence that the student will almost instinctively apply the method, thus found interesting and helpful, to other branches of the great study. He will not know all of rhetoric, but what he knows he will know."

The book consists of twenty chapters (463 pages), of which the first ten relate to the character and elements of the language, its simplicity, power, vocabulary, synonyms, connectives, and grammar; the second ten are introduced by one on "Difficulties in English—The Way Out," and this is followed by four on "Clearness of Style." The titles of the last five chapters are as follows: "The Art of Poetry; Figures of Speech; Inventive Art in Speaking and Writing; Constructive Literary Work; Life the Supreme Achievement."

Two methods are distinguished in what is well understood to be the popularizing of a branch of knowledge, or the handling of a technical subject in a simple manner, with all possible avoidance of unfamiliar terms, so as to gratify the uninitiated reader in his desire to gain an elementary apprehension of a subject, and even, per chance, to raise his interest in it to some degree of enthusiasm. The popularizer of a subject has in mind primarily, if not exclusively, the reader who himself will not aim to become authoritative in the subject, for that aim would be encouraged by elementary instruction of a totally different character. It is because of the average reader's short circuit of interest and uncritical receptivity that writers possessing facility of expression and the teacher's impulse rather than exactness of knowledge venture upon the business of supplying the market with easy, introductory treatises on technical subjects; on the other hand, the scholar's popular essays and primers will be distinguished by accuracy of detail and sound philosophic penetration into underlying principles, and by the power to dilate the mind in its reverence for truth. Mr. Fernald belongs to the superior ranks of the first of these two classes of writers. With some close approaches to the second class, he does not pass the dividing line. Indeed, there is an undercurrent of distrust, if not of reproach, of the methods of scholars, which the author should know can never fail to be a hindrance to enduring merit.

The chapters of popular treatises on academic subjects are often,

if not usually, what has previously been tried out—or, perhaps, worn out—in the form of lectures prepared for University Extension courses, Literary Clubs, Y. M. C. A. Students, etc. This is the avenue by which Mr. Fernald's book has arrived; and he has the right to insist that his lectures, now named chapters, be judged with reference to the furtherance of the purpose for which they were composed. In his own words assurance is given that the 'book' in its original use has "succeeded in actual trial." The following statements, then, lay a basis for an evaluation of the book: "These chapters were lectures given for a series of years to a class of about fifty students in the Young Men's Christian Association of Washington, D. C., and to a class of public school teachers assembled under the same auspices. The young men were clerks, stenographers, secretaries of senators, members of the staff of various Washington papers, etc. . . . It was the importunity of these students, their delight in the course, and their assurance of its practical helpfulness that first moved the author to publish the series." Within its defined class, this book of 'practically helpful' lectures is of the better sort. The author has an engaging manner, maturity of judgment, and earnestness of purpose; and he liberally gives the reader the benefit of his wide experience with the plain problems of expression, and supplies an ample fund of pertinent and entertaining illustrations of varied character.

But why do popular lecturers on language and literature so often assume an unwarranted attitude of superiority to exact scholarship, which they keep in the background of their minds for the humorous or otherwise suitable occasion for a patronizing gibe? The question need not be answered, but it may be illustrated from the book under consideration: "Scholarship can discover everything but the obvious" (p. 3). This may be pertinently kept in mind in connection with the discussion of "the substitution of the second person plural for the second person singular—'you' instead of 'thou.' The scholar's 'unobvious' view of the matter, "that it originated as a fad of courtesy may explain its origin, but its universal adoption is due to a deeper reason, namely, that the second person singular of the English verb is a complicated and difficult form, while the second person plural is simple to the last degree" (p. 7). But the principle underlying this "fad" has its manifestations in other languages as well; and to imply that the scholar is likely to overlook the possibility of the cavalierly suggested "deeper reason" in any problem of analogy or form-association or fixed convention is to betray a deficient observation of the processes of linguistic science. To see the scholar at work with this particular problem the reader (and Mr. Fernald, if he will) may be referred to two recent monographs published at the Stanford University, 1915 and 1917: A. G. Kennedy, *The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century*; and R. O. Stitson, *The Use of Ye in the Function of Thou: a Study of Grammar and Social Intercourse in Fourteenth Century England*.

Mr. Fernald is bent on making things easy, for the fundamental fact is the simplicity of the language. Minor variations from what the law of simplicity might require do, of course, survive the centuries, but elements of that class engage merely the attention bestowed by scholars on the 'unobvious.' The principle of simplification has presided over the history of the language. The change from an inflected language to one of reduced (almost totally eliminated) inflections has been due to a national determination, grounded in the necessity of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons "to live, trade, or even fight together"; this "compelled them to learn one another's speech. In doing so, they stumbled, all unknowingly, upon a great law of language, that when different languages of kindred stock meet and coalesce in the same territory, the effect is to drop inflections; root-words are retained, but case-endings, niceties of conjugation and other mere refinements and complications are disregarded. Thus, the invaders became fused into one people in England, their different dialects were blended in a modified language of increased simplicity" (p. 5). Under the Danish rule, it is added, "the whole process of fusion of languages had to be done over again, and the speech of the new invaders was blended with the Anglo-Saxon, still in the line of simplicity, dropping what was complicated, and retaining what was easy to learn, while broadening the base of the language by the fusion of new elements." This process of simplification was, of course, continued after the Anglo-Saxon period, and its complete sweep is described: "From the landing of Hengist to the death of Chaucer—almost a thousand years—the process is one, the fusion of competing languages, always in the direction of simplicity, always rejecting complications of structure, always choosing the simpler forms." Thus spake Zarathustra! This *vera historia* is from Mr. Fernald's first chapter. His last pages do not convey the expected clear and strong emphasis on the ethics of writing,—the ethics of using words according to their truest value, and the ethics of dealing with facts and the elements of knowledge with laborious and conscientious regard for ascertained truth,—but final admonitions are given from which these lessons may be extracted, as, for example, this: "One of the most important forms of knowledge for every student is of the sources from which knowledge may be obtained" (p. 438).

J. W. B.

Professor Stuart Sherman's *On Contemporary Literature* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1917) is a volume of essays which is more than a mere collection of unconnected reviews, it is rather an exposition by example of the writer's critical methods and principles. Each essay is built around the dominant quality of the author, as the democracy of Mark Twain, the utopian naturalism of Wells, the barbaric naturalism of Dreiser, the æsthetic naturalism of Moore,

the æsthetic idealism of James, the humanism of Meredith, and the like. The essays are not only units in themselves but make the volume a unit. They are dominated by the principle that the current naturalism or "scientific monism" must be discredited by humanism, that there is an eternal conflict between "the law for things" and "the law for man." This is particularly brought out in the essays on Wells, Dreiser, and Moore, in which naturalism is shown as false whether judged by the standards of humanism or of the proved morality of the centuries. The war, of course, is made to shed a lurid light on the falsity of this naturalism when put to the extreme test. In his criticism of his authors Professor Sherman is discerning and just and sympathetic. He tears away all shams; he exposes the weaknesses and follies and coarsenesses of some of the admired great ones in our literature. He is not so carried away by his love for Mark Twain, to whom he pays a fine tribute of praise, that he cannot see that on more than one occasion this typical American committed "a crime against taste, colossal, barbaric"; nor do Henry James's love of beauty and his fine pursuit and capture of it in his novels so engross his critic that he cannot perceive and record the affront to "the high moralities" of life in the novelist's words on the assassination of Lincoln, words at which "any good American will flame with indignation." The humor of the essay on "The Complacent Toryism of Alfred Austin" makes it one of the most delightful in the volume, and the robust admiration for Meredith will win the hearts of all loyal Meredithians. On the other hand, the disparagement of Synge will set one to questioning former judgments,—on the whole a very excellent thing to do.

J. W. T.

Pamphile et Galatée par Jehan Bras-de-Fer de Dammartin-en-Goële; poème français inédit du XIV^e siècle; Edition critique, précédée de recherches sur le Pamphilus latin. Thèse pour le Doctorat d'Université de Paris, par Joseph de Morawski (Champion, Paris; 1917). There are many judicious remarks, literary and sometimes linguistic, in this exhaustive study. The text is difficult and seems to have been critically read and very carefully printed. The sense of the Latin original is specially apprehended; not quite so acutely some of the French variations. Greater familiarity with the largely unpublished laicizations of the generation just ahead of Jehan Bras-de-Fer might have aided M. de Morawski in preciser definition of what is really a somewhat curious work.

He would have learned, no doubt, from others of the free, experimental, translations of the *gens de lettres*, people of creative talent trying their hand at democratizing instruction in art and ethics, to look to the epilogue for the autobiographical, or self-defining, clue! In the *Pamphile et Galatée* this clue is found, as I take it, in three lines, where the illuminating words are even italicized in the manuscript:

2555 Dis y ai mis par *yronie*
 Et poi dit pour plus par *liptote*,
 Mis i ai de mon *Aristote*.

A pretty objective sort of literary experiment, then, we should understand it to be, not a wayward or Saturnalian parody, or mere *jeu d'esprit*. It is curiously suggestive of *Mlle de Maupin*. We traverse a world between the fairy non-moral, and the sordid realistic. There is something of a detached dry wit about it, with remotely the touch of Lucian, and faintly, of Voltaire, the Graeco-Roman irony persisting in French fiction, to appear whenever the Graeco-Roman philosophy is also to the fore. It was distinctly so in the late fourteenth century. And Aristotle, the authentic *Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*, in close and complete Latin versions, were certainly in the hands of the clerks, almost as surely as to-day.

The characters are Graeco-Romans, too, the candid lovers late kin to Troilus and Cressida, both served by and serving the *vieille*, who, like Pandarus, is more cynic than hypocrite. She is the proprietress of quite an efficient system, less Satanic than positive, in a way, her success marking her off from Richeut on the one hand, as from Regnier's Macette on the other.

It is perhaps not fanciful to see in this passage an index to the composition. It is not bluntness of moral perception that gives it its dryness of tone, perhaps the reverse. French letters, early and late, from the finest epics to the ballades of its own and the next generations,—to how many masterpieces since!—have known how to economize strictly with the moral, to confine it to the picture itself. The partial failure in their own "understanding" among the humanists of the more Platonizing disciples of Gerson in Jehan Bras-de-Fer's generation, is a possible distrust of this method of moral instruction. Their distaste for the picture, with Jehan de Meung himself,—of the naturalistic-rational,—goes so far as to make them doubt its practical efficiency; or their scope is wider. The ironic method is obviously meant for the few. The young clerk who rimed his Graeco-Latin source into contemporary manners of the old *rue de l'Enfer* may have done so in some such shock of surprise as primed the second part of the *Roman de la Rose* itself, as we may possibly detect in the attitude towards it of the rival Renaissance group of Gontier Col, to which he appears to belong. If Gerson's own admiration for the talent and learning of that "most subtle scholar" who had so acutely translated his favorite Boece never fails of expression, it is fair to see others going still farther, and approving not the genius only, but its application as well. Approving and imitating; a great critical vogue for Jehan de Meung among the critics is obviously behind the famous quarrel over the *Roman de la Rose*, in the last years of the fourteenth, and the first of the fifteenth, century! The ironic romance of *Pamphile et Galatée* would seem to be something like a bit of the gallery play that accompanied the champions' match,—good evidence for the keen and instructed attention evoked.

M. E. T.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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E.K.'S CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS

The Epistle to Gabriel Harvey:

The striking simile,

In whom whenas this our Poet hath bene much traueiled and
thoroughly redd, how could it be, (as that worthy Oratour sayde)
but that walking in the sonne, although for other cause he walked,
yet needes he mought be sunburnt,

comes from Cicero. The 'worthy Oratour' is Antonius, in *De Oratore*, ii, 14, 60,

ut, cum in sole ambulem, etiam si ego aliam ob causam ambulem,
feri natura tamen ut colorer, sic cum istos libros . . . studiosius
legerim, sentio illorum tactu orationem meam quasi colorari.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 30-31, a contributor discusses the passage,

For, if my memory fayle not, Tullie, in that book wherein he
endeuoureth to set forth the paterne of a perfect Oratour, sayth
that ofttimes an auncient worde maketh the style seeme graue,
and as it were reuerend: no otherwise then we honour and reuer-
ence gray heares, for a certein religious regard, which we haue
of old age.

This, he says, undoubtedly refers to Cicero, *De Oratore*, iii, 38.
Perhaps it refers rather to Cicero's *Orator*, 50, 169,

Habet autem ut in aetatibus auctoritatem senectus, sic in exem-
plis antiquitas, quae quidem apud me ipsum valet plurimum.

On the passage,

For albe amongst many other faultes it specially be obiected of
Valla against Liuię, and of other against Saluste, that with ouer
much studie they affect antiquitie, etc.,

Professor G. Gregory Smith says, "See Valla's *Emendationes in Livium de bello Punico*, in the Paris edition of Livy, 1573" (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, i, 381). He refers also to Roger Ascham's criticism of Sallust, in his treatise *Of Imitation*.

"So great delight tooke the worthy Poete Alceus to behold a blemish in the ioynt of a wel shaped body." Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* i, 28, 79, "Naevus in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum."

"If they happen to here an olde word albeit very naturall and significant, crye out streight way, that we speak no English, but gibbrish, or rather such, as in old time Euanders mother spake." Cp. Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* i, 10, 2, "tu autem proinde quasi cum matre Evandri nunc loquare, sermone abhinc multis annis iam desito uteris."

"Or as that same Pythia, when the traunce came upon her, Os ravidum fera corda domans &c." A loose quotation from Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 80.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 10, I suggested that the passage,

following the example of the best and most auncient Poetes, which deuised this kind of wryting, being both so base for the matter, and homely for the manner, at the first to trye theyr habilities; and as young birdes, that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first to proue theyr tender wyngs, before they make a greater flight. . . . So flew Virgile, as not yet well feeling his winges, etc.,

should be compared with the 'Prologue' to the *Egloges* of Alexander Barclay,

Therefore wise Poetes, to sharpe and proue their wit,
In homely iestes wrote many a merry fit,
Before they durst be of audacitie
Tauenture thinges of weyght and grauitie. . . .
The birde unused first flying from her nest
Dare not aduenture, and is not bolde nor prest
With winges abroade to flye as doth the olde, etc.

There is an earlier expression of the same fancy in Poliziano's discourse on Virgil, *Manto*, 202-213 (1482),

Namque meus timido qui rura et pascua versu
Hactenus excoluit, stimulis tandem acribus actus
Dediscetque metum validasque in pectora vires
Contrahe't, attonitoque canet fera pectine bella.
Qualis adhuc brevibus quae vix bene fidere pinnis
Coepit avis, matrem primo nidosque loquaces

Circumit et crebrum patula super arbore sidit;
 Colligit inde animos sensim, et vicina volatu
 Stagna legit, terrasque capit captasque relinquit,
 Lascivitque fuga; tandem et sublimia tranat
 Nubila, et iratis audens se credere ventis
 In spatia excurrit, iustisque eremigat alis.

The General Argument:

On E.K.'S etymology of the word 'Aeglogues,'

They were first of the Greekes, the inuentours of them called *Aeglogai*, as it were *αἰγῶν*, or *αἰγοῦμένων λόγῳ*, that is, Goteheards tales,

Professor Herford says, "This notion, first enounced by Petrarch (Warton)," etc. But the notion is probably much earlier than Petrarch. And something of the sort is enounced in an ancient Life of Virgil which is preserved in a manuscript of the 9th century (*Vita Gudianæ* II):

Egogla dicitur quasi *egaloga*, quia *ega* dicitur capra, *logos* sermo. Inde *egogla* dicitur sermo de capris.

"For although in Virgile and others the speakers be more shepheards then Goteheards, yet Theocritus . . . maketh Goteheards the persons and authors of his tales." Not always, even in his strictly bucolic Idyls. He introduces also shepherds, neatherds, and reapers.

"The olde Astrologers and Philosophers, namely the reuerend Andalo, and Macrobius in his holydayes of Saturne." A curious pair. The 'reuerend Andalo' seems to be Andalò di Negro (*or* Andalone de Negri), Boccaccio's teacher in astronomy. For some account of him, and of his works, see E. H. Wilkins, *MLN.* xxi, 212 ff. As for Macrobius, see *Saturn.* i, 12, 5.

Eclogue i, 1. "As sometime did Virgil (shadow himself) under the name of Tityrus." An allusion to Virgil's First Eclogue.

i, 57. "Imitateth Virgils verse, Rusticus es, Corydon, nec munerâ curat Amyntas." *Ecl.* ii, 56.

i, 59. "Plato in his dialogue called Alcibiades." See Plato, *Alcibiades* I, 131 C. The other allusions in this note may be to such passages as Xenophon, *Symposium*, viii, and Maximus Tyrius, xxi, 8 h. Lucian's "defence of execrable and horrible sinnes of forbidden and unlawful fleshlinesse" might be hard to find.

i, 60. "Ouide shadoweth hys loue under the name of Corynna." Ovid, *Tr.* iv, 10, 60, "nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi." "So doth Aruntius Stella euery where call his Lady Asteris and Ianthis, albe it is wel known that her right name was Violantilla: as witnesseth Statius in his *Epithalamium*." Aruntius Stella (Consul about 101 A. D.) was a patron and friend of the poets Statius and Martial. Statius wrote a long poem on the occasion of his marriage, 'Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam,' *Silvae*, i, 2. Part of E.K.'S statement is based on line 197 of this poem, "Asteris et vatis totam cantata per urbem." The fact that Stella called his lady 'Ianthis' in his poems is recorded by Martial, "vel Stellae cantata meo quas flevit Ianthis" (vii, 14, 5).

ii, 33. "The saying is borrowed of Mimus Publianus." One of the *Sententiae* of Publilius (or Publius) Syrus, a mime-writer of the Caesarian age.

ii, 63. "The name (*sc.* Phyllis) is usuall in Theocritus, Virgile, and Mantuane." It is 'usuall' in Virgil, but does not occur in Theocritus.

ii, 215. "As Virgile also sayeth: Saxa gemunt grauido &c." This is not in Virgil, or in any of the poems commonly ascribed to him.

iii, 1. The *Idyl* here ascribed to Theocritus is now ascribed to Bion (no. iv).

iii, 16. "As saith Tacitus." This story of Flora is not given by Tacitus. Perhaps it is derived from Lactantius, *Inst.* i, 20, 6. The name 'Andronica' is not given by our Latin dictionaries.

iii, 17. "As sayth Macrobius." *Saturn.* i, 12, 19 (one of many explanations quoted).

iii, 33. Love with "winges of purple; so is he feyned of the Poetes." Cp. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 701, "nec nos purpureas pueri rescabimus alas."

iii, 40. "Virgils verse, Est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca &c." Virgil, *Ecl.* iii, 33.

iii, 79. The elegy of Propertius referred to is iii, 12. "Mosschus his *Idyllion* of wandring love" is *Idyl* i.

iii, 97. "I remember that in Homer it is sayd of Thetis," etc. This story is not in Homer. It is implied in Statius, *Achill.* i, 134, and told in detail by Servius, on *Aen.* vi, 57. The explanation quoted from Eustathius is hard to find—if 'Eustathius' is the

commentator on Homer. Perhaps it is derived from Fulgentius, *Myth.* iii, 7, "quod venae quae in talo sunt ad renum et femorum et virilium rationem pertineant, unde et aliquae venae usque ad pollicem tendunt. . . . Nam et Orfeus illum esse principalem libidinis indicat locum," etc. The statement of 'Hippocrates' concerning certain veins about the ear may be found in the treatise *De Aere, Aquis et Locis*, xxix (ed. Ermerins).

iv, 26. "Myrto the most excellent Poete Theocritus his dearling." Cp. *Id.* vii, 97, "Simichidas loves Myrto as goats love the spring" (where 'Simichidas' is commonly identified with Theocritus himself). "Himera the worthy Poete Stesichorus hys Idole." Unknown to our classical dictionaries. 'Himera' was a town in Sicily where Stesichorus lived.

iv, 42. E.K. (like Spenser in this passage) makes Helicon "the name of a fountaine at the foote of Parnassus," but adds that it is the name "also of a mounteine in Baeotia, out of which floweth the famous Spring Castalius." To the classical poets Helicon was a mountain range in Boeotia, and the Castalian Spring was at the foot of Mt. Parnassus. Chaucer, Lydgate and Skelton speak of Helicon as a spring or well.

iv, 46. "Hesiodus ἀργυρέον μελος." Not in Hesiod.

iv, 50. For the story of Syrinx, cp. Ovid, *M.* i, 704-711. The two lines quoted from Homer are *Iliad*, ii, 196-7.

iv, 86. For the story of Niobe, cp. Ovid, *M.* vi, 170 ff.

iv, 100. The verse quoted from Virgil's 'Epigrams,' "Signat cuncta manu, loquiturque Polymnia gestu," comes from a short poem *De Musis*, or *De Musarum Inventis*, which was in the 16th century ascribed to Ausonius. The poem is given in Scaliger's *Catalecta Virgilii etc.*, and in Riese's *Anthologia Latina*, No. 664.

iv, 109. "Homer onely addeth a fourth (s. Pasithea)." In the *Iliad*, xiv, 276, Pasithea is called "one of the younger Graces." The 'Theodontius' who is quoted here must be the 'Theodontius' who is very often quoted as an authority in Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*. He is not, however, mentioned in Boccaccio's chapter on the Graces. "And Boccace saith, that they (sc. the Graces) be painted naked . . . the one hauing her backe towards us, and her face fromwarde, as proceeding from us: the other two toward us, noting double thanke to be due to us for the benefit we haue done." Cp. *Geneal. deor. gentil.* v, 35, "Has . . . dicunt

nudas incedere et inuicem uinctas; ac ex eis duas facie ad nos esse conuersas, cum tergum tertia uertat. Quid autem in hoc senserint veteres excutiendum est. . . . Vel aliter: siquid enim in hominem gratum miseris, ab eo in te duplum seu maius redire videbis," etc.

iv, 122. For the note on 'Chloris,' see Ovid, *F.* v. 197-212.

iv, 124. "When Neptune and Minerua stroue for the naming of the citie of Athens," etc. Servius, on Virgil, *Geor.* i, 12, "Cum Neptunus et Minerva de Athenarum nomine contenderent, placuit diis, ut eius nomine civitas appellaretur, qui munus melius mortalibus obtulisset. Tunc Neptunus percusso litore equum, animal bellis aptum, produxit; Minerva iacta hasta olivam creavit, quae res est melior comprobata et pacis insigne."

iv, Embleme. "This Poesye is taken out of Virgile." *Aen.* i, 327-8.

v, 54. "Eusebius in his fiftē booke de Preparat. Euang." See ch. 17. "Plutarch, in his booke of the ceasing of oracles." *De defectu Oraculorum*, cap. 17. The "demaund of the Emperoure Tiberius" is part of Plutarch's story.

v, 57. "The commen prouerb, Malim inuidere mihi omnes quam miserescere." Cp. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1044 B, "Nihil tam vulgari sermone iactatum, quam haec sententia: *Praestat inuidiosum esse quam miserabilem.*" Erasmus quotes Pindar, *Pyth.* i, 85, *κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιρροῦ φθόνος*, also Herodotus, iii, 52.

v, 69. "Epitaphe of the ryotous king Sardanapalus . . . thus translated by Tullie, 'Haec habui quae edi, quaeque exaturata libido Hausit, at illa manent multa ac praeclara relictā.'" Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v, 35, 101 (where the modern texts have *habeo* instead of *habui*, and *iacent* instead of *manent*).

v, 142. "Atlas . . . who (as the Grekes say) did first fynd out the hidden courses of the starres, by an excellent imagination. Wherefore the poetes feigned, that he susteyned the firmament on hys shoulders." Cp. Servius, on *Aen.* i, 741, "hic quod annum in tempora diviserit et primus stellarum cursus vel circulorum vel siderum transitus naturasque descripserit, caelum dictus est sustinere." E.K. gives a rather confusing blend of two ancient stories, that Atlas was a brother of Prometheus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 507 ff.), and that he was an African king (Servius, *loc. cit.*).

v, 205. "The saying of Andromache to Ascanius in Virgile, Sic oculus, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat." *Aen.* iii, 490.

v, Embleme. "A peece of Theognis verse." Hard to find in Theognis. Professor C. W. E. Miller gives me a phrase from Pindar, *Frag.* 233 (257), *πιστὸν δ' ἀπίστοις οὐδέν*.

vi, 10. "Diodorus Syculus description of it" (sc. Mesopotamia). See, perhaps, xvii, 17, 3 (of the well watered country of the Uxii).

vi, 25. "Musaeus sayth, that in Heroes eyther eye there satte a hundred graces." *De Herone et Leandro*, 65.

vi, 43. "Virgils verse, Ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala." Virgil, *Ecl.* ii, 51.

vi, 68. For the story of Pan, Phoebus and Midas, cp. Ovid, *Met.* xi, 153-179.

vi, 81. "Tullie calleth Lentulus, Deum vitae suae, s. the God of hys lyfe." Cicero, *Post Red. in Senatu*, iv, 8, "P. Lentulus, parens ac deus nostrae vitae."

vii, 12. "Seneca his verse, Decidunt celsa grauiore lapsu." Apparently not in Seneca; perhaps a misquotation of Horace, *Od.* ii, 10, 10, "celsae graviore casu Decidunt tures."

vii, 59. "Diodorus Syc. of the hyl Ida." The passage alluded to is xvii, 7, 6-7. But Spenser was thinking less of Diodorus Siculus and Mt. Ida than of 'good old Mantuan' and his description of the Terrestrial Paradise. The "hyllie place Where Titan ryseth from the mayne" is translated from Mantuan, *Ecl.* viii, 45, "Esse locum memorant, ubi surgit ab aequore Titan," etc. Mantuan reflects a common mediaeval tradition (based upon *Ezekiel*, xxviii, 13-16) which placed the Terrestrial Paradise on a lofty mountain in the far East.

vii, 64. "The Shepheard is Endymion." Classical tradition puts the long sleep of Endymion on Mt. Latmus, not on Mt. Ida, and in Spenser's *Epithalamion*, 380, he is called "the Latmian shephard." See Servius, on Virgil, *Geor.* iii, 391.

vii, 85. "Of thone speaketh Mantuane, and of thother Theocritus." 'Melampode' is mentioned by Mantuan, *Ecl.* viii, 17; 'teribinth,' by Theocritus, *Epigr.* i, 6. The quotation from Theocritus is badly mangled, perhaps by the printer.

vii, 146-7. The notes on Helen and Paris follow the usual classical story:

vii, 154. "The transformed Cow Io: So called because that in the print of a Cowes foote, there is figured an I in the midst of

an O." This statement is probably based on a passage of Ovid, *Met.* i, 649, "Littera pro verbis, quam pes in pulvere duxit, Corporis indicium mutati triste peregit," where the old Italian commentator Raphael Regius has, "Bouis enim pes i & o litteras exprimere uidetur" (Venice ed., 1497).

vii, 219. "The poet Aeschylus, that was brayned with a shell-fishe." Valer. Max. ix, 12; Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.* vii, 16; Pliny, *N. H.* x, 3, 7.

viii, 19. "According to Virgile, Infelix o semper ouis pecus." *Ecl.* iii, 3.

viii, 26. "So also do Theocritus and Virgile feigne pledges of their strife." Cp. Theocritus, v, 22-30, Virgil, *Ecl.* iii, 29 ff.

viii, 27. "Such pretie descriptions euerywhere useth Theocritus to bring in his Idyllia." Cp. *Id.* i, 31 ff.; also Moschus, *Id.* ii, 43-62.

viii, 131. "So saith Virgile, Et vitula tu dignus, et hic &c." *Ecl.* iii, 109.

ix, 54. "Imitating Horace, Debes ludibrium ventis." A loose quotation from *Od.* i, 14, 15-16, "nisi ventis Debes ludibrium."

ix, 76. "Translated out of Mantuane." *Ecl.* vi, 8-9, "sperata videntur Magna, velut maius reddit distantia lumen."

ix, 240. "Ouids verse translated, Quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est." Ovid, *Her.* iv, 89.

ix, Embleme. "This is the saying of Narcissus in Ouid." *Met.* iii, 466.

x, 1. "This Aeglogue is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi. Idilion. . . . And the lyke also is in Mantuane." The reference to Theocritus is right. As for Mantuan, see *Ecl.* v.

x, 21. "Plato, who in his first booke de Legibus sayth," etc. This confused statement about "the solemne feastes called Panegyrica," with the distinction between the terms 'vates' and 'poet,' is not in Plato's "first booke de Legibus." It might be hard to find anywhere.

x, 27. "That memorable history of Alexander: to whom when as Timotheus the great Musitian playd the Phrygian melodie," etc. The exact story is hard to find. Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* i, 1, tells of a flute-player Timotheos playing before Alexander, and Plutarch has a similar story about Alexander and the musician Antigenidas (*De Alex. s. virt. s. fort.*, ii, 2). The famous Timotheus is said

to have died the year before Alexander was born. "Wherefore Plato and Aristotle forbid the Arabian Melodie from children and youth," etc. This also might be hard to find.

x, 28. "Orpheus . . . recovered his wife Eurydice from hell." Virgil and Ovid tell only of "his half regained Eurydice." 'E. K.' seems to accept Spenser's unusual version, "did fetch . . . withouten leane," etc.

x, 32. For the story of Argus, cp. Ovid, *Met.* i, 623-722.

x, 55. "The Romish Tityrus, wel known to be Virgile." Spenser is paraphrasing Mantuan here, *Ecl.* v, 86, "Tityrus (ut fama est) sub Maecenate vetusto," etc. Cp., also, Calpurn. iv, 62; Nemes. ii, 84; Boccaccio, *Ecl.* i, 82-85, x, 66.

x, 57. "In labouring of lands is (meant) hys Bucoliques." By 'Bucoliques' E.K. means Virgil's *Georgics*. Cp. Fletcher's *Elder Brother*, i, 2, 132, where the name 'Bucolicks' is applied to the third book of the *Georgics*: "and to cure your herds His Bucolicks is a masterpiece."

x, 65. "A most eloquent Oration of Tullies." *Pro Archia* (x, 24). The story that Alexander spared the house and kin of Pindar is reported by Pliny, *N. H.* vii, 29, 109, and by Arrian, *Anabasis*, i, 9, 10. Plutarch says that at the sacking of Thebes Alexander spared the descendants of Pindar (*Alex.* xi), and Dion Chrysostom states that he "bid spare the house of Pindarus" (ii, 33). The marvelous story of Darius' coffer of silver and the two books of Homer may be based on Plutarch's two statements, that Alexander constantly laid a special copy of the Iliad under his pillow (*Alex.* viii), and that, finding a precious casket among the property of Darius, he announced that he would keep the Iliad in it (*Alex.* xxvi; cp. Pliny, *N. H.* vii, 29, 108). The association of Ennius with Scipio is well known; cp. Cicero, *Pro Archia*, ix, 22.

x, 100. "Mantuanes saying, Vacuum curis diuina cerebrum Poscit." Not in the extant poems of Mantuan.

x, 105. "That comen verse, Faecundi calices quem non fecere disertum." From Horace, *Ep.* i, 5, 19. Cp. Thomas Nash, *To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities*, "that proverbiall faecundi calices."

x, 113. "As is said in Virgile, Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno." Virgil, *Ecl.* viii, 10. "And the like in Horace, Magnum loqui, nitique cothurno." Horace, *A. P.* 280, 'magnum-que loqui,' etc.

x, 114. "Bellona, the goddess of battaile, that is, Pallas." The identification of Bellona with Pallas is not classical, though Boccaccio has, "Minerva . . . a nonnullis Bellona appellata est," *Geneal. Deor. Gentil.* v, 48. Perhaps Spenser's 'queint Bellona' is the Cappadocian goddess who was brought to Rome during the first Mithridatic war. Cp. Martial, xii, 57, 11, 'nec turba cessat entheata Bellonae.' "As Lucian sayeth" (of the birth of Pallas). *Dial. deor.* 8.

x, 118. "As Ouid sayth, Aut si carminibus." Not in the modern texts of Ovid.

xi, 53. "As saith Virgile, Melpomene Tragico proclamat maesta boatu." The Latin verse comes from the poem *De Musis* mentioned above, on iv, 100. In Geoffroi Linocier's *Mythologia Musarum* (printed at Paris in 1583) the verse is attributed to Virgil: "Tragoediis praesidere putabatur Melpomene, ut testatur Virgilius hoc carmine: Melpomene tragico proclamat moesta boatu."

xi, 55. "So is Hecuba of Euripides, and Tantalus brought in of Seneca." "The ghost of Tantalus appears in Seneca's *Thyestes*, that of Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*. Kirke's statement is somewhat confused" (C. H. Herford).

xi, 148. "A common verse, Clotho colum baiulat, Lachesis trahit, Atropos occat." *Anthol. Lat.* 792 R., "Tres sunt fatales quae ducunt fila sorores: Clotho colum baiulat, Lachesis trahit, Atropos occat."

xi, 186. "The very expresse saying of Plato in Phaedone." Hard to find in the *Phaedo* (where Socrates says only that the true philosophers are ever studying death, 67 E). A closer parallel is found in the *Apology*, 41 A: "Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again."

xi, 195. "Tale of Hebe, that spilt a cup of it (*sc.* nectar), and stayned the heavens." Hard to find in our handbooks of classical mythology.

xii, 11. "Virgils verse, Pan curat oues ouiumque magistros." *Ecl.* ii, 33.

xii, 40. "As Terence sayth, Qui tractant musicam, speking of Poetes." *Phormio*, Prol. 18.

xii, 84. "All which skill in starres being conuenient for shep-herdes to knowe as Theocritus and the rest use." Cp. Theocr. *Id.* vii, 52-54; xiii, 25-26.

xii, 87. "The Romanes, who (as is sayd in Liuiē) were so supersticiously rooted in the same (*sc.* in the 'sooth of byrdes') that they agreed that euery Nobleman should put his sonne to the Thuscanses, by them to be brought up in that knowledge." Perhaps this is based only on Livy, ix, 36, 3, "*habeo auctores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos, sed propius est vero,*" etc.

xii, 88. "As the Poete sayth, *Dea saeua potentibus herbis.*" Virgil, *Aen.* vii, 19.

xii, Embleme. "Horace of his odes . . . boldly sayth, *Exegi monumentum aere perennius, Quod nec imber edax nec aquilo vorax &c.*" This is a misquotation of *Od.* iii, 30, 1-3: "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius . . . Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens,*" etc. "Ouid in the like, *Grande opus exegi quod nec Iouis ira nec ignis, Nec ferrum poterit nec edax abolere vetustas, &c.*" Another misquotation, from *Met.* xv, 871-2: "*Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira nec ignis Nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.*"

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GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES

1. Goth. *huzd* 'θησαυρός, hoard,' *huzdjan* 'θησαυρίζειν, lay up treasure,' ON. *hodd*, OE., OS. *hord*, OHG. *hort*, etc. are best explained as a compound **quz-dho-*, the first part of which may be compared with Skt. *kōṣaḥ* 'Behälter, Vorratskammer, Schatzkammer,' and the second part derived from the root **dhē-* 'put, place' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*² 217 with lit.). For the use of **dhē-* in such compounds compare Skt. *ni-dhānam* 'das Niederlegen, Aufbewahren; Aufbewahrungsort, Behälter; Schatz, Hort,' *ni-dhīh* id., OBulg. *obi-do* 'θησαυρός.' Here also belongs Gr. *θησαυρός* 'receptacle treasure, storehouse,' which may be analyzed as **dhētīā-urós*: **dhētīā* 'deposit, store': Av. *-dāiti-* 'a placing,' Goth. *gadēds*, OHG. *tāt* 'deed,' Gr. *θείς* 'a placing, deposit,' etc.; and **urós* 'guarding': Gr. *ἐρωθαι* 'guard,' Skt. *vr̥ṇōti* 'cover, inclose,' Goth. *warjan* 'wehren,' OHG. *waru* 'ware, article of merchandise,' etc.

2. OE. *hēope* 'hip of the dogrose,' OS. *hiopo* 'thornbush,' OHG. *hiufo*, etc. correspond in form with Russ. *čubŭ* (**qēub-*) 'schopf,'

LRuss. *čub* 'Schopf, Busch,' *čubaty* 'bei den Haaren zausen,' *čubký* pl. 'Äpfel mit in die Höhe ragendem Kelchsaum,' Czech dial. *čub* 'Vogelschopf,' *čubek* 'cirsium arvense,' Pol. *czub* 'Schopf, Büschel,' *czubić* 'beim Schopf packen.' These words are compared by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* I, 160, with Goth. *skuft* 'Haupthaar,' MHG. *schopf*, etc.

To these we may also add Norw. dial. *hupp* 'Quaste,' OE. *hoppe* 'ornament, small bell,' OHG. *hopfo* 'Hopfen,' and *witu-hopfo*, *-hopfo* 'Wiedehopf,' Lith. *kublỹs* 'Mistlerche,' named from the tufted head, and also Gr. *κύβος* 'cube,' etc. Closely related are the following with IE. *p*.

3. NHG. Swab. *häuben* 'schmerzhaft am Haare zupfen, zerren, schütteln,' *häublen* 'an den Haaren ziehen, rütteln, körperlich züchtigen': Serb.-Cr. *čupati* 'rupfen,' *čupa* 'Büschel Haare,' Russ. *čupũ* 'Schopf,' LRuss. *čuper*, *čuprýna* 'Haarschopf,' *čupryn-dij* 'Haubenlerche,' Czech dial. *čup* 'Berghöhe mit flachem Gipfel' (: Slovak *čub* 'Schopf, Federbusch; Bergkappe, Gipfel,' with double meaning as in NE. *crest*), IE. **qēup-* with which compare **qūp-* in ON. *húfr* 'hulk of a ship,' OE. *hȳf* 'hive,' *hūfe* 'hood,' OHG. *hūba* 'Haube,' *hubil* 'Hübel,' Norw. dial. *hof* 'knoll, hillock,' etc.

4. NE. dial. *hover* 'light, puffy, raised; not pressed down, of soil: light, loose; huncht up, cold, shivery; of birds and animals: having the coat or feathers ruffled from cold,' *vb.* 'spread lightly or loosely; pack hops lightly': ChSl. *kyprũ* 'locker, porøs,' Czech *kýprý* 'locker; aufgelaufen (von Mehlspeisen),' etc., which Berneker 677 f. combines with OBulg. *kypěti* 'wallen, überlaufen,' Skt. *kúpyati* 'gerät in Wallung, zürnt,' *cōpati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich,' etc. To these add Dan. *hoven* 'swollen, inflated,' *hovne* 'swell up, expand,' early NE. *hoven* 'swollen, bloated, puffed out, esp. of cattle which swell with overeating,' *hove* 'raise, lift; swell, inflate, puff up or out; rise, swell out,' NE. *huff* 'a swell of sudden anger or arrogance, a fit of petulance or ill humor,' dial. *huff* 'blow, puff, breathe heavily, pant; swell, puff up; rise in baking; become angry, rage,' *hubble* 'stir, bustle, confusion,' *hobble*, *hubble* 'shake, jolt, toss; move unsteadily, shake with a quivering motion; swarm with vermin' (: Russ. *kipěť* 'wallen, sieden; aufbrausen; wimmeln'), EFrís. *hubbelen* 'abwechselnd auf und nieder steigen, sich wellenförmig bewegen.'

5. OE. *cwacian* 'quake, tremble, chatter (of teeth),' *cwëccan* 'shake (hed), brandish (wepon)' may be compared with Slov. *gúgati*, Russ. dial. *gúgat'* 'schaukeln,' *gúgala* 'Schaukel,' to which Berneker, *Et. Wb.* I, 361, adds Russ. dial. *gúgl'a* 'Beule,' Pol. *guga* id., *gugułka* 'unreife Kirsche,' calling them "Lallwörter aus der Kindersprache." These last words may be derived from the IE. root **geu-* 'bend, bulge out,' whence many words for 'bunch, chunk, etc.,' on which see *MLN.* XIX, 1 ff.

6. On my combination of Germ. **kwelan* 'pine away, die' in OE. *cwelan* 'die,' etc. (cf. *IE. a²* 99) with OHG. *quellan* 'quellen,' Skt. *galati* 'fällt herab, träufelt herab,' *galitaḥ* 'verschwunden, gewichen,' etc., compare a similar change in meaning in Slavic: OBulg. *kapāti* 'tröpfeln, triefen,' Russ. *kápat'* id., *kánut'* 'zerrinnen; versinken, verschwinden,' Serb. *kāpati* 'tröpfeln; dahinschwinden, schmachten,' Pol. *kapać* 'tröpfeln,' dial. 'sterben, umkommen; verarmen.'

7. OE. *or-lege* 'hostile,' sb. 'hostility, war,' OS. *urlagi*, *urlegi* id. no doubt belong to the root **legh-* 'lie,' but not as usually explained. Germ. **uz-lagja-* 'unrest, war' is a negativ formation from **lagja-* 'rest, peace.' Compare Russ. *lágoda* (**lōgh-*) 'Friede, Ordnung, Harmonie,' Slov. *lágoda* 'Wertlosigkeit, Schwäche, Schlechtigkeit; Mutwilligkeit,' i. e. 'lowness, meanness; looseness,' etc., which we may refer to OBulg. *vŭ-lagati* 'einlegen,' *po-l.* 'hinlegen,' OE. *gelōgian* 'place; arrange,' *gelōgung* 'order,' ON. *lōga* 'part with; put away, kill'; *lāgr* 'low, low-lying'; *laga* 'put to rights, arrange, adjust,' etc.

8. MDu. *orloge* 'war, battle, strife,' *orlogen* 'make war, have a feud,' OS. *urlogi*, 'war, feud,' OHG. *urliugi* id., etc. come from Germ. **lugja-* **leugia-* with a meaning similar to **lagja-*. Compare ON., Nicel. *logn* 'a dead calm,' *lygn* 'calm, smooth,' Norw. *logn* 'still, calm,' ON. *lón* (**luhna-*) 'a quiet place in a river' and Skt. *luk* 'Abfall, Schwund,' *lūñcati* 'rauft, rauft aus, enthüllt.' Or Germ. **lug-*, *luh-* may be derived from the root **lēu-* in Lith. *liāutis* 'aufhören,' Czech *leviti* 'lindern, mässigen,' etc.

9. OHG. *lahs* 'Lachs,' ON. *lax*, OE. *leax* 'salmon,' Lett. *lasis*, Lith. *lāsziš*, *laszišzà*, Russ. *losósi* id., etc. are undoubtedly derivatives of the root in Lith. *lāszas* 'Tropfen,' *lāszinti* 'träufeln,' Lett. *lāsa* 'Tropfen, Punkt,' *lāsains* 'punktiert, gesprenkelt,' and perhaps Russ. *lása*, *lasina* 'Fleck von länglicher Form, Streifen,' etc., IE.

lǣks-* or **lōks-*. In the latter case compare **leg-* 'drip' in ON. *leka* 'drip, dribble, leak,' OE. *leccan* (lakjan*) 'wet; water,' MLG. *lecken* 'lecken lassen, destillieren,' MHG. *lecken* 'benetzen,' etc.

For meaning compare Kluge s. v. *Forelle*.

10. ON. *svað(i)* 'slippery place,' *svaða*, *sveðja* 'glide, slip,' *svæði* 'a place exposed to the wind,' OE. *swæp*, *swapu* 'track, trace,' NE. *swath* 'a line or ridge of grass, or grain, cut and thrown together by a scythe,' MLG. *swat*, *swade* id., also 'furrow,' *swade* 'scythe,' Icel. *sveðja* 'a large knife,' Norw. *svada* 'shred or slice off, flake off,' etc. may be combined with OBulg. *chvatiti* (**svōt-*) 'greifen, ergreifen' (i. e. with a swinging motion like NE. *swipe*), Russ. *chvatit'* 'greifen, packen,' *chvatŭ* 'kühner, gewandter, flinker Mensch'; OBulg. *chytiti* (**sŭt-*) 'reissen, greifen, raffén,' LRuss. *chytaty* 'erschüttern, bewegen,' *chytikŭj* 'schwankend,' etc., on which see Berneker, *Et. Wb.* I, 407, 414. For other related words see IE. *a^z*, 118, especially Lith. *siaucziù* (**sēut-*) 'tobe, wüte.'

11. ON. *seimr* 'honeycomb,' OHG. *seim* 'Honigseim,' MDu. *seem*, Du. *zeem* id. was used primarily of the 'comb' not the honey itself. Hence the later development, as in NHG. *seim*, does not justify connection of the word with Gr. *αἷμα* 'blood.' The 'honeycomb,' because of its reticular surface, is here described as 'corded, sewed,' a parallel to OHG. *waba* 'Wabe,' primarily 'web.' Compare ON. *seimr* 'cord, rope': *síme* 'cord, string,' OE. *sīma* 'band, chain,' etc., and Lett. *schūt* (**siū-* 'nähen; Zellen machen (von Bienen),' *schūni* 'Honigscheiben; Zellen der Bienen,' *schūnōt* 'locker, zellig, schwammig machen,' 'honeycomb,' Lith. *siūti* 'nähen': *syva* (**siūā* 'a sewing') 'Honigseim': Skt. *sīvanam* 'das Nähen.'

12. OE. *camb* 'honeycomb,' Germ. **kambō-*, the fem. of *camb* 'comb,' Germ. **kamba-*, is likewise descriptiv of the striated surface of the honeycomb, with especial reference to the interstices. Hence the use of NE. *honeycomb* as a verb.

13. Germ. **hrētō(n)-* 'honeycomb,' whence Vulgar Lat. *frāta* id., occurs in OLFranc. *rāta*, MDu. *rāte*, Du. *raat*, MHG. *rāze*, *rāz* etc. This is compared with MHG. *raz(e)* 'Scheiterhaufen, pyre' (Kluge s. v. *Ross*²), OBulg. *krada* (**qrōdā*) 'Scheiterhaufen, Holzstoss' (Franck, *Et. Wb.*,² 530). This, however, does not imply an original meaning 'Geflecht, Gewebe,' as Kluge claims,

but is rather as if we should call the honeycomb a grate or grill in reference to the intersecting lines.

As a whole the honeycomb is also described as a 'disk,' 'cake,' 'loaf,' as in NHG. *honigscheibe*, -*fladen*, -*kuchen*, Swed. *honingskaka*, etc. Here belong OE. *bēo-brēad* 'bee-bred, honeycomb,' MHG. *bie-brōt* 'Honigscheibe.'

14. OE. *scāp* 'sheep,' OS. *scāp*, OHG. *scāf* id. may represent pre-Germ. **skēbom* or **skēbnom* (or -*pnom*) 'shorn, fleest, clipt, stript (animal).' We might compare Goth. *skaban* 'shave,' Lith. *skapoti* 'schaben,' Gr. *σκέπαρον* 'ax' if these all belong to the *e*-series. In any case *sheep* may be derived from the root **seq-* 'cut.'

For meaning compare ON. *fér* 'sheep,' Gr. *πόκος* 'a shearing, fleece, wool': *πέκω* 'shear, clip, pluck.' So also Gr. *τὰ λεπτά τῶν προβάτων* 'sheep, goats' should be explained not as 'small cattle,' but as 'clipt cattle': *λεπτός* 'peeled off, stript,' *λέπω* 'strip off, peel,' *λοπός* 'shell, husk, bark, lether, hide.' The fleece or pelts of sheep and goats were most frequently stript off to serve as clothing.

15. MLG. *hōken* 'Böckchen, von Ziegen und Schafen,' OE. *hēcen* 'kid'; *hacele* (pelt) 'mantle,' Goth. *hakuls* id., OBulg. *koza* 'Ziege,' *koža* 'δέρρις, δερμα, pellis,' Russ. *kóža* 'abgezogene Haut, Fell, Leder; Haut der Menschen; Schale von Früchten,' *kožurá* 'Haut, Rinde, Schale,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* I, 595, 597) point to a root **qoġ-* or **qaġ-* 'hack, tear, tease, etc.' Compare OE. *haccian* 'hack,' OFris. *tōhakkia* 'zerhacken,' MHG. *hacken*, etc., *hachel*, *hechel* 'Hechel,' NE. *hatchel*, *hetchel*, *heckle* 'comb for flax or hemp,' *vē*. 'comb, as flax or hemp; tease with questions,' OE. *haca* 'hook,' *hacod* 'pike (fish)'; *hōcor* 'derision,' primarily 'a combing, heckling, teasing,' OHG. *huoh* 'Spott': OBulg. *is-kaziti* 'verderben, vernichten,' *pro-kaza* 'Aussatz' (compare Gr. *λεπρός* 'scabby, scaly': *λέπρα* 'leprosy'), Russ. *kazit'* 'entstellen, verderben, beschädigen, verstümmeln,' *pro-kázit'* 'mutwillige Streiche anstellen,' Slov. *kazíti* 'verderben, verhunzen,' Serb.-Cr. *na-káziti* 'entstellen, zeichnen (von Gott zur Strafe),' *nákazan* 'von Gott gezeichnet,' etc. (incorrectly combined with OBulg. *čeznoti* 'erlöschen, schwinden,' Berneker 498): Slov. *kazen* 'Strafe,' *kazníti* 'strafen,' Russ. *kaznít'* 'hart strafen, heimsuchen; hinrichten,' *kazni* 'Strafe; Hinrichtung,' OBulg. *kazni* 'Anordnung; Strafe,' *kazati* 'zeigen, mahnen,' etc., primarily 'score, mark.'

16. NE. *hector* 'a bully; one who teases or vexes,' *vb.* 'threaten, bully; fret at, chide, scold, tease' is wrongly supposed to be a derivativ of Hector, the Trojan hero. It is probably rather a noun of agency derived from an OE. **heccettan*, a freq. of *haccian* 'hack.'

17. Norw. *tira* 'stieren, genau zusehen,' *tir* 'Spähen, Glanz,' ON. *tírr* 'glory, honor,' OE., OS. *tír* id., etc. may, in addition to the words usually given, be compared with Lat. *dírus* 'portentous, ominous, boding, ill-omend, fearful, awful; abominable, dreadful, horrible,' *dírae* 'portents unlucky signs; Furies,' IE. **díros* 'appearing, appearance, sight: glorious, glory; portentous, terrible.' For this double meaning compare the ultimate related Skt. *dívyati* 'shine,' LRuss. *dývýty sá* 'schauen,' OBulg. *divŭ* 'Wunder,' Serb.-Cr. *dīvan* 'wunderbar, wunderschön,' Czech *div* 'Wunder,' *divný* 'wunderbar, sonderbar, schrecklich,' ORuss. *divŭ* 'Wunder, Schreckbild.'

18. *wal-cyrige* 'sorceress,' ON. *val-kyrja* 'Walküre' contains a Germ. **kuzjōn-* 'chooser, seer,' which has a counterpart in this sense in Lat. *augur* 'diviner, seer' from **avi-gus* 'omen-chooser, omen-seer,' *au-gurium* 'the observance and interpretation of omens, divination' (for the first part *avi-* see Walde, *Et. Wb.*,² 73), *augustus* (omen-chosen) 'consecrated, sacred; worshipful, august': Skt. *juṣṭa-*, Av. *zušta-* 'beliebt, erwünscht'; OHG. *kiosan* 'prüfen, erforschen, wahrnehmen, wählen,' MLG. *kēsen* 'wählen, suchen; sehen, bemerken,' OSwed. *kiūsa* 'bezaubern.'

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TWO FOSTER BROTHERS OF D'ARTAGNAN

D'Artagnan has become, thanks to Dumas père, a member of the great family of literary heroes. Few readers know even the name of his first biographer, Gatien de Courtitz, altho Dumas acknowledges his debt and has drawn some of his most famous episodes from the pseudo-memoirs published in 1700. Where Courtitz got his information must remain a mystery. His claim to be acting merely as the editor of papers left by the famous musketeer¹ was

¹For D'Artagnan, see *Rev. pol. et lit.*, 10 mars 1888; Ch. Samaran, *D'Artagnan*, Paris, 1912.

vigorously denied by Bayle. Perhaps Courtilz, himself a soldier, had heard anecdotes from veteran comrades of D'Artagnan, and it is not impossible that he may have known him in the army.

As all the *Mémoires* written by Courtilz are recognized as possessing some historical value, always subject to caution, it may be worth while to follow the records of two other heroes who certainly lived: La Fontaine and Montbrun. Their *Mémoires* (1698 and 1701, respectively), as well as those of D'Artagnan (1700), show a lively interest in England, not found in earlier works. Whence came this new theme? I submit an explanation which seems probable.

Lelong says that Courtilz met at the Bastille, during his imprisonment, the Duke of Tyrconnel, "qui lui raconta tout ce qu'il savait de ce qui s'était passé sous le règne de Charles I . . . et sous l'usurpation de Cromwell. Ce fut sur ces récits qu'il composa *Les Mémoires du Duc de Tirconnel*." These *Mémoires* have never appeared,² and there is no evidence that the Duke was ever in the Bastille. However, in *Les Annales de la Cour* (1701), Courtilz speaks of a natural son of Tyrconnel, named Talbot, who was imprisoned there. The *Archives de la Bastille* show that a Talbot, corresponding to Courtilz' description, was a prisoner from March 31, 1696, to Dec. 22, 1697. As Courtilz was incarcerated from 1693 to 1699, he may well have obtained information from him.

Les Mémoires de La Fontaine, seigneur de Savoye et de Fontenay, relate how the hero,³ at the outbreak of the war with the Prince of Orange, offered his services to Louvois and was made a brigadier in the expeditionary force sent to Ireland. Altho he never reached his destination, he discourses at some length upon the Duke of Tyrconnel, who was in command there. His vessel was captured by the English who tried to persuade him to join them. He feigned to consent, and began his career as a spy. He enjoyed the full confidence of the Prince and claims to have been in constant communication with Louvois. Later he was sent by the English to draw up a report on the French Protestants in Poitou. From there he

² A notice by Courtilz in the *Elite des nouvelles* (1698) of a forthcoming book about England seems to refer to these *Mémoires*.

³ He declares himself native of Anjou, and a natural son of Artus, duc de Bretagne. La Fontaine is the name of his maternal grandmother. He does not explain his other titles.

carried on a double correspondance with Louvois and the English court, acting, as he claims, under orders from the former. Recalled to Paris, he was suddenly arrested and confined in the Bastille.

The *Archives de la Bastille* show that on Dec. 27, 1689, a sieur de Fontenay was arrested by order of Louvois on a charge of criminal intercourse with the enemy. He is described as "un petit homme qui a une joue balafnée." In the preface to the *Mémoires* we read: "M. de Fontenai est petit: il a une physionomie fort mauvaise, et cette méchante mine est encore augmentée par la cicatrice d'une blessure, qu'il a audessous de l'œil. Il est maigre et mince, tel qu'il se représente lui-même en parlant de l'enflure de son corps à la Bastille." It may be worth noting that Courtilz has not described so precisely the person of any of his other heroes.

On March 16, 1692, Pontchartrain wrote to Barbezieux: "Le Roi est informé que le Prince d'Orange a envoyé en France un officier français, nommé Fontenay, qui fut pris, il y a deux ans, en Irlande, étant au service du roi d'Angleterre (Jacques II), et qui s'est mis depuis à celui du prince d'Orange." Barbezieux replied: "M. de Louvois a fait mettre à la Bastille, au mois de décembre 1689, un Fontenay de Poitou, homme hardi, qui avait passé d'Angleterre en France, chargé de quelque ordre de la part du prince d'Orange, pour faciliter les descentes dont il nous menaçait en ce temps-là, lequel, en ayant fait un prétendu sacrifice à M. de Louvois, et offert de servir le Roi en cette occasion, fut apparemment surpris jouant double, et mis à la Bastille. . . . Cet homme a une femme étrangère et une sœur qui ont souvent sollicité sa liberté sans l'obtenir."

The *Mémoires* relate an incident which may throw light on the immediate cause of the hero's arrest. While in England, he became enamoured of the supposed niece, really the mistress, of another French spy of doubtful fidelity. Having seduced her, he brought her back to France, where she promptly betrayed her "uncle," and endeavored to cast doubts on the loyalty of her new lover. As for his foreign wife, the *Mémoires* relate his marriage with a Dutch lady, with whom he returned to France. We read also of his sister, with whom he was constantly quarreling, and who did her utmost to prolong his stay in the Bastille. Only his wife remained faithful to him.

There would seem to be no doubt that the main source for these *Mémoires* is from conversation with fellow captives.

The *Mémoires du Marquis de Montbrun* are unfinished, but it seems certain that the original intention was to relate the English Revolution. We have here an interesting source problem, for many details given by Courtilz are confirmed or glossed by Anselme and Tallemant. Perhaps conversations with Talbot and Fontenay put him on the scent.

Montbrun declares himself the natural son of the duc de Bellegarde by a "pâtissière de la rue Saint-André des Arts." At the time of the great Jubilee (1606) his mother avowed to her husband the secret of his birth. Banished from home and rebuffed by his noble father, the lad depended on skillful trickery at tennis to eke out a living. Going to England, he presented himself as the son of Bellegarde, and rapidly won the favor of the king, Charles I. Tennis, played for large stakes, was fashionable, and Montbrun soon made his fortune. Back at Paris, he finds Bellegarde in need of money, and by the payment of 50,000 crowns obtains recognition as a natural son. He is soon entangled by his father in the conspiracy of Gaston d'Orléans, and claims to have fought at Castelnaudary.

Anselme says that Roger, duc de Bellegarde, died in 1646 without legitimate offspring. He continues: "Pierre de Bellegarde, dit le Marquis de Montbrun, seigneur de Sous-Carrière près de Gros Bois en Brie, fut légitimé par lettres du mois d'avril 1628, épousa Anne des Rogers. . . . Il eut un fils naturel, Charles Henry de Bellegarde, . . . légitimé et anobli au mois de décembre 1652, qu'il fit élever avec grand soin." In the act of legitimation of his son (Bibl. Nat., *Cab. d'Hoz.*, No. 37), and in his marriage contract (cited by Jal), Pierre is called "premier chambellan d'affaires du duc d'Orléans." In the latter document he is also called "Seigneur de Soucarrière." The *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan* mention a Soucarière (sic), natural son of the duc de Bellegarde, who had made a fortune in England by his skill at tennis. Montbrun himself tells us that he took the name of Soucarière (sic) at the time of his sojourn in England. He does not explain its origin, nor that of Marquis de Montbrun, by which he is called in Anselme and in the act of legitimation of his son. But Tallemant, who has given an historiette to our hero, says that Souscarrière is the name of an estate which he bought as soon as he had acquired a fortune. Tallemant adds that he was called Montbrun after his marriage.

Tallemant, like Courtitz, says that Montbrun's mother was the wife of a "pâtissier," but neither takes his supposed paternity very seriously. Tallemant says: "Ce pâtissier avait une femme assez jolie, à qui plusieurs personnes firent leur cour, et entre autres, M. de Bellegarde. Vers le temps des embrassements de M. de Bellegarde, cette femme se sentit grosse et accoucha d'un fils." Tallemant adds that the lad was a skillful tennis player, and won heavily by trickery. He describes as follows the recognition of Montbrun by the duke: "Comme il (Souscarrière) eut un grand fonds, le petit la Lande, qui le connaissait . . . lui dit un jour: 'Pardieu, M. de Souscarrière, vous êtes bien fait, vous avez de l'esprit, vous avez du cœur, vous êtes adroit et heureux; il ne vous manque que de la naissance: promettez-moi dix mille écus, et je vous fais reconnaître par M. de Bellegarde pour son fils naturel. Il a besoin d'argent; vous lui en pouvez prêter. Voici le grand jubilé: votre mère jouera bien son personnage: elle ira lui déclarer que vous êtes à lui et point au pâtissier: qu'en conscience elle ne peut souffrir que vous ayez le bien d'un homme qui n'est point votre père.' Souscarrière s'y accorda. La pâtissière fit sa harangue; M. de Bellegarde toucha son argent, et la Lande pareillement. Voilà Souscarrière, en un matin, devenu le chevalier de Bellegarde."

Montbrun tells the story as follows: "Or cette année (du grand jubilé) étant arrivée, il y eut des missionnaires qui se répandirent dans toutes les paroisses de Paris. . . . Ils opérèrent des conversions admirables pour fruit de leurs prédications, et ma mère, les étant allée entendre comme les autres, elle en revint si touchée qu'elle s'en fut à l'heure même à confesse. M. le curé de Saint-André-des-Arts fut celui entre les mains de qui elle tomba. Elle s'accusa de m'avoir introduit dans la famille de son mari, quoique je ne fusse pas son fils: qu'elle avait eu commerce avec M. le duc de Bellegarde . . . que c'était lui qui était mon véritable père. . . . Je ne sais comment elle pouvait répondre ainsi que j'étais le fils de M. le duc de Bellegarde, et non pas celui du pâtissier. Car il me semble que cela est assez difficile à une femme, à moins que de faire lit à part avec l'un, pendant qu'elle couche avec l'autre. Mais que cela soit ou non, cela n'importe guère à mon sujet; tout ce qu'il y a à dire là-dessus, c'est qu'il fallait bien qu'elle fût assurée de son fait, puisque, non contente de l'avoir dit à son curé, elle consentit encore qu'il en vînt apporter la nouvelle à son mari."

It seems certain that the two authors are using the same source, but we must note that Tallemant places the recognition of Montbrun by the duke in 1606, and that he speaks of him as already wealthy. According to the *Mémoires*, he was but a child at that date, and was recognized only some time before the battle of Castelnaudary (1632). Anselme gives the date of legitimation as 1628.

Tallemant speaks of the sojourn of Montbrun in England whither he had gone "pour se remplumer de quelque perte qu'il avait faite," and where he won much money by gambling and ruse.

The *Mémoires* do not relate the marriage of Montbrun, but Courtitz certainly meant to do so. Jal notes some irregularities in the contract between Pierre de Bellegarde and Anne Derogers. Probably the explanation is to be found in this remark of Tallemant's: "Souscarrière enleva la fille d'un nommé Rogers. . . . L'affaire s'accommoda et on disait qu'il eût eu beaucoup de bien, sans le désordre qui arriva. Cette femme se laissa cajoler par Villandry. . . . Il (Montbrun) en découvrit quelque chose." Tallemant adds that Montbrun thought of killing his wife, but finally pardoned her on condition of never seeing her again. Also that he fought a duel with Villandry on the Place Royale after having slapped him in church, and that the queen was blamed for not punishing this sacrilege. The *Mémoires* allude to a "combat dans la Place Royale avec Villandri, qui n'a été uniquement que pour l'amour de ma femme. . . . Je méritais bien, pour en dire la vérité, qu'on me coupât le cou. . . . Il ne serait pas à propos de parler présentement du combat que je fis contre Villandri, puisque je ne le pourrais faire que par anticipation."

Tallemant makes light of the military prowess of Montbrun. "Il dit que cette vie-là n'était pas sa vie." Possibly his rôle at Castelnaudary, as told in the *Mémoires*, was suggested by the *Mémoires de Pontis*, which seem to have exercised considerable influence on Courtitz' work. Pontis claims to have been one of the captors of Montmorency at this battle. Montbrun declares that he took part in the mad charge which resulted in the capture.

We know that the duke of Bellegarde was constantly engaged in intrigues against Richelieu and took an active part in the revolts of his chief, Gaston d'Orléans.

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TITUS ANDRONICUS ONCE MORE

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for January of this year there appeared an article by Mr. Tucker Brooke entitled "*Titus Andronicus* and Shakespeare." It is an attack upon my paper on "The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*" in the Flügel Memorial Volume (1916). I shall endeavor not to be enticed by the tone of Mr. Brooke's article into making a reply in the same spirit; for I would not be responsible for another of those disgraceful quarrels which have too often taken place among the critics of Shakespeare. He of all men should be most free from bickering and carping commentators who was himself of "demeanor no lesse civill than excelent in the qualitie he professes." But it is essential, both for my own credit and for the clearing up of the points in question, that I should call attention to Mr. Brooke's chief inaccuracies of statement and define more clearly my position where he has apparently misunderstood it.

The papers in a Memorial volume are not limited to any set number of pages, but there is an implicit obligation upon each contributor to condense rather than to elaborate his material. I do not urge this as an excuse for the neglect of essential matters: I do not consider it necessary or desirable to re-examine data which one is accepting without dispute. But it may account for my beginning my article "with a lunge that is apt to scandalize precisians in the critical game." Let me explain my point.

The common assumption among scholars that Shakespeare began his dramatic career by revising plays and that he acquired a knowledge of his art by serving an apprenticeship in this humbler pursuit before he ventured upon the composition of an original drama is based upon the general agreement that this is the logical sequence and upon no actual authority, unless the statement of Greene that he was "an absolute *Johannes Factotum*" be taken in this sense. But even if so, the *Groatsworth of Wit* was of 1592 and refers to Shakespeare's present, not his first endeavors; while Ravenscroft's assertion that he gave only "some master touches" to *Titus Andronicus* was made nearly (if not quite) an entire century after that play was written. The view, then, which has become estab-

lished by constant repetition is based upon the merest assumption of likelihood, and we may well question if it is indeed as probable as it has seemed. There are two reasons why it does not appear so to me. One is, that the impulse of a young man who feels drawn toward dramatic composition is to try his hand forthwith at the writing of a drama—not to seek entrance into the shop where dramas are recast and offer his services there; the other and more cogent reason is that any man who has in his gift the revision of a play will demand credentials—some convincing reason for supposing that the young aspirant is fitted for his task; and there can be no satisfying proof of this other than actual dramatic composition. Any man may submit a play he has written, and it may be read and produced; but unless Shakespeare had some special influence to bring to bear, of which we have no knowledge or indication, it does not seem plausible to me that the task of revising a play would be given to him until he had shown something of his quality as a playwright.

These were the considerations which led me to suggest my first point of departure; and I based them upon what I believed to be universal conditions and a fundamental psychology. I did not rest my case upon the modern analogy which I mentioned in passing. Nor did I belie my own statement "by unquestioning acceptance of Shakespeare's employment as reviser of *Henry VI.*" I consider that Shakespeare had become sufficiently established by his original plays of *Titus Andronicus* and *Love's Labour's Lost* to be entrusted with work of revision before he did anything with *Henry VI.* Mr. Brooke, in endeavoring to answer my contention, says that "it was a regular thing for *obscure*¹ writers to revise the work of the greatest, for Birde and Rowley to amplify *Doctor Faustus* and 'Begemy Jonson' in his days of servitude to produce additions to the *Spanish Tragedy.*" From the point of view of the professional manager, whether then or now, there is a vast difference between the untried and the 'obscure' writer of plays; and since Mr. Brooke accuses me of a *non-sequitur* I take some pleasure in recording this one. And I cannot forbear to remark in passing that Henslowe paid Jonson for additions to the *Spanish Tragedy* on September 25, 1601, and that Jonson was well out of his days of servitude when he had produced *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man Out of his*

¹ My italics.

*Humour, The Case Is Altered, Cynthia's Revels, and The Poet-aster.*²

But when Mr. Brooke says, "No mention is made of the early editions or notices in Henslowe and the *Stationers' Register*, though much of this material is certainly pertinent and, it seems to me, adverse to Mr. Gray's thesis," he implies a fault of which I have never yet been guilty. I distinctly refer to the "*Titus and Vespacia* which was 'new' according to Henslowe in 1591" (p. 123, n.), and I record that Henslowe mentions this play in all six times (p. 122); I note also that *Titus and Vespasia* was performed by Lord Strange's men and *Titus Andronicus* by Pembroke's men. None of the other familiar facts to which Mr. Brooke refers stood either for or against the hypothesis I had put forward. I was aware of those facts; I was equally aware that everyone who read my article with intelligence would also be cognisant of them; if they had been pertinent I should surely have introduced them; if they had been adverse to my thesis I should not have let them go without the most careful consideration. Truly, I have not tried to conceal such data as we find in Henslowe's Diary and the *Stationers' Register*, nor have I tried to hold back the date of the First Quarto! And it somewhat surprises me that a scholar should throw out the casual observation that *much* of this material *seems to him* adverse to my thesis without the faintest hint of *how* it is adverse to my thesis. Yet this comes from the man who has just accused my method of being "ingenuous and the reverse of technical," and is about to brand it as a method of "proof by pure assertion." Indeed, in the sentence from which I have just quoted (p. 34), Mr. Brooke writes: "Ignoring all the external evidence except that of the Folio editors and of Meres." There is, so far as I am aware, just one other piece of external evidence, and this I have not ignored; for I wrote: "That *Titus Andronicus* was acted by Pembroke's men is an argument against Shakespeare's having *revised* the piece, rather than against his original authorship of it"—a consideration which I wish those who hold to the traditional view would take more definitely into account.³ I am not in the habit of concealing evidence; rather I

² Henslowe's other entry, for new additions, to which Mr. Brooke's reference seems more definitely to be made, is to 'bengemy Johnstone' (not 'Bengemy Jonson') and is dated 'the 22 of June, 1602.'

³ Mr. Brooke cannot be referring again to the Henslowe references, for the only use these have been put to which would entitle them to be called

incline to feature any point which seems to stand against my theory. In my article on *Titus Andronicus* I wrote: "But let me not be of those who, having formed a theory, bend all the evidence to sustain it. There are objections . . ." And again, "I have not been able to satisfy myself at every point," telling just how and why. This is "proof by pure assertion" except in two particulars: that it disclaims being proof, and avoids pure assertion.

Nor do I argue in a circle regarding the Meres reference. I say that Meres included every other play (so far as we know) of which Shakespeare was the original author and no other play of which he was only the reviser; and that no other hypothesis has been put forward which satisfactorily explains the inclusion of *Titus Andronicus* and the rejection of *Henry VI* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. That Mr. Brooke should bring up *The Troublesome Reign* in this connection seems to me unworthy of so excellent a scholar. Surely I do not need to prove with solemn laboriousness that Shakespeare's *King John* is an original drama in a sense in which *Henry VI* and *The Taming of the Shrew* are not.

It would be easy, but I trust superfluous, to defend my having devoted so much of my paper on "The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*" to the essential task of examining opposing views and to an inquiry into its characteristics of style.⁴ What I more resent is Mr. Brooke's assertion that only in considering the double endings do I "again venture into the open," and that I do not "come to grips" with my argument after the second page. I had early announced my thesis, that "the distinctively Shakespearean passages are for the most part inherent in the structure of the drama. . . . On the other hand, those parts of the play which are most un-Shakespearean have in every instance a structural explana-

"external evidence" is in the widely accepted theory of Fuller; and to Fuller's theory I have definitely recorded my objections.

"In saying that "successful identification of Shakespeare's style" would not prove his responsibility for the plot and structure of *Titus Andronicus*, Mr. Brooke shows me that I must write in a manner which is singularly difficult for even a trained scholar to follow. I wrote: "It is a presumption by which I am quite willing to stand that if Shakespeare was the original author of *Titus Andronicus*, the main body of the play as we now have it is of his making" (p. 114). It was necessary, therefore, to examine the style in order to ascertain, if possible, whether the main portion of the play exhibited characteristics of the early Shakespeare, and which portions were most obviously not in his manner. Do I make myself clear?

tion for their having been inserted." The last part of my paper is wholly devoted to an investigation of the passages which appear, on an examination of the structure of the drama, to be the added portions—the work of the revisers; and I give, as best I can, my reasons for believing that these very passages are the most un-Shakespearean portions of the play. So far as I knew when I wrote this article, or as I can see now, this is all quite in the open. Indeed, it is the most crucial point in my argument.

Mr. Brooke concludes his criticism, except for a paragraph of miscellaneous accusations, by attacking the statistics I present regarding the double endings, though the apostle of "cautious laboriousness" remarks that he has not "had the heart" to check them up except in the first act of the *Battle of Alcazar*. In saying that "Marlowe *never* employs the double ending as frequently as Shakespeare *always* employs it," which so scandalizes Mr. Brooke and fills him with uncorroborated incredulity, I was speaking of the percentages in entire dramas. My statement was introduced by a "This means" after giving the percentages for Marlowe's plays, as I had for the early plays of Shakespeare. Of course Shakespeare has some scenes in which the double ending is not employed at all. According to my counting, Marlowe's play of highest percentage, *Edward II*, falls just under Shakespeare's play of lowest percentage, *King John*. This is not a matter to exclaim about, and to inform the world of scholars that it "outrages" you. It is a matter for verification or disproof, and for a discreet silence in the meanwhile.

Mr. Brooke calls attention to Marlowe's *Lucan* (not observing that I had definitely taken this poem into account) and *Hero and Leander*. The very discrepancy in double ending percentages shows clearly enough that the set poems furnish no criterion for Marlowe's custom in dramatic dialogue. I do not "rest a categorical denial of the possibility" of anything whatever on double ending percentages. My whole consideration of the matter was to show that *Titus Andronicus* does as a matter of fact conform with Shakespeare's custom in this particular, and does not conform with the custom of such other dramatists of the time as have been put forward as possible authors of the piece.⁵

⁵ Perhaps Mr. Brooke would not make so much commotion about so impersonal a matter if he had not committed himself to a false deduction in his important and valuable discussion of *The Authorship of the Second*

A consideration which I have not seen mentioned in this connection is that some of Shakespeare's early contemporaries who are very sparing in their use of double endings, allow themselves much more freedom when the end-word of the line is a proper name. In my counting I have at times compared these dramatists when this special type of double ending was excluded; and I suggest that supplementary tables be always given where the practice of the dramatist in question makes it a matter of special significance. It is so with Peele. Peele has thirteen double endings in the first act of the *Battle of Alcazar*, but only four exclusive of proper names.⁶ I included the reckoning I had made on this basis without remembering that it was on this basis that I had made it; and I hasten with eagerness and thankfulness to recognize and admit the one instance in which Mr. Brooke has really been accurate in his discussion of my paper.

But to my theory regarding the composition of *Titus Andronicus* Mr. Brooke has raised not the slightest obstacle; he has made no contribution to the subject. He has juggled with the reputation of a fellow-student; and on a careful and candid examination of the serious charges brought forward we find the truth in them reduced to an inadvertency in recording the number of double

and Third Parts of *King Henry VI* (Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1912). The 7% of double endings in the *True Tragedy* would by Mr. Brooke's own figures be an indication of collaboration between Marlowe and Shakespeare rather than of Marlowe's sole authorship, for the highest percentage for any of the undisputed plays Mr. Brooke gives as $4\frac{1}{3}$ for *Edward II*. This, I presume, is his "differs considerably" from my estimate of 3.8%. But one should not find a difference of about one-half of one per cent. so considerable when he identifies $5.0 + \%$ with "nearly 6%" in the first act of the *Battle of Alcazar*. A true precisian should be more precise. Mr. Brooke's countings tend to run above mine, possibly because he counts some lines which I reject as doubtful. But our results should be *relatively* the same for the various dramas.

⁶A fifth instance, which would make Mr. Brooke's fourteen, might be found in the line,

Murdering his uncle and his brethren,

which I had read,

Murdering / his un- / cle and / his breth- / (e) ren,

because of Peele's pronunciation of "brethren" as a trisyllable; e. g.:

And disinherit us his brethren,

in scene I, line 80, of this act.

endings in the first act of the *Battle of Alcazar*. In my work on Shakespeare I emphasize always points of dramaturgy rather than those which have received a proportionately fuller consideration from most scholars. This could easily be mistaken for a neglect of crucial data and an undue haste in arriving at conclusions. If these were real instead of seeming faults, Mr. Brooke would have done well in exposing me; but what I have written is accessible, and I lay it not before the modern public which is "pitiablely receptive of new theories," but before those who are competent to judge.

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FIELDING NOTES

1. The Composition of *Pasquin*.

That Fielding's plays were written in haste has been a common assertion of his critics. It is, therefore, rather interesting to discover just how short a time he spent on the composition of *Pasquin*, his famous "Satire on the Times." Presented on Friday, March 5, 1736, it must have been in rehearsal at least as early as Monday, March 1, and yet it contains an allusion to an event which happened as late as February 16.

There are three allusions in all bearing upon the date of composition. The first is in Act I, where Fustian, the author of the tragedy, speaking in defence of his Ghost, says: "I think it is not amiss to remind People of those things which they are, now-a-days, too apt to disbelieve; besides, we have lately had an *Act* against Witches, and I don't question but shortly we shall have one against Ghosts." The act referred to here can be no other than the Witchcraft Bill (9 Geo. II, c. 5), which was read for the first time on January 27, 1736, and which was passed on February 11. This was an act to repeal the act against witchcraft of the first year of James I. It was, in effect, an abolishing of the belief in witches, and thus fits in with the meaning of the text.

The second allusion is in Act II. The third voter says to the colonel: "I have read in a Book call'd *Fog's Journal*, that your Honour's Men are to be made of Wax." This is a reference to an interesting article which appeared in *Fog's Journal* for January 17,

1736, an anonymous letter humorously proposing to create an army of wax-work which would be quite as useful as the real army.

The third allusion is in Act IV, where Law, in speaking of direful omens, says:

The other Day

A mighty Deluge swam into our Hall,
As if it meant to wash away the Law:
Lawyers were forc'd to ride on Porters shoulders;
One, O Prodigious Omen! tumbled down,
And he and all his Briefs were sous'd together.

This is most certainly a reference to the high tide of February 16, 1736, which flooded Westminster Hall when the Court of Common Pleas was sitting, an account of which is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of February, 1736, and the *Daily Advertiser* of February 17. There is even specific allusion to an accident mentioned in the *Daily Journal*, and quoted in the *Grub-Street Journal* of February 19 as follows: "A porter carrying one of the counsellors thro' the Hall upon his back, the water was so high that he fell down, and they both were like to be drowned."

We thus have allusions to contemporary happenings of January and February, 1736, and if these were seized upon by Fielding while he was writing the play, as I am for several reasons inclined to believe, rather than inserted in a play already written, we have good reason to believe that the first part of *Pasquin*, containing the comedy, was not written until after January 27 at least, and possibly not until after February 11; and that the second part, containing the tragedy, was not written until after February 16, when the rehearsal must have been less than two weeks away. It does not necessarily follow, however, that *Pasquin* was written carelessly.

2. Date of *The Historical Register*.

It is customary to refer to *The Historical Register* as having been performed late in March or about the first of April, 1737. Such a statement is based upon the earliest known advertisement, which is found in the *Daily Journal* for Wednesday, April 6. It is in reality only a note to an advertisement of the publication of Lillo's *Fatal Curiosity*, and states that the performance of April 11 would be the ninth day of both *Fatal Curiosity* and *The Historical Register*. It would seem an easy undertaking to reckon back from Monday, April 11, the ninth day, and fix the first performance of

The Historical Register for Friday, April 1. There are, however, several objections to such a procedure.

In the first place, the fact that the advertisements printed in the *Daily Journal* of Wednesday, April 6, the *London Daily Post* of Thursday, April 7, and the *Daily Journal* of Friday, April 8, are all for the performance of Monday, April 11, would indicate that there were no performances on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. These days fell in Passion Week. In the second place, the *Grub-Street Journal* for March 24, 1737, says: "We are informed, that the Tragedy called *The Fatal Curiosity*, now acting in the Hay-Market, and puffed in the Papers as a *New Performance*, was acted there last year, under the Title of *Guilt its own punishment*." This is strong evidence that *The Historical Register*, which was being acted with *Fatal Curiosity*, was being performed as early as March 24, 1737.

Now on just what day was the first performance given? The answer is to be found, I am firmly convinced, in the announcement of Auctioneer Hen in the second act of the play. Hen announces his auction, which is the big scene of the play, as occurring "on Monday, the 21st Day of March." Since the twenty-first of March actually fell on a Monday in 1737, and since the first performance cannot be thought of as much earlier than the twenty-fourth, it is a natural assumption that Fielding was here using the actual date of the first performance. It is, at least, a coincidence too striking to be disregarded, and it fits in well with the reference to the plays three days later as "now acting."

3. A New Fielding Letter.

In May, 1737, there was printed a controversy which largely concerned the political aspects of Fielding's *Pasquin* and *The Historical Register*. I refer to a vigorous letter signed "An Adventurer in Politicks," which appeared in the *Daily Gazetteer* of May 7, and the vigorous answer to it which appeared in *Common Sense* May 21. This second letter, signed, like the dedication of *Tumble-Down Dick*, by Fielding's pseudonym, "Pasquin," has never been included in any of Fielding's works, but I shall try to show, both by internal evidence and one external source, that it was nevertheless written by Fielding himself.

In the first place it shows Fielding's use of "hath."¹ It is in other respects in the style of Fielding's dedication of *The Historical Register*, and the frank coarseness of the allusion to Ward's Pill, with which the letter concludes, is typical. The use of the first person, while not conclusive of Fielding's authorship, nevertheless helps to strengthen the case in such sentences as, "I shall not be industrious to deny, what you are so good as to declare, that I am buoy'd up by the greatest Wits, and finest Gentlemen of the Age," and "The *Historical Register*, and *Eurydice Hiss'd*, being now publish'd, shall answer for themselves against what you are pleased to say concerning them: but as you are pleased to assert that I have insinuated that all Government is a Farce . . . I shall quote the lines on which you ground your assertions . . . I am far from asserting that all Government is a *Farce*, but I affirm that, however the very Name of Power may frighten the Vulgar, it will never be honoured by the Philosopher, or the Man of Sense, unless accompany'd with Dignity." External corroboration of Fielding's authorship of the letter is not lacking. A letter in *Common Sense* for October 21, 1738, refers to Fielding's use of the analogy of Ward's Pill as follows: "There was a Poet, whose little Pieces became the Delight of the Town, and gave Bread to a Company of Comedians at the little Theatre in the Haymarket: But Wit and Satire, as he himself observed, are like some Medicines, which will not operate upon sound Constitutions, but when they meet with a rotten Carcass, they play the Devil; and our Projector happening to have a great many sore Places about him, our Poet's Pills, gave him the Gripes." This shows that Fielding was at least supposed by a contemporary to be the author of the letter.

The reply which Fielding made to the argument of the "Adventurer in Politicks" against the bringing of politics on the stage was vigorous, and significantly cited Aristophanes as an example. He also defended himself from the assertion that by ridicule he was making light of grave evils, as Gay had turned highwaymen into heroes. He denied that Gay made heroes of his highwaymen, and asserted that "we do not always approve what we laugh at," citing Hobbes to the effect that "Laughter is a Sign of Contempt."

¹ See Keightley, *Fraser's Magazine*, February, 1858, p. 217, and G. E. Jensen's edition of the *Covent-Garden Journal* (Yale Univ. Press, 1915), I, 103.

Incidentally he gives us a glimpse of his idea of satire, which should ridicule without being bitter. "And by raising such a Laugh as this against Vice," he says, "*Horace* assures us we give a sorer Wound, than it receives from all the Abhorrence which can be produced by the gravest and bitterest Satire." It is a sensible and vigorous letter, and under its tone of raillery there is a decided tone of seriousness which points ahead to the Fielding of the *Covent-Garden Journal* and the *Champion*.

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REVIEWS

Karl Gutzkow's Short Stories. A Study in the Technique of Narration. By DANIEL FREDERICK PASMORE. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1918. 122 pp., \$1.40.

Irgendeine Bibliographie, etwa Herm. Anders Krügers *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, München 1914, enthält so wenig Literatur über Gutzkow, dass man sich wundern muss, warum eine ganze Reihe von Einzeluntersuchungen aus Gutzkows Gebiet nicht längst schon vergeben sind. Die deutsche Forschung behandelt Gutzkow noch immer stiefmütterlich. Houbens ausgedehnte und eindringliche Studien ermöglichen eine bessere Beurteilung von Dichter und Werk, aber selbst Houbens Forschung ist mehr eine umfassender Versuch als ein abschliessendes Werk. Nötige biographische und kritische Vorarbeiten fehlen noch dazu, was bei einem so fruchtbaren Schriftsteller wie Gutzkow doppelt schwer wiegt. Amerikanische Germanisten andererseits beschäftigen sich m. E. immer noch zu einseitig mit der klassischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Frühromantik; das deutsche 19. Jahrhundert endet vielen von ihnen—wie den meisten Professoren des Englischen—mit Heine. Seit einiger Zeit ist ein gewisses Interesse an der modernsten deutschen Literatur wahrzunehmen; aber es steht ohne gründliche wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis gerade der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts auf schwachen Füßen. Es fehlen, wenn ich so sagen darf, die gesunden Bindeglieder zwischen Kuno Franckes wertvoller *History of German Literature* und Ludwig Lewisohns geistreicher Schrift *The Spirit of Modern German Literature*, die eben nach kaum zwei Jahren eine zweite Auflage erlebt hat.

Einem ernsten Studium und Verständnis Gutzkows wird hoffentlich die neue Zeit zugute kommen, die mit der deutschen Revolution von 1918 beginnt. In ihrem Lichte werden alle demokratischen Bewegungen im Deutschland hauptsächlich des 19. Jahrhunderts von neuem einzuschätzen sein. Von Jungdeutschland sind starke und anhaltende geistige und politische Mächte ausgegangen oder besser ins Werk gesetzt worden. Man braucht nur an die Forderungen der unbedingten politischen und religiösen Freiheit zu erinnern, an die Trennung von Staat und Kirche, den Aufschwung der Presse, die Demokratisierung des Bildungswesens und die Frauenemanzipation. Auch Gutzkow war ein "Doktor der Revolution" und mit Karl Marx, Ruge und eigentlich jedem einzelnen der berühmten Revolutionäre wohlbekannt. Nebenbei gesagt, auch mit dem deutsch-amerikanischen Sozialisten Weitling hat er Fühlung gehabt; W. F. Kamman in seiner interessanten Schrift *Socialism in German American Literature*, Philadelphia 1917, hat das leider nicht weiter beachtet. Gutzkow hat auch irgendwie Kunde von Amerikas Verfassung, Leben und sogar seiner Literatur gehabt. Auch das wäre der Untersuchung wert, vielleicht unter dem Gesamttitel "Die Jungdeutschen und Amerika," und könnte ein hübsches Gegenstück zu John Whytes *Young Germany in its Relations to Britain* bilden. Und wenn dieser Stoff auch nur einen Aufsatz füllte, so wäre das schon Förderung der Wissenschaft. Es muss ja nicht immer eine breitgetretene Doktordissertation sein.

Pasmore schreibt nun im Vorwort seiner Arbeit, er glaube "that there is a definite place for a critical survey of Karl Gutzkow's short stories" und hoffe "to draw some measure of attention to this writer's less comprehensive but still deserving efforts." In seinem Glauben und Hoffen ist er nicht fehlgegangen. Schon die Wahl des Gegenstandes ist zu loben. Die Arbeit selber empfiehlt sich durch verschiedenes. Sie will nicht einseitig und eng sein und gibt deshalb nicht nur eine kurze Lebensskizze Gutzkows und Besprechung seiner Stellung in der Literatur, sondern auch die jungdeutsche Bewegung und die Entwicklung der Theorie der Novelle bis 1835, schliesslich auf ein paar Seiten die literarischen Ansichten Gutzkows und sehr brauchbare Inhaltsangaben von 23 seiner Novellen. Die übrigen zwei Drittel des Buches gehören der mehr technischen Studie über Gutzkows Erzählungsweise.—Einige der Anfangskapitel sind zu knapp um gründlich oder auch nur ganz

klar zu sein. Im 2. Kapitel überrascht uns der Verfasser mit Paul Pfizers *Briefwechsel zweier Deutschen* ohne Datum usw. Da Paul Pfizer viel weniger bekannt und bedeutend ist als sein jüngerer Bruder Gustav, waren nähere Angaben sehr nötig. Es geht weiterhin nicht an, ihn einfach mit Wolfgang Menzel auf eine Stufe zu stellen (Pasmore, S. 17). Das 3. Kapitel ist unverzeihlich flüchtig: statt Stuttgart wird zweimal Strassburg gebraucht, Gutzkows Gefängnisstrafe ist zu kurz bemessen, und die Jahreszahlen verschiedener Werke stimmen nicht. Die fünfseitige Bibliographie am Ende ist unnötig breit und auch ungenau. Verdienstlich ist die Liste C, die wenigstens die meisten Schriften über deutsche Novellisten und ihre Technik verzeichnet.

Leider hat Pasmore seinem Gegenstand im ganzen eine weniger tiefe und gründliche Behandlung angedeihen lassen als der erlaubte, ja forderte. Die Unvollständigkeit des Materials erklärt allerdings ein gut Teil. Selbst die wichtigeren Schriften Gutzkows sind aus amerikanischen Universitätsbibliotheken nicht zu beschaffen. Mir persönlich stand zum Glück noch die Bostoner Public Library zur Verfügung, die ungefähr so viel wie die Congressional Library besitzt, was für wissenschaftliche Zwecke wenig genug ist. Nur Ausgaben von *Uriel Acosta* sind überall in Hülle and Fülle zu haben. Wenn die Besitzstände der amerikanischen öffentlichen und akademischen Büchereien einen Schluss erlauben, so ist es der, dass Gutzkow ungefähr wie Spielhagen ziemlich schlecht mit der amerikanischen Gunst gefahren ist. Warum, so frage ich mich bei beiden Schriftstellern vergebens.

Bleibt immer noch der Einwand, dass sich der Verfasser nicht gehörig mit dem Stand der Gutzkowforschung vertraut gemacht hat. Karl Rosenkranzens *Neue Studien* mit einem Aufsatz über Gutzkows *Ritter vom Geist* werden z. B. erwähnt; warum nicht auch der Aufsatz desselben Mannes aus seinen *Studien*, Fünfter Teil, Leipzig 1848, betitelt *Karl Gutzkow bis zu seinem dramatischen Auftreten* (1840)? Hier fand sich u. a. eine interessante Besprechung der 2 Bände *Novellen*, die 1834 in Hamburg, und der 2 Teile *Soireen*, die 1835 in Frankfurt a. M. erschienen. Auch Winke für eine Bewertung der Novellen waren vorhanden. Schon der Fund von Karl Gutzkows *Ausgewählten Novellen mit einer Einleitung von Rudolf von Gottschall*, in Reclams Universalbibliothek, Nr. 5079/80, hätte sich gelohnt, insofern als er dem Ver-

fasser einen anregenden Aufsatz über *Gutzkow als Epiker* vermittelt hätte. Und das führt mich zu meinem Haupteinspruch, dass nämlich die Novellen Gutzkows vom Verfasser ausser allem Zusammenhang mit seinem prosaischen Gesamtwerk betrachtet werden. Roman und Novelle hängen aber eng zusammen, und Gutzkow ist keine Ausnahme. Im Gegenteil, gerade bei ihm verlaufen die Grenzen zwischen beiden. *Die Diakonissin*, die er ein "Lebensbild" nennt und die in der Sonderausgabe, Frankfurt a.M. 1855, 223 Seiten umfasst, bedurfte nur einer grösseren Ausspinnung des Lebensschicksals einiger Personen, der Vertiefung von nur gestreiften Problemen und allgemein einer volleren Orts- und Menschenschilderung, um ein Weltbild zu werden und ein Roman zu heissen. *Seraphine* führt Pasmore selber als Roman auf, ohne sich genauer darüber auszulassen. Rosenkranz macht a.a.O. darauf aufmerksam, dass sich *Seraphine* bereits aus der sogenannten Bambocciade *Das Singekränzchen* entwickelt habe; ein Hinweis also darauf, dass bei Gutzkow aus einem kleinen skizzenhaften Gebilde so etwas wie ein ausgeführtes episches Werk entstehen kann. Die Möglichkeit ist die Hauptsache hierbei, nicht die Vollkommenheit der Ausführung. Man hat bei einem Romane Gutzkows, *Blasedow und seine Söhne* (1837) das umgekehrte Verfahren angewandt, nämlich eine Episode als "in sich völlig abgeschlossenes Genrebild" herausgenommen und unter dem Titel *Zwei Studenten der Zukunft* besonders veröffentlicht, und zwar in Ernst Ecksteins *Humoristischem Hausschatz fürs deutsche Volk*, 3. Band, Leipzig 1872. Dass der Verfasser einen Zusammenhang von Roman und Novelle geahnt hat, geht aus seiner Bemerkung auf der vorletzten Seite hervor; "They (i. e., the short stories) present in miniature the panorama which the author's larger novels present in full." Eine Ausmalung dieses Panoramas ist aber gerade was fehlt. Auch auf Seite 100 wird eine gute Beobachtung über den Unterschied von beiden gemacht und zwar vom Gesichtspunkt des "plot" aus. Hier könnte man ausserdem eine Bemerkung Eichendorffs notieren¹; er spricht von der historischen Novelle, "die sich zum Romane etwa verhält, wie das Konversationsstück zur Tragödie, oder das Genrestück zur Historienmalerei."—Hierher gehört auch das Verhältnis der Novelle zum Drama, was mir der Verfasser zu rasch abtut: aller-

¹*Der deutsche Roman des 18. Jahrhunderts in seinem Verhältnis zum Christentum*, Leipzig 1851, S. 264.

dings hat er hierbei mehrere amerikanische Forscher hinter sich. Gutzkow sagt ausdrücklich (bei Pasmores, S. 29), die Erzählung sei ein "objektiv berichtetes Drama," und hat selbst zwei seiner wertvollsten Novellen dramatisiert. Es ist nicht zufällig, dass Gutzkow sich ganz ähnlich wie Paul Heyse oder Wilbrandt oder Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, um nur ein paar Namen der deutschen Novellenkunst zu nennen, höchst erfolgreich im Drama betätigt hat. Nur Gottfried Keller, Storm und K. F. Meyer, in zweiter Linie auch Mörike, Stifter und Fontane, haben die Verbindung Lyrik und Novellistik rein aufzuweisen; doch haben selbst Keller und Fontane recht merkwürdige dramatische Anwendungen verspürt. Und umgekehrt liesse sich sagen, dass einige der bedeutendsten modernen deutschen Dramatiker auch echte Novellenkunst geschaffen haben, man denke an Kleist, Otto Ludwig, Anzengruber und Wildenbruch. Hier sind Beziehungen, die noch aufzudecken sind. Die deutsche Forschung scheint sich neuerdings dem Problem des Novellistischen von der Seite der Form genähert zu haben. Oskar Walzel verweist z. B. in seinem Heft *Die Künstlerische Form des Dichtwerks*, Berlin 1916, u.a. auf seinen Aufsatz "Die Kunstform der Novelle," der 1915 in der *Zeitschrift für deutschen Unterricht*, XXIX, 161 ff. erschienen, mir aber leider noch nicht zu Gesicht gekommen ist.

Das bringt mich zu Pasmores 1. Kapitel über die Theorie der Novelle. Es ist m.E. ganz falsch, mit ihm u.a. zu sagen, dass der deutsche Kritiker im Punkte Novelle "less severe in his demands" sei als der amerikanische bezüglich der *short story*. Natürlich darf man nicht einfach beide Begriffe gleichsetzen, aber aus anderen Gründen als der Verfasser meint. Mit dem Wort Novelle wird nämlich von vielen Dichtern und Kritikern leichtfertig umgegangen. Novelle *kann* alles bedeuten—genau wie *short story*; *kann* auch einfach mit Erzählung gleichgestellt werden, etwa wie früher Ballade und Romanze umschichtig gebraucht worden ist. Friedrich Lienhard, der Klassiker aus Deutsch-Elsass, nennt *Der Einsiedler und sein Volk* (1914) einen Band von Erzählungen, erklärt jedoch im Vorwort ausdrücklich "*Novelle*—wir verstehen darunter eine gedrängte, gut aufgebaute, sprachlich sorgfältig behandelte Geschichte, die gleichsam in einem Brennpunkt ein ganzes Lebensschicksal zusammenfasst." Aber bei den grossen und echten Novellenschreibern Deutschlands ist Novelle eine ganz bestimmte Kunst-

form. Ein grosszügiger Kritiker der Literatur wie Walzel nimmt seine Normen nur aus literarischen Mustern. Auch das ernste Suchen der deutschen Novellisten nach einem klaren Begriff, wenn auch nicht immer nach einer sogenannten Theorie der Novelle unterstützt meine Behauptung. In Amerika haben sich nur Poe und Bret Harte, die beide stark von Deutschland beeinflusst waren, zur *short story* geäussert.—Pasmore wiederholt nur, was zahlreiche Amerikanisten hierzulande behaupten. So nimmt Pattee in seiner *History of American Literature since 1870*, 1915 erschienen, ziemlich kritiklos an, dass "the brevity of form" einfach "an excellence of workmanship" ergibt. Aber "literature in parcels" macht an sich weder die *short story* noch die Novelle aus. Ich weise hierauf nur hin, weil Pasmore in diesem Zusammenhang allein sieben englische Werke namentlich aufführt. Uebrigens bereits in Robert McBurney Mitchells verdienstvoller Dissertation *Heyse and His Predecessors in the Theory of the Novelle* (1915) wird Brander Matthews auf Seite 73 Anm. 2 korrigiert.

Für die geschichtliche Darstellung der Novellentheorie vor Gutzkow fusst Pasmore grossenteils auf Mitchells bekannten Studien. Eine bessere Kenntnis der deutschen Novellenliteratur hätte ihn von Mitchell etwas weniger abhängig gemacht. In einem Punkte hat er sich lobenswert selbständig gezeigt, dass er am lebendigen Beispiel Gutzkow nicht so sehr die Theorie der Novelle betrachtet hat als vielmehr die Leistung des Novellisten. Die Novellen selber verraten oft viel besser als der Novellenschreiber, wie eine gute Novelle aussehen muss oder was er sich darunter vorstellt. Bezeichnend bleibt immerhin, dass Gutzkow selbst so verschiedene Bezeichnungen gebraucht, wie Bambocciade, Skizze, Erzählung, Lebensbild, Novelle, kleiner Roman und Roman. Ich habe immer gefunden, dass Mitchell z. B. den geschwätzigen Theoretiker Mundt überschätzt, während er dem grossen Meister Storm nicht genug Wert beilegt; deshalb stimme ich hierin und im ganzen mit John Lees überein, der in der *Modern Language Review* vom Juli 1918 Mitchell vorwirft, er stütze sich zu einseitig auf Heyse. Für Pasmore ergab sich die Gelegenheit, Mitchells Ausführungen über Jungdeutschland zu vervollständigen und zwar durch Gutzkows literarische Theorie und Praxis. Für die Wandlung der Anschauungen Gutzkows vom Roman wäre noch seine Kritik *Ein Roman von Rudolf Gottschall*, aus der Sammlung *In bunter Reihe, Briefe*,

Skizzen, Novellen, Berlin 1878, von Wert gewesen. Danach wäre der Roman, es war 1876 oder 77, kaum mehr für "ideelle Bestrebungen" zu wählen; der deutsche Roman sei der wahre Münchhausen zu Wasser und zu Lande geworden . . . der "ausgetretene Schlappschuh der Muse des Tages."

Pasmore benützt als eine der Hauptquellen der Gutzkowschen Theorie das Buch von 1868 *Vom Baum der Erkenntnis*, übergeht aber ausgerechnet die wichtige zusammenfassende Stelle auf Seite 211: "Wer Novellen schreiben will, muss zunächst die Anschauung irgend einer anekdotisch auffallenden Widersinnigkeit haben, einer erschütternden Zufallsbegegnung im ernstesten Genre, einer anmutig komischen im heitern. Um dies Faktum herum ist dann der Faden der Entwicklung anzulegen und das im Zusammenhang Sinnige aus dem vereinzelt Widersinnigen einschmeichelnd und überzeugend darzustellen. Ohne Zweifel hat Tieck seine Novellen so gearbeitet." Das verursacht schiefe Auffassungen über Gutzkows literarische Ansichten wie über sein Verhältnis zu Tieck dem Novellenschreiber. B. Riefferts Dissertation, Münster 1908, über Gutzkows Stellung zur Romantik hätte dem Verfasser mehr geben sollen als einen Platz in der Bücherliste, vor allem die Ueberzeugung, dass Gutzkow keineswegs "bitterly opposed to Romanticism" (Pasmore, S. 29) war; auch das Urteil des Verfassers auf Seite 116: "The influence of the Romanticists upon Gutzkow is slight," etc. ist falsch. Rieffert bringt schwerwiegende Belege für Gutzkows schönes Verständnis für Eichendorff und Uhland. Die zwei Anführungen aus *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, Stuttgart 1839, und dem Sammelwerk *In bunter Reihe*, die erste über Eichendorff, die zweite über den "Zauber der Romantik" hätten sich Pasmore, S. 25 sehr gut angeschlossen, vorzüglich im Punkte der dort erwähnten Dreiteilung der Literatur. Die Eichendorff-Stufe vereinigte für Gutzkow die epische oder Goethesche mit der romantischen oder subjektiven. Deshalb wollte er damals Eichendorff nachfolgen, wie er es später und in anderer Weise bei dem Novellisten Tieck tat. Am Ende seines Lebens und Schaffens stellte er sich die dritte Stufe oder die Moderne (mit dem Gedanken) als eine Ueberwindung vor, des Antiken (mit dem Opfer) und des Romantischen (mit dem Wunder). Ein paar Worte mehr hinsichtlich Gutzkows theoretischer Stellung zur Romantik. In einem von Rieffert und Pasmore übersehenen frühen Aufsatz vom Jahre 1837

über W. Schadow, der in den *Oeffentlichen Charakteren* steht, wendet sich Gutzkow gegen "die romantische Frazze" und gegen "eine gewisse spielende Bedeutsamkeit des Unbedeutenden." Wir Modernen stimmen ganz mit ihm darin überein. In den *Vermittelungen*, Leipzig 1842, traut er dann dem "Gemüt der Romantiker" nicht, ohne sich doch so glattweg verständnislos anzustellen wie P. E. More in *The Drift of Romanticism* (1913). Die Romantik als Zeiterscheinung und einzelne Romantiker wie Tieck überwindet er, wie es die Geister des 19. Jahrhunderts getan haben, z.B. Ludwig und Hebbel. Auszeichnend ist nur des jüngeren Gutzkows oft unglücklicher Krakehlton. Das Romantische geht ihm wie Ludwig allmählich im Begriff des poetischen Realismus ein und unter. Schon im *Baum der Erkenntnis*, S. 215 f., werden Idealismus und Realismus gegenübergestellt, und Gutzkow sagt: "Idealisieren darf der Künstler, aber er darf es nur in so weit, als dadurch dem Realen kein Abbruch geschieht in dem, was für seine Wesenheit notwendig ist." Und in seinem allerletzten theoretischen Werk *In bunter Reihe*, S. 41, wird der Gegensatz von Idealismus und Realismus "ein besonders bezeichnender für die neuere deutsche Literatur" genannt; fast genau wie Otto Ludwig erkennt er, "dass beide Weisen, die reale und ideale ohne einander nicht bestehen können." So viel über die allgemeine "Theorie" Gutzkows, die beweist, welch wichtiges Bindeglied er darstellt von der Romantik über Jungdeutschland zum poetischen Realismus um die Jahrhundertmitte.

Eichendorff in der erwähnten Stelle seiner Schrift über den Roman unterscheidet hauptsächlich zwei Arten von modernen Novellen: die Maler- und Reisenovelle und die politische, und stellt dabei einen allgemeinen Rückzug vom Romantischen fest. Als neueste Novellen nennt er Tiecks "Zwecknovellen," die oft nur dialogisierte Kunstkritiken wären. Anknüpfend hieran möchte ich verschiedene Novellen Gutzkows als dialogisierte Feuilletons bezeichnen, Charakterstudien, wie er sie z.B. in seinen *Oeffentlichen Charakteren* sehr eigenartig anstellte. In der Vorrede zur 1. Auflage dieser Schrift (1835) schreibt er: "Nur Menschen wollt ich schildern, bei denen sich nichts verstecken durfte und bei denen das Nebendetail der Privatverhältnisse so unbedeutend ist, dass sie nicht vermisst werden." Nicht viel anders verfährt er mit seinen Zeitgeschichtlichen Novellen, z.B. *Die Diakonissin*, *Die Nihilisten*

oder *Die Selbsttaufe*. Alle entsprechen den Leitsätzen aus dem Essay *Die Napoleoniden*: "Das Schauspiel unserer Tage hat sich vor überreicher Handlung in ein Epos verwandelt, so dass der Historiker weniger Epochen als Zustände zu schildern hat, breite Dimensionen, breite Antworten nicht mehr auf die Frage: Was geschah? sondern: Wie wurde gelebt?" Gutzkows Ansicht von der Zeitgeschichte stimmt also mit seiner literarischen Forderung überein. Seine Auffassung der zeitgenössischen Geschichte erklärt die der Geschichte überhaupt. Der "öffentliche Charakter" findet sich auch in seinen historischen Novellen *Jean Jacques* und *König Franz in Fontainebleau* wieder. Man könnte beinahe von einer echtromantischen Auffassung der Geschichte sprechen, wenn es *In bunter Reihe*, S. 45, heisst: "Die Geschichte ist das grösste Gedicht." Gutzkows allerletzte Geschichte *Der Werwolf* ist eine historische Novelle mit manchem Reiz.

Riefferts Schrift enttäuschte hauptsächlich in dem letzten Abschnitt "Spüren der Romantik in Gutzkows Werken," worin er den Einfluss Tieckscher Novellendichtung ebenso wie den Jean Pauls nur "erwähnt." "Dass man abgesehen von den Schriften jener Jugendperiode von 1830-35 bei Gutzkow nach besonderen literarischen Einflüssen durch die Werke der Romantiker nicht zu suchen braucht," das "glaubt" Reiffert nur, weil er Gutzkows Novellen und Romane nicht kennt. Und leider ist auch Pasmore dem nicht weiter nachgegangen. Bei der Erörterung der verschiedenen Novellenmotive fällt ein Wort hier und da über E. T. A. Hoffmann, das ist alles.

Eine bestimmte Beeinflussung durch Tieck, auf die ich hier nicht näher eingehen will, ist von Gutzkow selbst anerkannt und auch schon von Rosenkranz zeitig bemerkt worden. Die Zeitgenossen haben "die Tiecksche Manier" gesehen. Karl Frenzel schrieb später in seinem Nachruf auf Gutzkow, in *Erinnerungen und Strömungen*, Leipzig 1890: "Nicht nur an künstlerischer Geschlossenheit, auch an Wahrheit der Charakteristik wurden sie (d. i. Gutzkows Erzählungen) von der Tieckschen Novelle übertroffen. Gutzkow war noch viel zu sehr im Monolog befangen, ein unausgeprägter Lyriker, um objektiv eine Begebenheit erzählen zu können." Von Tieck-Bernhardi stammt der Ausdruck *Bambocciade*, d. i. nach Rudolph Haym launiges, satirisches Gemälde aus der Sphäre des alltäglichen Lebens. Gutzkow hat verschiedene

der Art geschrieben, z.B. *Das Singekränzchen* und die Geschichte vom Kanarienvogel, die freilich bitterer ist als Tiecks Schnurren. Von Tieck stammt auch die Vorliebe nicht nur für Literaturdramen, sondern auch für Literaturnovellen, von denen ausser *Jean Jacques* und *Das Johannisfeuer* noch zwei interessante Kleinigkeiten aus *In bunter Reihe* zu nennen wären: *Vor Freude sterben*. *Ein Literaturbild*, und *Um eine Rose* mit dem ausdrücklichen Titel "Literaturnovelle." Von dem Helden der zuletzt genannten Geschichte heisst es ironisch: "Ich schildere ihn vollständig im Gegensatz zu den Romanen und Bühnenstücken der Jetztzeit." Ganz Tieck! Rosenkranz erwähnte übrigens schon *Geständnisse einer alten Perrücke* als literarische Parodie auf Rumohrs *Denkwürdigkeiten*. Gutzkows allererste Novelle *Der Prinz von Madagaskar* ist, was Pasmore u. a. merkwürdigerweise entgangen ist, nicht nur eine ganz lebendige abenteuerliche Geschichte, sondern auch eine köstliche Ironie, eine romantische anti-romantische Parodie auf die Abenteuergeschichte, wie sie die Romantiker pflegten und wie man sie etwa heutzutage und hierzulande im *Movie* finden kann: Der Kontrast der Kulturen ("Was ist Afrika gegen Paris"!), den Pasmore, S. 46, recht erkennt, ist dem ironischen Plan durchaus untergeordnet; die Ausdeutung des ganzen als einer politischen Satire auf Metternich halte ich für zu weit hergeholt. Nur eine paar Belege für meine Auffassung. Als der Held ungefähr am Spiess steckt, heisst es: "Er ging von seiner eigenen Lage ganz ab und fragte sich, ob er die Filibustier oder die Naturwilden Coopers oder die Kannibalen Eugen Sues oder wohl gar die frommen katholischen Indianer Chateaubriands vor sich habe? Er dachte sich immer, wie sich sein Schicksal jetzt gedruckt lesen würde." Oder: "Hippolyt hatte eine Uebersetzung des deutschen Hoffmann gelesen und glaubte an die blauen Weingespenster des preussischen Kammergerichtsrats, er blieb stehen und fragte den nächsten Baum, ob sich vielleicht jemand hinter ihm versteckt hätte." Die wilde Madagassin spricht "wie Chateaubriand schreibt." Als der Prinz auf die verwahrloste französische Insel St. Marie kommt, meint er: "Ganz wie bei Scribe!" Und so fort bis zu des Helden Stosseufzer: "Es scheint, als sei ich bestimmt, ein Opfer der Romantik zu werden." Es klingt manchmal wie die novellistische Erläuterung zu Gutzkows Studie über Chateaubriand, den "Don Quichote des Christentums" und

einen der besten der öffentlichen Charaktere Gutzkows. Es ist auf alle Fälle mehr als eine Geschichte mit "satirical tendency," oder "a satire upon the culture of the Europeans," wie Pasmore meint (S. 62; 92).

Pasmores Beitrag zur Technik der Novelle bei Gutzkow ist reich an Einzelheiten, die man aber gelegentlich mehr psychologisch aufgefasst und geschichtlich ausgedeutet wissen möchte. Eine an sich richtige Beobachtung vom "contrast between the genuine and the false" (S. 80) gewinnt erst Leben, wenn dabei die Aufmerksamkeit auf das Motiv vom Schein und Sein gelenkt wird, das in der deutschen Literatur seit den Klassikern eine grosse Rolle spielt. Beim *Emporblick*, dessen kunstvolle Beschreibung vom Verfasser verständnisvoll bemerkt wird, lag ein Hinweis auf das Milieu von Hebbels *Maria Magdalena* nahe. Die Bemerkung über die *Wellenbraut* (S. 50), dass darin ein neues Motiv des Klassenkampfes zu finden wäre, ist leider unrichtig. Theobald gehört nicht zur "bürgerlichen Klasse," im Gegenteil sagt er von sich selbst: "Ich habe einen glänzenden alten Namen, der mich drückt, weil ich arm bin." Diesem Namen zuliebe werden ihm sogar die Jahre, die er im Gefängnis wegen Demagogie zubrachte, vergeben. Das reine Problem der Novelle ist Liebe und Ehe, alles andere dient nur zur Staffage. Das "Nebeneinander" darf nicht überschätzt werden, wenn man Gutzkows episches Verdienst festsetzt. Mehr als ein einzelnes formales Moment kann es besten Falls nicht sein, besonders wenn seine Vorgeschichte erwogen wird. Selbst wo Gutzkow den Roman des Nebeneinander sehr interessant behandelt, nämlich in *Vom Baum der Erkenntnis*, S. 213 f., betont er, dass alles auf die Anschauung ankomme, der Dichter ein Seher sein müsse usw. Auch hier liegt ein Gedanke der Romantik zu Grunde. Endlich wenn Pasmore (S. 100; 116) vom Realisten Gutzkow spricht, darf er die nötige Einschränkung nicht vergessen. Wir hören gern, dass Gutzkow sachlich zu erzählen weiss; auch hier wäre der historische Hinweis am Platze, dass uns diese Erzählungsart und dieser Stil genau wie bei Freytag u. a. heute schon etwas altertümlich klingt. Auch das sachliche Erzählen hat eine Geschichte. Das mit der Tendenz bei Gutzkow ist gleichfalls lange nicht so schlimm, wie es uns oberflächliche Literaturgeschichten vorgeredet haben. Pasmores Beobachtung, dass Gutzkow Dialekt fast gar nicht verwendet, macht die Ergänzung nötig, dass eben dieser

Umstand für eine geringe Volkstümlichkeit im Ausdruck spricht. Gutzkow ist Städter durch und durch, dessen Berührung mit dem Volk sich auf die städtischen Massen beschränkt, woraus sich wohl der fast unglaubliche Satz aus *In bunter Reihe*, S. 94, erklärt: "Fritz Reuter und die, die ihn mögen, erinnern mich immer an Hausknechte." Zur Einschränkung des Realismus gehört auch, dass Gutzkow wenn auch nicht eigentlich lyrisch, so doch poetisch sein konnte. Und er wollte es sein, wie er bereits in den *Vermittlungen. Kritiken und Charakteristiken*, Leipzig 1842, S. 259, bekennt: "Dichter sind wir alle, wenn wir den Lockungen des Genius folgen, wenn wir auch nicht Beiträge in den Musenalmanach schicken." Pasmores Behauptung (S. 116), dass Gutzkows Werke "firmly grounded upon a modern view of life" seien, ist nur mit Vorbehalt anzunehmen. Die ganze reife Novelle *Eine Phantasieliebe* (1845) widerspricht dem mit ihrer poetischen Zartheit, ihrer neuromantischen Verträumtheit und einer Natursymbolik, die an Novalis denken lässt. Und eine Darstellung seiner Anschauung über Liebe und Ehe würde alles noch klarer machen. Wenn Gutzkow wirklicher Erzähler und Künstler ist, erscheint er als poetischer Realist.

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The Covent-Garden Journal. By Sir Alexander Drawcansir (Henry Fielding). Edited by Gerard Edward Jensen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. Two volumes.

The Tragedy of Tragedies. By Henry Fielding. Edited by James T. Hillhouse. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918.

The History of Henry Fielding. By Wilbur L. Cross. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Three volumes.

Yale, which long since took Ben Jonson to her bosom and has done him honor in an impressive series of volumes, has in these latter days been intertwining her fame in like manner with that of Henry Fielding. The useful and well edited reprints put forth by Dr. Jensen and Dr. Hillhouse are a sort of prelude to the altogether admirable biography by Professor Cross. The magnificent Fielding collection in the university library, in large part the gift

of Mr. F. S. Dickson, must have acted as an incentive to research in this subject, but the best stimulus was doubtless the enthusiastic, patient, penetrative learning of the author of *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* from whom the world of English scholarship rightly expected a masterly account of the character and career of the greatest of English novelists. That expectation the biography more than fulfils.

Dr. Jensen's edition of Fielding's contributions to *The Covent-Garden Journal* (which includes also some articles by Fielding's associates in that enterprise) appeared sufficiently long ago for it to be known well and favorably at present; and therefore does not require detailed notice here. The introduction deals exhaustively, if dryly, with the circumstances of the founding and conduct of the *Journal*, the connection of the enterprise with Fielding's work in the sphere of social reform, the events and personalities of the "Battle of the Wits," the characteristics of Fielding's style in his leaders (I cannot but think that Dr. Jensen's estimation of the general level of excellence in these papers is too high), and the criteria by which Fielding's contributions can be identified with reasonable certainty. For the general reader the paralled chapters in Dr. Cross' biography will prove more entertaining. Indeed, strange to say, much of the interest and all the charm of Dr. Jensen's volumes are found in a most unlikely place—the notes. The care with which Fielding's personal, political and literary allusions have been run to earth nominates Dr. Jensen for the position of editor of the fully annotated edition of the novels which some day we must have. Professor Saintsbury once remarked in this connection :

"Such things, in the case of prose fiction, are of very doubtful use, and supply pretty certain stumbling-blocks to enjoyment; while in the particular case of Fielding, the annotation, unless extremely capricious, would have to be disgustingly full. Far be it at any rate from the present editor to bury these delightful creations under an ugly crust of parallel passages and miscellaneous erudition."

Dr. Jensen's notes to the novels (if we may judge by the commentary upon the *Journal*) would be full but neither disgusting nor ugly. The publication of such an edition would be the final stage in the vindication of Fielding from the malice of his enemies and the ignorance and prejudice of his earlier biographers. The *Journal*

contributes towards that vindication additional evidence of the learning, industry, rightmindedness and public spirit of this great man.

Within a narrower field similar evidence of his learning and industry is afforded by Dr. Hillhouse's edition of *The Tragedy of Tragedies* in which both versions of the burlesque that usually goes under that title are reprinted, with a brief but sufficient introduction and with notes that prove the tirelessness with which Fielding must have worked upon even this comparatively unimportant production. The long life of *Tom Thumb* upon the stage, especially in the version of O'Hara, is well reviewed.

But these two books are, so to speak, *hors d'œuvres*; the *pièce de résistance* is Dean Cross' *History* which I think it is not too much to say is a masterpiece of biographical writing. Patient research through the journals and pamphlets of the period and investigations in Salisbury and elsewhere have brought to light many new details of Fielding's life, details of authorship and dates and circumstances of publication, of his financial condition at various times in his career, of his connection with people of all sorts, of his arduous labor in the public welfare, and most especially of his character and reputation. For more than a century the fame of Fielding has been clouded by "the shadow of Arthur Murphy." Scott and Thackeray, Lowell and Leslie Stephen, among many others scarcely less famous, have misjudged him. Mr. Dobson did much to clear his fame but he too worked under the shadow. The reckless and brilliant essay of W. E. Henley really tended to confirm, perhaps unintentionally, the popular view of Fielding as a roisterer of genius, a spendthrift of ill-repute, often under arrest for debt, often drunk, generally in bad company, who dashed off his masterpieces while recovering from the effects of his frequent debauches. Rebellion against this view of the man has been perhaps more rife in recent years that Dean Cross seems to indicate. May I quote part of a summary in my own lecture notes on Fielding, made some time ago?

"In youth, strong, full-blooded, reckless, manly; excesses much exaggerated by contemporary opponents and posthumous tradition. Brave, generous, sympathetic, sincere. Laborious manhood in public service. Devoted husband and father, ardent friend, conscientious magistrate. Clear-sighted; against cant; anti-sentimentalist. Depictor and satirist of life, not expounder of a *theory* of life.

Indulgent to human frailties; keen enemy of meanness, hypocrisy, and self-deceit."

The portrait of Fielding that Dean Cross has drawn at full length will not be viewed with surprise by those of us who have held such opinions of the man as are outlined in this note; but it will be welcomed as containing all the proofs necessary for the complete establishment of that view. So many and so great were the errors in earlier accounts of Fielding's life that Dean Cross wisely made no attempt to give references to them and to check up their errors as he went along; but told his story as though he were the first in the field and reserved his comments upon his predecessors for his final chapters. These chapters, on "The Fame of Fielding" form an interesting example of a subject of research that is beginning to be much inquired into: the contemporary and posthumous reputation of great authors. Limits of space, despite the generous length of the work, probably prevented more detailed references to such purely aesthetic criticism as that of Mr. Saintsbury; a sentence might have been devoted to Mr. Harold Child's chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and another sentence to Mr. Chesterton's brief but thoroughly sound essay on "Tom Jones and Morality." It is surprising that the review of Fielding's biographers gives no summary of Miss Godden's recent biography, a book that is often referred to in the course of the work.

For Dean Cross' studies of the various novels there can be nothing but praise; equally excellent are his accounts of Fielding's work in the drama, in journalism, and as Westminster magistrate. I do feel that he places too high an estimate upon the value of the plays; I think that there is little likelihood of their being more read in the future than in the past—but that is a small point. So complete and so exact is the work that I have found but one matter upon which it would be interesting to have more light cast. What is the connection between Fielding's "Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender" and the anonymous "Dialogue between the Devil and George II" which is probably by George Halkett?¹ In no captious mood but to indicate by a solitary exception the general accuracy of Dean Cross' work one may call

¹ See vol. II, p. 15 f., and cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IX, p. 415.

attention to some confusion in the account of the printing of the various volumes of *Amelia*.² The proof-reading is almost perfect;³ the illustrations well-chosen and exquisitely reproduced; the extensive bibliography itself a testimony to the greatness of Fielding's fame.

And yet how will this truly great work be received? With quiet satisfaction by scholars, doubtless; but, since it rescues and does not ruin a reputation, with little general comment and no excitement. I am sure that such a reception will satisfy Professor Cross. He is the last to seek notoriety such as has been won recently by the brilliantly perverse author of *Eminent Victorians*. It is better to work quietly towards the refurbishing of an unjustly tarnished fame than to damn reputations in epigram.

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The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland. By W. J. SEDGEFIELD. Manchester, England, 1915. Pp. xliv, 208. [Publications of the University of Manchester. English Series, No. VII.]

The counties of Cumberland and Westmorland in northwestern England correspond roughly to the ancient Cumbria. It is a region where the three national elements, Angles, Norsemen, and Celt, came in closer contact than perhaps anywhere else in England. And as elsewhere, so here, it was evidently only the English and the Norse that mixed and fused and left numerous evidences of that fusion, whereas the Celt disappeared, leaving but few traces behind. Before the seventh century Cumbria must have been almost purely Celtic; through the seventh and the ninth centuries Angles came and settled, but what proportion of the population the two races made up in the eighth century we cannot tell. In the last quarter of the ninth century Danish visits are recorded; from about 900 the permanent Norse settlements begin. In 945 King

² See vol. II, p. 304, and cf. p. 308.

³ Vol. I, p. 113, second note: For "Cook" read "Cooke"; vol. II, p. 325, middle of page: For "Goss" read "Gosse." Let these two corrections be considered evidence of the delight with which the reviewer has read the book, including notes and bibliography.

Eadmund of the West-Saxons devastated and conquered Cumbria and gave it to Malcolm II of Scotland to govern as a fief of the English crown. However, Malcolm's rule was evidently only nominal, for about the middle of the century the Norse were the actual rulers.¹ They had ceased to come as marauders and had for some time come as peaceful settlers. And for perhaps 150 years they continued to come as peaceful settlers. And the settlement of the English, which was begun earlier; also continued and grew. By the close of the eleventh century we can assume the Anglo-Norse settlement was complete, and the fusion of Angles and Norsemen well under way; the racial and linguistic foundations of the modern counties of Cumberland and Westmorland had been definitely and finally laid. The incorporation of the region into the Kingdom of England was accomplished in 1091 when Cumbria became a part of the Kingdom of England and William Rufus drove its ruler Dolfin² out of the town of Carlisle, although he did not take actual possession until 1092.³ A few years later the two counties of Cumberland and Westmorland were formed about as at present by the division of the old Kingdom of Cumbria. And of the Celt? The evidence of the dialects and the place-names alike would seem to show that as the Norsemen came in in steadily larger numbers and as the English gained the ascendancy the Celt for the most part went elsewhere. Carlisle, Derwent, and Penrith are among the few Kymric names.

In the Introduction the author of the present investigation deals briefly with the historical background of the problem, the conditions under which the mixed language arose, the character of the place-names, the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian element, the distribution of the several endings, the words represented in the names, and finally the personal names entering into the place-names. There is a good bibliography, and a helpful index, but a very short phonology, the whole vast material being dealt with very inadequately, of course, in the page and a half given to it. This omission I must regard as a defect, for the reader should have put before him the phonological laws by which the author establishes the equivalence set up between the place-name and the

¹ Sedgefield, Introduction, p. xi.

² Dolfin = ON. *Dólgfinnr*.

³ J. E. Marr, *Cumberland*, 1910, p. 2.

elements that are offered as their source. In spite of this, however, the investigation is a valuable one, and will occupy a worthy place by the side of the many contributions to the study of English place-names that have appeared in recent years.⁴ I shall not go into the etymologies as a whole, but I would like briefly to consider certain points, touching mainly method and criteria of loan.

While it is a rather simple matter to eliminate the few Celtic names, the problem of the provenance of the Anglo-Northern names is a tremendously complicated one. One starts out with the difficulty of the similarity of Old English and Old Scandinavian as regards form of the words involved; they are very often nearly alike, and they are often identical in form. As examples of the first kind I may give: OE. *æsc*, ON. *askr*; OE. *dæl*, ON. *dalr*; OE. *fleot*, ON. *fljót*; OE. *stede*, ON. *staðr*. Examples of the second kind: OE. *clif*, ON. *klif*; OE. *hlǣð*, ON. *hlǣð*; OE. *hus*, ON. *hus*; OE. *land*, ON. *land*; OE. *sand*, ON. *sandr*; OE. *tun*, ON. *tun*. The author well illustrates this himself in the table on p. xvi. However, the table takes into account only the classical West-Saxon forms, and I fail to find elsewhere in the Introduction or in the etymological discussions any formulation of those significant characteristics of Northern Late Old English which must be taken into account when considering certain groups of words. He does indeed discuss in the Introduction a hypothetical English-Norse language of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in which period many of the names originated. But this consideration touches only the problems of vocabulary, inflexions, and the leveling of endings, not the pronunciation. For instance, the author would seem to relate all cases of words in *-a-*, *-ai-*, or *-ay-* (pronounced *ē*) to the ON. words in *-ei-* (*æi*), and not to the OE. word in *ā*; among such words are: *ain*, *aik*, *braid* or *braith*, *stane* or *stain*. But all such forms may as well be from OE. as from ON.,

⁴Of these the most recent ones are: H. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin*, Upsala, 1912; W. H. Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-Names*, Oxford, 1912; H. Alexander, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, Oxford, 1912; A. Goodall, *Place-Names of Southwest Yorkshire*, Cambridge, 1913; J. A. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names*, Liverpool, 1913; H. Mutschmann, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, Cambridge, 1913; W. St. C. Baddely, *Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, Gloucester, 1913; B. Walker, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, Derby, 1914-1915; R. G. Roberts, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, Cambridge, 1914.

when names of Northwestern England are considered. This whole question has, of course, been discussed elsewhere, and I need not go into it again.⁵ But I call attention to it because this important feature of Northern Old English affects a considerable number of the names here under consideration. I may note one small group: the names *Aikhead*, near Wigton, *Aikshaw*, sw. of Abbey Town, *Aikton*, n. of Wigton, and *Aiketgate*, near Armthwaite. Were these places settled by Angles or Norsemen? Unless we have conclusive old records there must always be some uncertainty about this class of names. From the material at hand we should have to say that *Aikshaw* is English, for *-shaw* certainly is; hence the OE. source would be *ācsceaga*. *Aiketgate* seems to be Norse, for both the first and the last component part is Norse; however, the only form offered is the modern one. In the case of *Aikton*, the name seems to be Norse; the forms *Aykton*, 1231, and *Ayketon*, 1237, would seem to favor this, but the spelling *Ecton* in the *Domesday Book* complicates it. Norse influence upon an originally English name seems not unlikely here. Other cases that are uncertain are: *Ennerdale*, *Braystones*, *Stainburn*, *Stainton* in Cumberland and *Stainmore* in Westmorland (early reference *Stanmoir*, year 980). Perfectly clear, however, is *Annaside*, earlier *Aynerset*, ON. *Einars-sætr*.

Since undoubtedly the proportion of English names was larger (possibly much larger) than the Scandinavian, it is somewhat surprising that Scandinavian words entering into the place-names of the two counties are more than twice as numerous as the English words. The Scandinavians used a greater variety of words in the formation of place-names, while the English were more in the habit of employing well-established 'stock' words. As to the actual proportion of names, the author's lists would seem to show a somewhat larger number to be Scandinavian than English. However, as indicated above, a group of the names that are assigned to the Scandinavian side could as well be English.

It would seem, also, that certain Scandinavian endings became the fashion and were resorted to by both Scandinavians and English. In such cases, then, the ending is no longer a test of the

⁵ A summary of the problem may be found in the *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, London, 1911, article "Norse Elements in English Dialects," pp. 1-18, by George T. Flom.

nationality of the settler. Such an ending is perhaps especially *-by*, which has wider range than other Scandinavian endings and is especially frequent in certain regions; it often passes beyond the boundaries of the Scandinavian settlement as marked out by the general character of the names. In the list of Cumberland names I find the following ending in *-by*,—names of places of apparently English settlers: *Allonby*, *Birkby*, *Botcherby*, *Ellonby*, *Etterby*, *Glassonby*, *Gutterby*, *Motherby* (*Modhere*), *Robberby*, (*Hrod-beorhtby*), *Wiggonby*. Several are Norman in form, as pointed out by the author: * *Aglionby*, and *Ponsonby*, while *Flimby*, older *Flemingby*, and *Scotby* are both named after the nationality of the settler. This extension in the use of the ending *-by* also makes doubtful such names as *Asby* (OE. *Aesc* or ON. *Ask*?) and *Crossby*.

English place-names (and personal names) in all parts of England, but especially in the North, suffered many changes by the loss of a consonant in consonant groups, by weakening of endings, etc., in the eleventh to the fourteenth century. While changes of this kind are especially characteristic of regions where two languages meet and become fused, the first one, that of the reduction of consonant groups, may be in a more direct way due to Norse influence. In West-Scandinavian the tendency is for the middle consonant to disappear; the law will be found formulated in Noreen's *Altnordische Grammatik* I, § 281. It would be worth while to examine the extent of such reductions in Northern English names. I shall here merely note that the fact affects the question of the derivation of some of the names. For example, the name *Arkleside* in North Riding, Yorkshire, may contain the ODan. *Arkil* rather than the ON. *Arketell*, for in North Riding there were a great many more Danes than Norsemen. But the name *Arkleton* in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, is probably rather to be referred to the ON. form (*Arnkl* > *Arkl*). And the name *Arkleby*, near *Aspatia* in Cumberland, is certainly most likely to have been the place of a Norse settler. Contraction of the second element *-ketell* to *-kell* was of course common enough in Norway and Iceland, and does not particularly distinguish Danish from Norse. Such reductions probably nearly all took place on English soil among Danes, Norsemen, and English alike, and some of them are very late, as e. g., *Corby*, which in forms of 1120 and 1167

* Pp. I and 88.

appears as *Chorkeby* and *Corcheby*, and as *Corckby* as late as 1572. In Westmorland the consonant group *-skb-* has become *-sb-* in *Asby*, but in *Askham* the *k* remains, of course. In Cumberland the name *Ascpatric*, date 1230, shows a form *Aspatric* for the year 1233. Thus the reduced form is that of actual speech already then and the one with *-c-* represents a conservative spelling.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Titus Andronicus AND SHAKESPEARE DOGMATICS

I wish to record a protest against both the tone and the method of Professor Brooke's paper (*MLN*, xxxiv, 32 ff.), in which he discusses the views of Professor H. D. Gray on the authorship of *Titus Andronicus*. It is one thing to dissent from an argument, disposing of the evidence offered as one best can, and quite another to garble it, as I believe Mr. Brooke (doubtless unintentionally) has done; but to go still further, and cavalierly request the writer from whom one dissents to keep off the field of criticism in which he has been working, because one pleases to consider his work superfluous and has been irked by the necessity of reading it, will be admitted to be unusual.

Mr. Gray is fully competent to defend his own position, and I myself hold no brief for the special thesis of his paper on *Titus Andronicus*; but since the subject is of no little interest, since the paper was published in a rather inconspicuous collection, and since I feel certain that I have read it more carefully than Mr. Brooke, I shall venture to state the nature of the argument in very few words. Mr. Gray's view that the play was written first by Shakespeare and revised by other dramatists he supports by considerations which may be conveniently reduced to these five:

1. The external evidence in favor of Shakespeare's authorship of the tragedy is weighty.
2. The subject and treatment of the tragedy are not impossible for Shakespeare, as a number of critics have urged.
3. The main portion of the tragedy may be in Shakespeare's language and verse, as opposed to Robertson's claim for specific proof of the language and meter of other dramatists.
4. The passages most likely to be viewed as non-Shakespearean are of such a dramatic character as to suggest that they are additions rather than parts of the original composition.
5. It is *a priori* more likely that the work of a young dramatist

should be revised by others than that he should revise the work of others.

All these reasons were clearly set forth,—I do not say convincingly, because that would be to enter into the merits of the evidence, and I admit that the last of the five (which in Mr. Gray's own order comes first) was treated with undue brevity, and deserves serious discussion. But I submit that there is nothing gratuitously frivolous or inconsequent in the process of argument, and further that no reader of Mr. Brooke's account of it would have any realization of its true character. He treats Mr. Gray's discussion of points 1 and 3 as irrelevant, because they do not prove the "peculiar contention that Shakespeare was the original author," apparently forgetting that the title of the paper was "The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*," and that the writer was in honor bound to devote a considerable proportion of his argument to the claims of critics holding the Shakespearean authorship impossible,—especially in view of the somewhat formidable case of Robertson. And to point 4, doubtless the most interesting and significant of all from the standpoint of method in dramatic analysis, he vouchsafes no attention whatever. The discussion of it occupies the ninth to the twelfth pages, inclusive, of the paper of thirteen pages; yet Mr. Brooke suffered from an extraordinary inability to find "any effort after the second page to come to grips" with the main question.

No doubt we all sympathize with Mr. Brooke in his sense of weariness over the extent of Shakespeare criticism, and on this account should pardon the inadequate attention he gave to the paper under discussion. But I cannot feel that the result is a happy augury of his apparent intention to issue from New Haven a kind of *index expurgatorius* in the field to which he has made so many useful contributions. I also have passed "through many a dark and dreary vale" where dwell the eccentric and dogmatic Shakespeare theorists, and can testify, with such slight authority as the experience may give me, that the papers of Mr. Gray are not of that territory. Any reader who may have occasion to acquaint himself with the entire group of them, which Mr. Brooke magisterially condemns in the sweep of one final proofless dictum, will perhaps not be convinced of a single one of the new hypotheses which they set forth; but he may rest assured that he will find in each case a useful account of the problem and its literature, a stimulating application of fresh methods of critical analysis, and (strangest of all) a soundly modest attitude toward the writer's contentions and a corresponding courtesy toward other hunters in the same preserve.

It may be proper for me to add that, since Mr. Gray is a friend and colleague, I do not profess to be wholly without prejudice in the matter, but that I write this communication entirely without his knowledge.

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN.

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Titus Andronicus

I am distressed that Professor Gray finds my treatment of his paper unfriendly and unfair. The justice of his displeasure must be decided by those who will read the article in the Flügel Memorial Volume in connection with what I say of it. In the meantime I am sure that Mr. Gray will bear me witness that no possible basis for personal animosity has hitherto existed between us and that I have not been prone heretofore to unworthy depreciation of fellow students.

I am warned that any observations upon Mr. Gray's rejoinder must be brief. Three may suffice.

1. It hardly seems incorrect to speak of Jonson as living in days of servitude so long as he continued to do hack work for Henslowe, *i. e.*, till after June 22, 1602, when the last additions for *Jeronimo* were paid for. This was four and a half years after the date of his first appearance in the *Diary*. Mr. Gray would probably argue that Jonson was commissioned by the manager of the Fortune to write these additions because of the fame of his recent plays at the Globe and Blackfriars. Is it not more likely that he received orders for them, as for similar patchwork executed before he had any literary reputation, because he had a practical knowledge of what Henslowe's company required, and specifically because he had acted in the play in question (cf. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Penniman's ed., i. ii. 433 ff., iv. i. 161 ff.)? And when Shakespeare began revising plays, was it not because he possessed qualifications of just this sort?

2. My sentence, "No mention is made of the early editions or notices in Henslowe and the *Stationers' Register*," etc., should not be quoted without that which precedes and limits it. I disclaim heartily any intention to suggest that Mr. Gray is ignorant of the data regarding *Titus Andronicus*, but must persist in the assertion that he presents them to his readers with misleading incompleteness. The fact that he alludes to the Henslowe records on page 122 and in a note on page 123, in connection with his discussion of the German *Titus*, has little apparent relevance to the fact that on pages 114 and 115, when arguing for Shakespeare's authorship of the extant English play, he ignores, as I have said, all external evidence except that of the Folio editors and of Meres.

3. It is quite true that my note makes no original contribution to the subject of *Titus Andronicus*, and that I do not particularly indicate how the material left undiscussed by Mr. Gray seems to me adverse to his thesis. I did not desire to confuse the issue by intrusion of speculative opinions of my own. The very sentence in Mr. Gray's footnote on page 123, which he quotes in his reply, illustrates what I meant: "That *Titus Andronicus* was acted by Pembroke's men is an argument against Shakespeare's having

revised the piece, rather than against his original authorship of it." This looks to me like a Parthian attempt to outflank one of the pieces of positive evidence from "the early editions or notices in Henslowe and the *Stationers' Register*," which must be squarely faced and debated, I think, before one is privileged to venture a hypothesis about the play's origin. I do not understand Mr. Gray when he seems to suggest in his reply that this evidence can only be put to the use that Fuller makes of it, and that refutation of Fuller exonerates a critic from the duty of attempting a constructive interpretation of his own.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

POSTSCRIPT

I appreciate the more courteous tone of Mr. Brooke's reply. I do not in the least accuse him of any personal or unworthy motives in his attack upon me. On his letter above I offer the following brief notes.

(1) The point is simply that Jonson was not an untried nor even an obscure writer when he was employed to produce additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*. (2) There are other methods of considering a question of authorship besides that of reëxamining the familiar data, and the obligation upon one who is approaching the problem from a different angle is simply that he must not run counter to those data. (3) A play which Shakespeare *revised* would presumably be acted by the company with which he was associated; whereas a play which he had originally written, if taken over by another company, would naturally be revised by the authors who worked for that company. Perhaps my note did not state this with sufficient clearness. To Mr. Brooke's concluding sentence I answer that I did not say "can only be put" but "have been put to."

H. D. GRAY.

Stanford University.

Piers Plowman IN ART

In a recent article¹ entitled "Piers Plowman in English Wall-Paintings," Mr. E. W. Tristram advances the theory that certain representations of the crucified Christ preserved on the walls of English country churches have been inspired by the teachings set forth in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*. In these wall-paintings, badly mutilated in most cases, the figure is "surrounded by many tools of labour, arranged so as to form a halo or glory." "Clearly," he continues, "the painter has wished to convey the idea of the

¹ Printed in *The Burlington Magazine*, XXXI (October, 1917), 135 ff.

analogy of Christ's suffering and crucifixion to the life of the labourer," and this idea, the writer asserts, was suggested by *Piers Plowman*.² He notes in support of his theory that in the poem Christ appears in the person of Piers Plowman, "a labourer working and suffering amongst his fellows," and that the poem preaches salvation through labour. As existing manuscripts of the poem are of a poor type, written evidently for the humble reader, so the paintings in question are "paintings of the poor and not of the rich" both in theme and in execution. They are witnesses, the writer suggests, in favor of the supposition that the ideas set forth in *Piers Plowman* had the sympathy of the poorer clergy.

One may grant individual points in the writer's theory, but to the theory as a whole there are damaging objections. It is true that *Piers Plowman* preaches salvation by labor and in its opening sections exalts the figure of Piers, the common laborer in the fields. It is true, also, that Piers and Christ are identified in the later part of the poem. The writer quotes in support of this point the passage telling of the jousting of Jesus in the arms of Piers.³ But in this part of the poem Piers no longer represents the simple laborer. He is, rather, all mankind; his arms which Christ puts on are *humana natura*. The figure involved in this representation of the crucifixion is not that of Christ, or Piers, the laboring man, surrounded by the tools of his daily toil, but Christ the knight, arrayed in *helm* and *haberon*, riding to meet the challenge of Satan in knightly tournament. However much emphasis the poem puts on labor as the means of salvation, there is no such identification of Christ and the laborer, no such connection between the toil of the laborer and the sufferings of Christ on the cross as the theory under discussion seems to demand. The suggestion for a crucified Christ surrounded by a halo of laborer's tools is not to be found in the text itself of *Piers Plowman*, and one may question if evidence for such a treatment of the subject could be read into the text.

How then is one to explain this peculiar halo? The most satisfactory answer is this: that these objects are not tools of labor, but the well-known instruments of the passion. The delapidated condition of the paintings makes perfect identification of all the objects impossible, but several are distinct enough to leave little doubt as to their true nature. In the wall-painting at Ampney S. Mary Church, Gloucestershire, Mr. Tristram finds the following objects:⁴ mallet, wheel, hammer, knife, comb, dish, axe, horn, saddle, ball of cord, pincers. Not all of these objects belong with the instruments of the passion. Perhaps in some cases the identification is to be

² The paintings "are all later than the first version of the poem, and are clearly directly inspired by it" (p. 136).

³ P. 135. The passage is quoted from Passus XXI, 20 f., C version. In P. XXII, 6 f., C version, is another passage where Piers, "peynted al blody," and with a cross, is described as "like in alle lymes to oure lord Iesu," (Skeat. *Piers the Plowman*, Oxford, 1886, I, p. 551).

⁴ P. 136. A photograph and drawing of the painting are given.

questioned. But several of them, such as the mallet, hammer, knife, dish, and pincers, clearly belong in that list. In another painting, that at Stedham, Sussex, one can recognize the vessel containing vinegar, several rod-like objects which are, probably, the reeds and staves, a knife, and, possibly, a scourge.⁵ The correctness of this interpretation of the objects in question is confirmed by comparing these wall-paintings with the illustrations accompanying a series of prayers on the symbols of the passion in two fifteenth century MSS., reproduced in *Legends of the Holy Rood*.⁶ Here the text leaves no doubt as to the object illustrated in the drawing. One notes a certain similarity between some of these illustrations and some of the objects distinguishable in the wall-paintings; for instance, in the case of the vessel of vinegar and the scourge in the Stedham painting.

One need scarcely argue that the instruments of the passion would find a fitting and natural place in representations of the crucifixion. They symbolized each incident in the suffering, and in themselves they summed up the whole story of the passion, as the prayers just mentioned show. Their significance would be at once apparent to the congregation, so much so, one would think, that the attempt to introduce these familiar objects with a new interpretation, as symbols of Christ the laborer, must have been lost upon those acquainted with the accepted symbolism. Some more strikingly different symbolism would have to be employed. It is more reasonable to interpret the paintings in question as orthodox representations of the crucifixion, showing Christ surrounded by the instruments of His passion. With this simpler and more plausible explanation at hand, one must put aside the perhaps more attractive theory that the decorator of these country churches was illustrating in his crude way Piers Plowman's doctrine of the divinity of labor.

CHARLOTTE D'EVELYN.

Mount Holyoke College.

LONGÆVUS ERROR TYPOGRAPHICUS

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for June, 1918, Professor W. P. Mustard gives some very interesting sources and parallels for many phrases in Lyly's *Euphues*.

On page 336 of the *Notes*, apropos "The old verse, 'That Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours,'" Professor Mustard cites a stanza in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (I, 2. 3. 15) and says: "Burton quotes it from 'Buchanan. eleg. lib.,' but his reference seems to be wrong." Wrong Burton undoubtedly is, if he must be held respon-

⁵ At one side of the figure is a pair of scales, not, as far as I know, usually included with the instruments of the passion.

⁶ *E. E. T. S.*, 46, p. 170 f.

sible for an error made by his printer. But something should be said in defence of an author whose original copy was not at fault.

A comparison of the early editions of Burton reveals a curious fact. In all the editions will be found the verses:

Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes.

Beginning with the second edition (1624), there is added, a few lines below this quotation, another stanza which reads as follows:

Calliope longum caelebs cur vixit in aevum?
Nempe nihil dotis quod numeraret, erat.

In both second and third (1628) editions, a star prefixed to this stanza cites correctly the marginal reference, "Buchanan. eleg. lib." This may be verified by consulting vv. 101-102 of Buchanan's first Elegy, entitled "Quam misera sit conditio doctentium literas humaniores Lutetiae," an elegy that comported well with Burton's mood when he was writing his chapter, "Love of Learning. With a Digression of the misery of Schollers, and why the Muses are Melancholy." Cf. Ruddimann's edition of Buchanan, II, 304, Leyden, 1725.

In the fourth edition of Burton, published in 1632 during his own life-time, by an error the star has been shifted to the Galenus stanza; and every succeeding edition has retained it there. This is certainly extraordinary when we reflect that the Anatomy has been printed about a score of times. We trust that Professor Bensley in his fourthcoming edition will set this little matter aright. In the first edition (1621) of Burton, the Calliope stanza is lacking; and the Galenus stanza is quoted in the first, second, and third editions without reference to its source.

University of Missouri.

G. C. SCOGGIN.

BRIEF MENTION

The English Ode to 1660: An Essay in Literary History. By Robert Shafer (Princeton University Press, 1918). To define the English ode as a *genre* and then to trace its history during a definite period is the task undertaken by the author of this Doctoral Dissertation. The literary 'kinds' are for the most part easily defined with sufficient precision to keep history and criticism running true to underlying principles and to the tradition of conventionalities. This statement does not include the English ode. The generic meaning of the word 'ode' has led to its use as a designation of poems so varied in form and character as to deprive it, in the general mind, of the exclusive connotations of a specific art-form; and yet this art-form as a definable 'kind' has a conspicuous place in the history of English poetry. That, at least, is Dr. Shafer's assumption, and he makes a laudable attempt to reason out the required workable definition.

The suggested definition of what is properly to be classed as an English ode is found to be applicable to no composition earlier than two odes by John Soothern, published in 1584; and Cowley, by his odes, determines the lower limit of the period minutely surveyed by Dr. Shafer. From this the inference issues at once that a basal element in the typical English ode is Pindaric. It follows that the form, content, style, purpose, and cultural significance of the odes of Pindar must be kept in mind as a preparation to apprehend Pindarism when moulded into conformity with English nationality and literary art. Another basal element in this construction of a definition is Horatian, the evaluation of which requires in its turn an examination of the odes of Horace. A chapter on "Classical Prototypes" accordingly follows the preliminary statement "that the English ode has been in its origins very largely influenced by the examples of Pindar and Horace."

The English ode is a delayed product of the Renaissance, beginning with direct translation (or rather with a translation of an imitation) and gradually emerging as a nationalized form thru the observance of the true doctrine of imitation, or the right appropriation of a *genre*, which put it into the category of original compositions. In what manner could the Pindaric ode, a species of composition so peculiarly Greek, be made to yield to this process of 'imitation'? The answer to this question is to be elicited from a sufficiently minute and sympathetic discrimination of the elements of the Greek form, which Dr. Shafer supplies in a well-constructed section of his treatise (pp. 10-25). He then answers the question in a subjoined section, entitled "The 'Ideal' English Pindaric Ode." It is assumed to be "possible to formulate a series of fairly definite criteria for the Pindaric ode in English" (p. 26); and "on the basis of such criteria we can have no very great difficulty in distinguishing the true from the false amongst those English odes for which their writers claim Pindaric quality" (p. 29). The specific association of the Greek games must become generalized, so that "in English, any subject of social or public—as opposed to private—importance, which possesses associations of a distinctively emotional sort, would be appropriate for a Pindaric ode." The poet must view his subject objectively and yet handle it with glowing enthusiasm and in "lyrical form." The formal dignity of the poem is to be sustained by observance of Pindar's demonstrated precept, that there must be "a distinguishable beginning, middle, and end." In accordance with the inner value of the tradition, therefore, "The beginning would concern itself with some indication of the poem's subject-matter, the middle would treat of one or more of the natural associations of this subject in such a way as to induce in the reader an appropriate emotion, and the end or conclusion of the poem would refer the reader back once more to the immediate subject in hand, thus giving direction and

clear meaning to the emotional state induced in him." In poetic style Pindar sets a high pattern, an example that baffles mediocrity. The English poet, without the adventitious, or rather organic, aid of "instrumental music and the dance," by which the Greek poet's rhythms and lyrical effects were heightened, has all the more need, in writing for the reader, to strive to attain the supreme qualities of "a rapid and compressed style, predominantly allusive in character." In doing this he can hardly fail to follow Pindar in the method of achieving emotional unity and kindling "lyrical fervour" without monotony by exercising artistic skill in variety and brevity and in the use of certain stylistic devices, such as that of "recurrent words." The English Pindaric ode is to be effective in sustaining 'lyrical enthusiasm' by an appropriate conformity to national versification, not by an attempted imitation of Greek meters; but it may be expected to be written in triads, for the external relation of the triad to the chorus was of less significance than the function of this design as a stanzaic or structural unit, which was a support both to the majestic movement of the poem, and to the maintenance of its lyrical quality without monotony thru a succession of these units.

The Renaissance theory of the imitation of so organic a product of Greek social and national life as the Pindaric ode would require the English ode with Pindaric elements to have a corresponding relation to the character of the English mind. On the other hand, the derivative Horatian ode, artistically exclusive and not intimately representing popular impulses, must inevitably transmit a relatively cold and unimaginative artificiality and a spirit of studied restraint of feeling with pride in intellectual niceties, all at the cost of characteristics that foster the enthusiasms of the national mind. Dr. Shafer discusses the character of the odes of Horace, and attempts "the formulation of criteria for the English ode."

It is shown "that before the close of the sixteenth century practically no poem [the word 'practically' makes allowance for John Soothern's performance] had been printed which we can justly call an ode" (p. 55). This is the conclusion deduced from a survey of English poetry that reaches back to the *Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Poema Morale*, to which critics of later times have occasionally attached the designation 'ode.' This survey is not without points of special interest. How the name 'ode' came to be applied to a division of Wyatt's poems is at last conclusively reported. Then, Thomas Watson is found to be the first English author to entitle a poem an ode (1582), tho it is a poem that does not altogether satisfy the requirements of the *genre*; he was, besides, still freer in the use of the name thruout his explanatory notes. At the heels of Watson are John Soothern's two odes in his *Pandora* (1584) translated from Ronsard, in which, for the first time in English, the Pindaric triad is represented in the naming of the divisions of the odes; and the vaunt was expressed "that never man before/

Now in England, Knewe Pindar's String." It is well known that this was a fraudulent boast, for the poetaster (the epithet usually and justly bestowed on Soothern) merely transferred the personal boast of Ronsard from France to England, and was totally devoid of any immediate knowledge of Pindar. In these odes Soothern, by not following Ronsard in keeping strophe and antistrophe alike in structure and different from the epode, divested these traditional designations of structural meaning. Finally, this survey embraces an examination of the so-called odes of Shakespeare, Greene, and Barnfield, and the sonnet-sequences of the last decade of the sixteenth century; but altho many poems are here called odes, no true ode is discovered. The wretched performance of Soothern is thus to this point of time left undisturbed in its uniqueness.

That Soothern should be the first in England to bring Pindar's name into association with an art-form is all the more surprising when the knowledge of Pindar on the continent is traced onwards from the *editio princeps*, Venice, 1513. Trissino in 1515 and 1520 published the earliest Italian odes representing a conscious imitation of the triad-form. Following him closely in time, Alamanni advanced from this merely formal imitation to an attempt "to catch certain of Pindar's characteristics, such as his brevity and variety, his allusive style, and even his occasional obscurity" (p. 63). Ronsard, who is next considered, may perhaps have been influenced by the example of Alamanni; at all events, he too, writing in triads, attempted, but with only a measure of success, an approach to the notable characteristics of Pindar's style. Ronsard's boast has already been noticed. Finally, passing Minturno by, for his Pindaric odes "add nothing to the earlier achievement of Alamanni," Chiabrera is called up. He founded "the 'Pindaric school' of seventeenth century Italian poetry," but his odes are feeble in spirit and commonplace in thought. This persistent imitation of Pindar on the continent elicits the question whether Pindar was wholly unknown in England before Soothern announced him. The question leads Dr. Shafer to give an indication of the unimportant character of the attention bestowed on Pindar in the English universities and schools, and to show that no real knowledge of the poet underlies the references to him indulged in by the Elizabethan critics. Nothing is discovered here that lessens the appropriateness of entitling the next chapter "The Real Beginnings of the Species."

The beginning, "a timid and partial, but still appreciable" beginning of the English ode as a 'kind' is recognized by Dr. Shafer in the odes of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*. This judgment must not, in fairness, be construed to mean more than has been meant. It is supported by the peculiarity of metrical forms and the exclusive designation 'ode'; but it lacks all support of content. That there was now begun a tendency to give to 'ode' a specific meaning is the inference drawn from the *Rhapsody*. This is con-

firmed by Drayton's direct discussion of the matter in his prefatory note *To the Reader*. Drayton would give to 'ode' "a definiteness of meaning which it had not earlier enjoyed, merely by connecting it closely with the work of Pindar and Horace" (p. 84), and in his odes he advanced the proper conception of the English *genre*. Familiar with the efforts of Soothern, he did not, however, attempt the Pindaric form, but held more to Horace. His view of national equivalence also led him to admit the influence of the popular ballad. In metrical form he owes much to Skelton and much also to Ronsard, and there is a debt of theme and content to Ronsard and other French poets. Passing on to Milton, only the *Nativity Ode* is registered, but with notable distinction, for "here almost at a single bound the English ode springs into full-blown life." Dr. Shafer decides that this ode, on analysis, responds to the test of content and emotional unity.

Dr. Shafer holds confidently to a prescribed course in his elimination, on every hand, of so-called odes from the type he is laboring to rescue from confused tradition. He avoids ambiguities of definition with a virile directness and with an avoidance of "tall and opaque words" that will make the verification of his conclusions a simple and instructive procedure. Leaving Milton with no following in this species, he turns to Jonson, with whose followers the cultivation of the true ode would not unnaturally be looked for. In his translations from Horace, Jonson succeeded in each case in conveying "some idea of the Latin form," but in a small group of original poems, "of unequal excellence" however, he accomplished that which "had been only imperfectly foreshadowed by his contemporary and friend, Drayton"; he wrote "with a consciousness that the ode constitutes a distinct 'kind' or species of lyric." The address or apostrophe is raised in content and treatment to a higher level than that of personal significance, tho "the emotional level in these poems is not very high." Jonson was here in closest alliance with Horace, but he also studied Pindar, whose "exalted lyrical enthusiasm," however, was beyond his reach. Several poems show Pindaric influence in stanzaic structure; this external influence culminated in the well-known ode in four triads, with disputed relation to the "very soul" of Pindar; Dr. Shafer pronounces it "an ode which is Pindaric in spirit as well as in form" . . . and "of enduring worth and charm."

A survey of Jonson's immediate successors brings to light, as might not be expected, "very little" that is "contributory to the development of the true ode." With these poets,—Randolph, D'Avenant, Herrick, Hall, Lovelace, and Marvell are reviewed,—the "general tendency was away from the direction of the true ode and towards a species of light, though polished, lyric in which only two real features of the ode were present—its character of an address, or apostrophe, and its lyrical and prevaillingly complex verse-form" (p. 122). The only admitted exception to this state-

ment is the recognition of Marvell's *Horation Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*, for this "conforms in all essentials to the requirements we have laid down for the ode."

The lower chronological limit of this investigation is reached in the *Pindaric Odes* (1656) of Cowley, who "made the ode a fashionable and conspicuous species of poetry, . . . and this served permanently to fix it in the national consciousness as a recognisable and distinct 'kind' of lyric (p. 157). In the discussion summed up in this manner, the major number of pages relate to the metrical structure of Cowley's odes. This may at first dispose the reader to accuse Dr. Shafer of "travelling out of the record"; but the results of the amplified pages are important. The error in holding Cowley to be the inventor or an innovator in the use of "free or irregular verse" is corrected by a survey of the practice of poets preceding Cowley; the relation, in this matter, of Cowley to Crashaw is put in clearer light; and Cowley's adoption of a well established metrical tradition is shown to be justified by the poet's conception of a requirement of the true, nationalized ode. In Cowley's "Preface" the matter is made plain, that the triad-form was rejected not mistakingly or in ignorance, but in accordance with the poet's judgment of a native substitute for the foreign form. Cowley's 'irregular verse' was adopted as "an additional means of achieving, in English," Pindaric effects. The external form of the English ode was thus established, and 'irregularity' raised to the dignity of a fixed canon. No less conscious of what he was attempting to do was Cowley with reference to the spirit and manner of Pindar. The "enthusiastic manner" of his prototype was, however, beyond his reach; and temperamentally more like Horace (but falling below him in technique of workmanship), Cowley "caught really nothing of Pindar's spirit" (p. 155). Lacking the "emotional and poetic endowment" for true imitation, Cowley at times committed puerilities of false imitation; on the other hand, "many of Cowley's odes do have, indeed, an undeniable dignity and broadness of sweep that is genuinely impressive,"—"the excellencies of these odes are," however, "other than Pindaric." The credit, however, of permanently fixing "in the national consciousness" the type of the English ode remains Cowley's.

What has here been sketched should show that this dissertation is of real importance. The author has laid a foundation for the discriminating study of the English ode thru its complete history.

J. W. B.

It is with pleasure that we greet the publication in this country of a complete work devoted to the study of a single modern French author, and we hope that the series may be continued, as it will supply a want keenly felt by every teacher of French literature in the United States.

Professor Ray P. Bowen in his *Life and Novels of Ferdinand Fabre* (Studies in Literature, R. G. Badger, Boston, 1918) has chosen as subject an exceedingly interesting man as well as a writer of high rank, and his sympathetic study brings this fact clearly to our attention. Where else among the French writers of the nineteenth century do we find a devout Christian, refusing to take orders, not because of conscientious doubt or of dislike for the institutions of the church, but because he is so straightforward and clean that he cannot reconcile his natural instincts and his priestly vows, and refuses to treat the latter as other than sacred?

Professor Bowen brings out clearly the development of Fabre's mind and of his talent. He follows him through his early life with his uncle, the Abbé Fulcran, in the Cévenol Mountains, through his course at the Seminary, through his years of trial at Paris. He shows us when and how Fabre discovered his talent and the limitations of his field. We learn with him that Fabre had two objects to express, both of which he knew at first hand, peasant life of the Cévenols, the inner side of lesser ecclesiastic life. Professor Bowen also essays a classification of Fabre's works, but in this he is less happy. He divides the novels by periods, then by subject matter; the classification is not incorrect, but is hardly worth while. Practically all of Fabre's novels draw from the two fields with which he was familiar, and neither field excludes the other; simply in some cases one side will be more prominent, in other cases the other.

Taken as a whole the little book is a valuable and helpful guide to the study of Fabre's life and works and will be found useful. It is regrettable that numerous misprints and poor spacing mar its otherwise attractive appearance.

M. P. B.

Professor Marcel Moraud brought out a most timely little book last summer when he prepared *Sous Les Armes* (Henry Holt & Co., 1918) for use at the beginning of the school year. After the hasty compositions of 1917-18, for use in training camps and with prospective workers in France, it was a pleasant surprise to have a war-book which was clear, readable, and yet timely. Furthermore, the ending of hostilities has not yet ended the usefulness of *Sous Les Armes*. The selections are well made, the stories are of lasting interest, and the vocabulary is not slang but filled with the current expressions that the war has put on everyone's lips.

The names of Anatole France, Pierre Loti, Maurice Barrès, and Henry Bordeaux in the table of authors indicate sufficiently that the collection is something more than a file of newspaper clippings. Teachers will find the book excellent for translation and for oral work in class. The notes are well done and there is a full vocabulary, revised already since the first appearance of the text.

M. P. B.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

"Das militärische Fremdwort des 16. Jahrhunderts" is the title of an article by Franz Helbling (*Zs. f. deu. Wortf.* XIV, 20-70), in which the attempt is made to record the earliest appearance and the development of a number of German military terms borrowed from other languages, chiefly French and Italian. Frequently the examples cited by Helbling are not much older than those found in the current dictionaries—*e. g.*, Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*—but the abundance of the material and its chronological arrangement make the article a convenient point of departure for future studies.

In the following notes I have accordingly limited the citations to those antedating the instances given by Helbling or Kluge. It will be seen that a number of these terms, instead of originating just before the Thirty Years' War, go back to the fifteenth century—to the wars of Charles the Bold and beyond.

1. GARNISON

Kluge gives the earliest date of *Garnison* as 1606, and all the other dictionaries either repeat this date or the more general statement 'um 1600 entlehnt.' Helbling cites instances dated 1617. The following passage is from a letter dated June 24, 1481:¹

Heini Etterli, Statthalter vnd Lüttiner der eydgnosischen garnison vnnnd gemeinen knechten von Stetten vnd von lendren.

Several other instances are to be noted in *Wilwolt von Schaum-*

¹ *Argovia, Jahresschrift der historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau*, VI, 343.

burg,² the MS. of which is dated 1507, whereas the events here referred to took place at Arras in the last decade of the fifteenth century:

Darumb schickten sie ir treffenlich botchaft zu dem von Schaumburg, das er mit der ganzen gadeson zu ros und fues handln solt (p. 142). nu wern sie wider geschickt, den haubtman und die ganzen gemein in der gardison aufs gütigst zu verhorn (p. 143). Die ganz gardison het gros achtung und fleis auf den haubtman (p. 146).

2. TRUPPEN

Kluge refers to v. Wallhausen, 1617, and Helbling cites another work of this author dated 1616. The following instance is from Konrad Stolle's contemporary account of the siege of Neuss (1474):³

vnd hatten eyn geferte uff raden an die stad Nusz bracht, do worn troppen june, das sie meynten ubir die muren zu louffen.

Concerning the stem-vowel of *tropfen*, it may be noted that this author also writes *storm*, *gebort*, *forsten*, *borg*, *Doringen*, *schotz*, *notz*, etc., instead of *sturm*, *geburt*, etc.

3. GENERAL

As a simple noun, *i. e.*, not in connection with other words such as *Oberst*, *Hauptmann*, this word is cited by Kluge and Helbling from v. Wallhausen, 1616 (1617). The so-called *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik*, Low German, of the fifteenth century, has probably the earliest instance, referring to an event of the year 1454:⁴

des conincks hooftman ende generael vant leger, for which latter words another MS. reads: capiteyne van dem heer.

In High German, Weller's *Zeitungen* afford a number of early instances:⁵

Der obgenant Er Carolus obirster Capitaneus vnd generall hat vns fruntlichen frolichen angenommen (p. 17: 1510). Er hadde

² *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilcolts von Schaumburg*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, L. Bd.

³ *Konrad Stolles thüringisch-erfurtische Chronik*, Bibl. Lit. Ver. xxxii, 87.

⁴ *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, v, 140.

⁵ *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, hrsg. v. Emil Weller. Bibl. Lit. Ver. cxi. Bd.

vormals zu seyner heyligkeit ausz beuelh des christlichsten koniges von Franckreich den Generall Ormandie geschicket (*ib.*). Vnd so nun Bebstliche heyligkeyt sulliche obgnanten General verachtet (p. 18). der herr vonn Perga, der oberst Stathalter, General des Königs vonn Franckreich vber sein here, ist tod (p. 28: 1513).

Brennwald's *Chronik*, written before 1522, has a similar instance referring to the Genuese War of 1507:^a der grameter, ein general der cron Frankrich.

Heinrich von Eppendorff writes:⁷ aber der general liesz jm das nit anligen, schicket sich züm kriege (f. 146^a 8). The same officer is also styled *general Capitanier*: der general Capitanier Johan Justinian, der des gantzen kriegs acht nam (f. 145^b 41). Da hat der general Capitanier gesagt (f. 146^a 3). Ich wolt das diser general Capitanier bey mir were (f. 146^a 13). Similar instances (*General Oberst*) in which *general* has more or less the force of an adjective, are cited by Helbling from a text of 1555. The opposite word-order (*hauptman General*) appears in a *Zeitung* describing the Battle of Pavia (1525):

Herr von Anshi des frantzosischen fuszuolcksz hauptman General (*Bibl. Lit. Ver.* cxi, 55).

Similarly, a letter of Maximilian I, dated March 11, 1496, is addressed:

Simon von Vngerspach, vnnserm rat vnd schatzmeister general (*Bibl. Lit. Ver.* x, 97).

4. KAPITÄN

The earliest instance cited by Helbling is from Fronsperger (1571). The word occurs frequently in the fifteenth century, however, the earliest examples at my disposal being from the *Zürcher Chronik*, referring to events of the year 1425 (MS. of the fifteenth century):

do zoch der kappitöni fúruf von der stat . . . und verhiez der cappitöny únsern gesellen . . . und danket dem cappitöny ernstlichen und sprach . . . Do wanden si den cappitöny finden mit groszem volk (*Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, xviii, 227 ff.).

The following instances are from letters of the years 1472-1474, published in the *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, II. Abt., 46. Bd.:

^a *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, N. F., I. Abt. Bd. II, 512.

⁷ *Kriegsübung dess fúrtrefflichsten . . . Kaisers Julij*, etc., Strassburg, 1551. See complete title in *PMLA*, xxxiv, 151.

vi^e raisige pferdt gesandt, ser gut capitein und xx schlanngen (p. 184: 1472). Baldewine von Lannaue, capoteni zu Sutphen (p. 316: siege of Neuss, 1474). das sie niderwurffen einen capitän, der ist ein Lamgarter (p. 318: siege of Neuss).

The various Swiss accounts of the siege of Nancy (1477) also contain the word, usually in referring to Italian officers. Thus, Edlibach's *Chronik*⁸ records:

Item her jacob galiat cappitany vss lampartten (p. 165). Item her joss jolin von albin cappiteny von napols (p. 166). der capitony von meilland (p. 171).

The *Basler Chroniken* contain similar accounts:

Her jacob Galiott capitan der Lamparter (III, 102). Her Jolyn, capitani von Napels . . . Herr Jacob Goliat, capitani (v, 526).

An early Low German instance of *capiteyne* is cited above, under *General*. Other instances from North Germany are to be noted in Westhoff's Chronicle, recording events of the year 1475:

mit iren capiteen und hoebtluden . . . Die capiteen und hovetlude (*Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, xx, 340).

In *Wilvult von Schaumburg*² (ms. 1507) the word occurs frequently:

sein her, der obrister capitän in der stat Schirm . . . gewesen was (p. 28). Antwürt der capitän: Ich muesz sterben (*ib.*). Der könig schickt ainen von sein wälischen capitänen (p. 80). tausent goltkronen für sein capitani zu ransan oder schatzung (*ib.*). lies der capitän den hofmaister . . . ein (p. 87). Darumb bat ir obrister capitani den von Schaunburg (p. 122). her Wilvult von Schaunburg richtet zue ein banket, lud den obristen englischen capitani mit seinem treffenlichisten adl (p. 125). ein botschaft von einem capitän, hies der Grison (p. 129). für in und die welischen capitän (p. 134).

In the majority of these instances, it will be observed, the word has already assumed its modern form. In the *Zeitungen*⁵ of this period, however, the older foreign forms are still current:

darvnder seint zu Manszell gefangen des babst capitany (p. 15: 1509). obirster Hauptman vnd capitanyer, des Christlichsten künigs von Franckreich (p. 16: 1510). Der obgenant Er Carolus obirster Capitaneus vnd generall (p. 17). sulliche gütte vorschlege des obgnanten Capitanyers (p. 18). haben wyr von dem obgenan-

⁸ *Mitteilungen der ant. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Vol. iv (1846).

ten Grande Capitanier eyn sulliche antwort vbirkommen (p. 20). durch seinen Capitanio Saluiaten vnd Kayserlicher Maiestat Hauptman Andre de Doria (p. 104: 1531).

The form *Capitanier* is to be noted as late as 1551 in Heinrich von Eppendorff: ⁷

das der grosse Capitanier des königs aus Egypten . . . ankomen sey (f. 134^a 5). Der Capitanier heisz Clasdala (l. 10). vnd hat der Capitanier Johan Justinian . . . zwey schiff zûrichten lassen (f. 144^a 22). Der Türck hat des Capitaniers fleisz gerhümet (f. 146^a 12). aber der Capitanier hette der ehre vnd des zûsagens vergessen (f. 148^b 16). Der Capitanier schreye nach dem schlüssel (l. 24).

5. LEUTENANT

This word appears in a variety of forms: Kluge cites *laytinant* and Helbling *locotenent*, both of the year 1525. Long before this, however, there is an Alemannic form *lütiner*, quoted by Helbling from a text of 1532, evidently conceived as a derivative from *lûte* (*Leute*). The earliest instances are from a document dated June 24, 1481:

Ire empter, es synd lüttiner, venrich, weibell (*Argovia* VI, 342). Heini Etterli, Statthalter vnd Lüttiner der eydgnosischen garnison vnnnd gemeinen knechten (p. 343).

In Vol. VI of the *Basler Chroniken* there are also a number of instances from the years 1513-1515:

Jacob zum Hasen, lütener (p. 49). Lienhart Billig, oder den man nampt zum Hirtzen, lüttener (p. 66). Bartolme Schmid lütener (p. 69). Doselbes 3 necht gelegen; den lutener und Martin von Tachszfelden in der von Bern leger . . . geschickt (p. 77).

Still another form is *leutenampt*, quoted by Helbling from a text of 1601, evidently an instance of popular etymology (*leute* + *amt*). This is the only form used by Heinrich von Eppendorff ⁷ (1551), in whose text it occurs no less than 28 times. The plural is regularly *leutenämpter* (f. 31^a 13; 38^a 19; 53^a 38; 53^b 40; 62^b 4), while the plural *leuthenampt* occurs only once (f. 8^a 29).

6. KAMERAD

This word is generally assumed to have been taken into the language during the Thirty Years' War (Grimm, *DWb.* II, 603, s. v.

Camerad); Kluge cites it from a text of 1638, while Helbling does not record it. The following instance, from No. 270 of Weller's *Zeitungen*,⁵ is dated 1564:

Neuwe Zeitung, Von dem erschröcklichen Erbfeind, des jetzigen new erwelten Türckischen Keisers Absagung, so Maximiliano dem erwölten Römischen Keiser disz 64. Jars zugeschriben. Ausz Wien einem Kamerathi inn Speir warhafftig zugeschriben. Getruckt zu Tübingen, . . . (p. 178).

The usual formula is: "So ein gut Freundt . . . geschriben" (p. 102), "seim Vettern . . . zugeschriben" (p. 112), "Durch namhafftig personen beschriben" (p. 113), "Einem guten Freunde . . . zugeschriben" (p. 160), or else there is the fictitious signature: "Bruder Veit Landsknecht" (p. 131). The use of *Kamerad* in this formula is therefore perfectly normal.

7. ARMIREN

Helbling cites the word from Wallhausen, 1616. It occurs more than a century earlier, in the very first of Weller's *Zeitungen*,⁵ dated 1505:

Ein Schiff ausz Presillig land . . . So dann Nono vnd Christoffel de haro vnd andre gearmirt oder gerüst haben (p. 5).

8. ARMADA

Under *Armee* Kluge dates *Armada* "um 1600," whereas under *Flotte* he says "zwischen 1550-1650." Weller's *Zeitungen*⁵ again offer a number of early instances:

darauff sein Durchleüchtikait nach mals new Armata vnd schiff wider ausz geschickt (p. 39: 1522). ain ander Armata mit schiffen, vnd damit Aynn hauptman Wagellanus genant mit .iiij. Hundert personen (p. 48: 1522). das der Herr Andre de Orio, auf den 15. Aprilis, daselbst hin mit seinen Galeen vnd Armaden . . . ankommen gewesen sein (p. 82: 1535). Neue Zeytung . . . Welche erzölt die zukunfft der Armata Des Fürsten Doria, Vnd der Zal der Galeen, vnd kriegsuoelcks, so auff baïden Armata seind . . . Ausz Italianischer sprach (p. 120: 1538). Gute zeyttung, von der Christlichen Armata eroberung Castello nouo vnd Rixana . . . In zweyen lateinischen getruckten Missiuen (p. 122: 1539). Wie die Röm. Key. Mey. auff den xx. Octobris, desz xlj. Jars, mit

einer treffenlichen Armada, die Statt Algiero zu Erobern (p. 127: 1541).

The meaning of the earlier passages seems not to be exactly that of 'Flotte,' but rather that of 'outfit,' 'equipment' (cf. *armiren*, above). In 1551, however, Heinrich von Eppendorff⁷ uses the word regularly in the sense of fleet:

sein armada oder schiffung (f. 37^a 32). ein armada . . . die zwey hundert vnd zwentzig schiff starck geweszt (f. 142^b 39). hat der Türck sein armada, nahe zû dem hafen vnd der statt rucken lassen (f. 148^a 11).

A *Zeitung* of the year 1564 avoids the foreign word, using instead *Kriegs Zeug auff dem Meer*:

Bericht, so, geschehen von dem fürnemen Obersten Hauptman des Venedischen Kriegs Zeugs (*Variant*: Kriegszugs) auff dem Meer, an den Durchleuchtigen Hertzogen von Venedig (Weller, p. 178 f.).

9. FLOTTE

Kluge states: "*Flotte* findet sich im Niederdeutschen seit etwa 1400, im Hochdeutschen seit Anfang des 17. Jahrhs. in Zeitungen zunächst in der auf das gleichbed. ital. *flotta* weisenden Lautform *Flotta* Plur. *Flotten*." The following early instances may be noted:

Low German: mit der ganzen vlote van allen steden . . . mit erer ganzen vlote mit allen den schepen . . . und to der vlote van der Zuderzee to segelende in den Oereszund . . . so schal de ganze vlote van beiden siden bi dem vredecooggen bliven (Bunge,⁹ VI, 232, from an agreement between the Hanse Towns dated June 24, 1368). und dan vort to samende segelen in den namen Godes in einer vlote (*ib.* v, 231: Riga, 1417). so wylt se eyne vlote maken, als se aldergrotest konnen (*ib.* VII, 408: Danzig, 1427).

High German: sechs amrals adir houbtschiffe in der flosse syn sullen, als 2 kegen Flandern, 2 kegen Engeland, 2 kegen Holland; und dieselben schiffe sal man bemannen und mit sunderlichen were bestellen (Bunge, VII, 435: Danzig, 1427). Item am sonnabend vor misericordia Domini ging eine grosse flosse von schiffe mit mancherlei guttern geladen von Danczke hinuff gen Thorn¹⁰ (*ascendit magna classis navium*: event of 1466, MS. of 1532).

⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, Riga, 1873.

¹⁰ *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, IV, 629.

Darnach kam ein grosz, merklich geschrai in das hör und iedes leger, wie ein ganze flut französischer schiff uf der sehe daher liefen (*Wilwolt von Schaumburg*,² p. 121: MS. 1507).

These forms *flosse* and *flut*, which, moreover, are not cited at all in this use, are instructive as illustrating the attempts of the writers to put into High German form a word which they knew to be Low German. The Italianized form *Flotta*, which Kluge assigns to the early seventeenth century, belongs to a different stratum: it is restricted to the broadsides of South German translators of Spanish or Italian letters, who had probably never seen the sea and were unaware of the existence of the word in German. The following instances are from Weller's *Zeitungen*:⁵

Sampt einer verzeichnusz des Reichtumbs, so die Flotta disz 82. Jars ausz Noua Spania . . . gebracht (p. 275: Augsburg, 1582). ein kurtze verzeichnusz der reichen Flotta ausz Terra Firme, vnd New Spanien (p. 294, "ausz Venedig": München, 1585). was disz 85. Jar, die Flotta ausz bayden Indien, für den König von Hispania, vnnnd dann für die Particulares . . . gebracht hatt (p. 297, "Ausz Venedig": Augsburg, 1586).

It will be noted that *Flotta* appears here in the sense of 'merchant fleet,' whereas *Armada* is used at this period in the sense of 'navy.'

10. ADMIRAL

Kluge says of this word: "in der Bedeutung . . . *praefectus classis* . . . um 1550 . . . eingebürgert." The earliest of the following instances is from a document dated 1427:

sechs amrals adir houbtschiffe (Bunge,⁹ VII, 435). Heine von der Fere war amiral von der sehe (*Scriptores rer. pruss.* IV, 732: event of 1470, MS. of fifteenth century). der von Bebers als amerall und beschützer der ganzen sehe, mit vil carfln, holken und andern groszen schiffen . . . die wurden durch den hauptman und gedachten amerall mit dem kriegsvolk . . . besetzt. Mit denselben schiffen und leuten zugen hauptman und amerall von Fluszingen aus (*Wilwolt von Schaumburg*,² p. 118). Als der hauptman sambt dem amirall Cassant das lendlein uf acht tag innen het gehabt (p. 119). x schöne schiffe und eine jacht, und das amerales-both war vorbauet, das es ein ausbunt mit den segeln war (*Script. rer. pruss.* V, 534: event of 1523).

Heinrich von Eppendorff⁷ consistently uses the form *Ammiral*:

Archelaus ein oberster Ammiral über die Armada (f. 36^b 7). der Ammiral Archelaus (l. 29). den Neoptolemum des königs Mithridatis Ammiral (f. 39^b 6). der Memnon des königs Darij Ammiral (f. 76^a 8). mit vnsrem Ammiral vnd ewer Armada (f. 147^b 38).

The other use of the word, as a French military title, is cited by Helbling from a text of 1577. The earliest of the following examples goes back to the fourteenth century:

herr Johans von Vigand der emeral von Franckenrich (*Basler Chroniken*, v, 128: event of 1396, written about 1403). hab der kung sin sun den amaral herusz gevertiget . . . nemlich 400 gleven mit dem amaral gen Jenff kommen (*ib.* III, 442: event of 1476). Ouch hatt des kungs sun amaral erzelt . . . hat der amaral mit eygner person zugeseit (p. 443). Item so ist ouch dem amaral geschriben (*ib.*). dem admiral, dem graffen von Griers (p. 455). der amiral (p. 462). dem amoral (p. 464). der amoral (p. 466). der ammirall (p. 470). dem amirall (*ib.*). der amiral (pp. 472, 474). der Admiral vonn Franckreich ist erstochen (Weller,⁵ p. 52: Battle of Pavia, 1525).

11. ARSENAL

Kluge dates this word "um 1550," while Helbling cites an instance of the year 1568. The following instances are from a letter dated March 30, 1509:

Allergnedigister herre, mir schreibt ain guter freundt von Venedig, das im arszinal in jrem zeughawss ob sechshundert zentten pulver verpronnen . . . das man hat gmaint es sei in Venedig ain erdpidem gewesen, sindt an etlichenn kurchen leuten arsinal etlich meur ercloben.¹¹

12. RUMOR, RUMORER

Helbling's earliest instance of the word *Rumor* is from the year 1555. It goes back as far as May, 1475, however, occurring repeatedly in an order addressed to the army advancing to the relief of Neuss:

Item die keyserlich maiestat wil, das man die sache der nechtigen romor verhöre und mit den hauptleuten, die di sachen berürt,

¹¹ *Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I.*, Bibl. Lit. Ver. x, 313.

schaffe, das sy nach den greifen, die der romor anfang sind . . . item das hinfur nyemands kein romor anhebe bey verliesung seines lebens. item ob aber furter ein romor beschee, das doch nit sein sol, . . . auch die also romor anfiengen, in der k. m^t venknuss nemen und sich der keiner, dem selben anfinger der romor zusteen, nit anneme (*Publ. aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, LXVII, 155).

It will be noted that the word is in every case spelled *romor*, which is closer to the Italian *romore* than to Latin *rumor*. The latter form, however, occurs in another, briefer version of the above, printed with it. Here we find also the earliest instance of *Rumorer*, not cited at all by Helbling:

daz nyemand kein rumor anvahe . . . denen, so solich rumor anvienge . . . sonder die nach irem besten vermügen understeen zu underkommen, dieselben rumoror zu handen nemen, . . . derselben, so solich rumor anvahen (*ib.*, p. 156).

The word appears also in an account of the Suabian War of 1499:

In dem ward ein gross rumor under dem volk, und angesicht sinen (= *seiner*) zerhuwen si im sin obersten schatzmeister (*Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, xx, 442).

The double forms *romor*, *rumor* noted in the earliest instances recur in 1542, in several of Weller's *Zeitungen*⁵ which record the same event. Here the meaning is not that of 'disturbance,' 'tumult,' but exactly that of the English word:

Von den grausamen sachen vnd Rumorn von Kriegs geschrey . . . vnd Rumorn von Kriegsgeschrey (p. 132). vnd Romorn von kriegs geschrey (p. 133).

W. KURRELMEYER.

ON CHAUCER'S *ANELIDA AND ARCITE*

In the Proem to *Anelida and Arcite* Chaucer announces his intention

in English for t'endyte
This olde storie, in *Latin* which I finde
Of quene Anelida and fals Arcite.

and a few lines further he acknowledges his indebtedness to some of his predecessors.

First folow I Stace, and after him Corinne.

But this is Chaucer's old device. Though he appears to inform his readers of his sources, his list is by no means exhaustive. In this particular case the Latin and Stace are supplemented by "Corinne" and, so it seems, by the hitherto unthought-of Machaut.

I fare as doth the song of 'Chaunte-pleure'

The epithet was used for a person who now sang and now cried; and for a complaint with a change in tone, joyful and woeful in turn. Stanza 5 of the Antistrophe, descriptive of Anelida's changing moods, may well be called a "Chaunte-pleure." However, this is not sufficient to permit the inference that Chaucer drew from a French source.

M. Legouis, with an artist's intuition, wrote, when the new edition of Machaut's works was published: "Le Lai de Plour fait apercevoir dans cette élégie le modèle artistique probable de la 'Complainte d'Anelida,' ce dont nul ne s'était encore avisé."¹ There are indeed in Chichmaref's² edition lays which are kith and kin to Anelida's Compleynt. Two of these are called *Lai de Plour* (pp. 434 and 459). One is the usual lament born of the lady's disdain of the lover's devotion and service. The other is a lady's dirge on the death of her lover, but neither is near in sentiment and theme to the "Complaint," and it is a third poem, *Le Lai de la Souscie* (p. 443), which offers a parallel in subject and sometimes in treatment to Chaucer's work. So our interest lies in a comparison of *Le Lai de la Souscie* and the "Complaint."

Both poems are of a woman to whom her love has been false. Now, this is in the Chaucerian note of the *Legend of Good Women* and the story of the hawk in the *Squire's Tale*. So Chaucer had no need to borrow a theme quite familiar to him, while it is only the exception with Machaut. Yet to this exception, Chaucer's attention seems to have been drawn. How did each poet treat this subject?

First with regard to the feelings of the complainers: Both are in the first person, the forsaken in each having a soliloquy, longer in Machaut than in Chaucer, so that in each case we have a lyric which is an analysis of feelings and sentiments by the person who

¹ Legouis: *Chaucer*, p. 43 (Collection des grands écrivains étrangers, 1910).

² Chichmaref: *Les Poésies de Guillaume de Machaut*.

shares them. As Chichmaref's edition is not generally accessible, a somewhat detailed account of the Lay may be given here. Machaut's woman gives a clear exposition of the painful situation (1-9). Then through the force of her imagination her lover's presence still abides with her (10-18), thus suffering and longing vanish (19-32). However, this evocation does not last long and sorrow comes back; it is the "lover's maladie" (31-40). Yet hope tries to offer some comfort (41-42), when the thought of treason comes back to the forlorn heart and sorrow weighs on it so heavily that it yearns for death (43-63). The next lines down to 83 are filled with feelings alternating between sorrow and hope, sorrow being undoubtedly uppermost. The heart comes back to the faithless one, drawn by the invincible ties of love, and now the alternating feelings are those of forgiveness and blame (83-110). Like a refrain is heard the note of despair and hankering after death (111-126). Then hope comes back; this time in a more definite form; the trust that God will bring the strayed sheep home (127-142). In the following two stanzas (143-158), it is difficult to tell who speaks, the maiden or Machaut himself. The lines are an exhortation to all "amis" to keep up hope. It seems that Machaut himself, the onlooker of the sentimental "tragedie," introduces a word of admonition to forsaken lovers, rather than that the forsaken lover herself tells her fellow sufferers of the remedy to be employed in their case. Then the analysis of sentiments is resumed with a protestation of faithfulness on the woman's part (159-170). This constant devotion will triumph at last (171-182), but it must be soon, before longing has wasted life away (183-216). Though the woman's heart is steadfast, the closing lines (217-240) are a prayer to God and an assertion of the woman's hope.

The general note of the lay is one of real emotion, truer than in most of Machaut's pieces. We have no idea as to the circumstances which gave birth to the *Lai de la Souscie*, but its pathos and genuineness lead us to think that Machaut was inspired by reality. Here Machaut was more human and less affected than he usually showed himself, and it is quite natural to think that Chaucer, whose humanity was far wider than the French poet's, heard this note in the *Lai de la Souscie*, for his Anelida is very near akin to the woe-begone woman in the lay.

Of course there are differences. In Chaucer the complaint dwells

chiefly on sorrow, and, contrary to Machaut, there is no hope, no trust in a better future. The reason lies in the fact that Machaut has both "destinée" and "Diex" at his service, while Chaucer has only "fortune," with the result that Machaut is more optimistic and Chaucer more despondent. There is no solace for Anelida, and it is worthy of note that Chaucer paid no heed to this expression of hope in Machaut. Was Chaucer, when he wrote the "Compleynt," a fatalistic believer in a fortune eluding man's understanding, known by the havoc and ruin it worked in his happiness? But the whole situation is the same, and the two poems often meet in sentiment and expression. Both have:

(1) a protestation of faithfulness on the woman's part:

Si t'ameray	I wil ben ay ther I was ones bounde.
Tant com je vivray	(245)
N'autre amour ja mais n'avray	
(162-163)	

(2) an evocation of the lover:

Son dous parler	(18)	Your wordes fulle of plesaunce and humblesse?	(248)
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amours pure	And if I slepe a furlong wey or tweye,
Sa figure	Then thinketh me, that your figure
En mon cuer peint et figure	
Doucement et si à point.	Before me stant, clad in asure,
Qu'en moy de douleur n'a point	(328-330)
Eins suis en envoiesire	
N'ay pointure	
Ne morsure,	
Quant je voy sa pourtraiture	
(21-29)	

(3) The woes of both forsaken maidens are the same; they suffer from the same malady:

Mais ce au cuer trop fort me point	For thus ferforth have I my deth
Que longuement pas ne dure,	(y)-soght,
Dont j'endure	My-self I mordre with my prevy
Sans laidure	thoght;
Grant chalour et grant froidure	For sorrow and routhe of your un-
Qui, mon cuer point et empoint,	kindenesse
Si qu'amours me point et oint,	I wepe, I wake, I faste; al helpeth
Dont je sui en aventure	noght;
De mort sure;	I weyve joye that is to speke of
(31-39)	oght, (290-294)

(4) Their state of mind is similar :

Une heure sui lie
Et l'autre heure plour,
Com femme esbahie, (67-69)

I fare as doth the song of Chaunte-
pleure.
For now I pleyne, and now I pleye,
I am so mased that I deye,
(319-321)

The close agreement of these passages suggests translation.

(5) And their sorrow seems to be past all comfort :

Ne say dire
Le martyre
Qui mon dolent cuer martyre
Jour et nuit:
Trop m'empire;
S'en souspire,
Qu'amours a moy desconfire
Trop le duit,

Qui desire
Moy occire
Quant mais n'oy chanter ne rire
Ne deduit,
Pleur et ire
Sont mi mire;
En moy compleindre et defrire
Me deduit. (111-126)

The longe night this wonder sight
I drye,
And on the day for this afray
I dye,
And of al this right noght, y-wis,
ye recche,
No never mo myn yën two be
drye,
And to your routhe and to trouthe
I crye,
But welawey! to fer be they to
fecche;
Thus holdeth me my destinee a
wrecche.
But me to rede out of this drede
or gye
Ne may my wit, so weyk is hit,
not strecche, (333-341)

Feelings and sentiments alone in Machaut did not appeal to Chaucer. The great charm of Machaut's short poems lies in his love of form, in the graceful, richly-varied rhythm of his stanzas, and to this charm Chaucer was alive. The similarities in theme and expression may, by a sceptical critic, be considered as mere coincidences in the commonplaces found in the poems of courtly love whose range of sentiments and vocabulary was always limited. But in the form of the "Complaint" lies the strongest argument in favor of a direct imitation. In the course of a poem, Chaucer's versification is uniform, the only exception being the "Balade" in the *Legend of Good Women*. But Anelida's Complaynt, unique in form in all Chaucer's works, displays on the contrary a richness in metre which compares well with that of Machaut's lays. The *Lai de la Souscie*, for instance, which is quite typical of Machaut's manner, has, for 240 lines, 20 stanzas and various meters.

In Chaucer we have for 139 lines: 14 stanzas, 4 different meters, including those of stanzas, 6 in the strophe and 6 in the Antistrophe. The latter are considered as having an "internal rhyme" on the second and fourth stress.³ But after reading Machaut's lays it strikes us forcibly that we have here two long stanzas in short verse such as we often find in Machaut. And we instinctively write out Chaucer's two stanzas as we recite them, in lines of one and two feet.

6. *Strophe*

My swete foo,
 Why do ye so,
 For shame?
 And thenke ye
 That furthered be
 Your name,
 To love a newe,
 And been untrewed?
 Nay!
 And putte yow
 In selaunder now
 And blame,
 And do to me
 Adversitee
 And grame,
 That love yow most,
 God, wel thou wost!
 Alway?
 Yet turn ayeyn,
 And be al pleyn
 Som day,
 And than shal this
 That now is mis
 Be game,
 And al for-yive,
 Why! that I live
 May.

6. *Antistrophe*

The longe night
 This wonder sight
 I drye,
 And on the day
 For this afay
 I dye,
 And of al this
 Right noght, y-wis,
 Ye recche.
 Ne never mo
 Myn yēn two
 Be drye,
 And to your routhe
 And to your trouthe
 I crye.
 But welaway!
 To fer be they
 To fecche;
 Thus holdeth me
 My destinee
 A wrecche.
 But me to rede
 Out of this drede
 Or gye
 Ne may my wit,
 So weyk is hit,
 Not strecche.

Do not such considerations justify the statement that Chaucer is here indebted to Machaut? It seems that the evidence is convincing enough. The verbal parallels, in one case, an actual trans-

³ E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, p. 530.

lation, the similarities in versification, the parallels in situation, all indicate that Chaucer knew Machaut's lays, especially *Le Lai de la Souscie*, that he had felt the charm of their form and had tried to vie with his master in the "Compleynt" of Anelida.

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THOMAS EDWARDS AND THE SONNET REVIVAL

Although Gray and Stillingfleet were before him in writing sonnets, the sonnet revival may be said fairly to begin with Thomas Edwards. His claim to a preëminent place in the history of that revival rests not on the two sonnets, *To L. Chancellor Hardwicke* and *To the Hon. Chas. Yorke*,¹ dated 1746 and 1747, respectively,—by his own account not his first,—but on the publication in 1748 of thirteen sonnets which both by their priority and by their number make his influence more than a matter of conjecture. These, together with a sonnet by his friend, Richard Roderick, another gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, were published in the second edition of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands*,² the edition which contained Gray's odes and Stillingfleet's *Essay*. Roderick's sonnet is not particularly important, for it is the only one the author is known to have written, and it is an avowed imitation 'from the Spanish of Lopez de Vega,' a humorous poem on the task of composing a sonnet.³ The thirteen sonnets published by Dodsley were not all the sonnets that Edwards had written at

¹These are probably the two sonnets by Edwards 'discovered' by Prof. Phelps (*The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, 1902, 46 n.), although he does not indicate where or when his two sonnets were published. These two were published, with the dates 1746 and 1747, with two others in Nichols's *Select Collection*, 1780, vi, 106; but they had been previously published, though without the dates, in Edwards's *Canons of Criticism*, 1765. The second was also published in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1770, 40, 39.

²The first three volumes of the second edition, 1748-58, are dated 1748; the sonnets are in volume II, 320 ff.

³*Ibid.* II, 20. It is irregular, rhyming abba edde efefef and ending with an Alexandrine.

that time ⁴ when his sonneteering was just at its height,⁵ and when in 1765 his total number was raised to fifty, his preëminence among the sonnet writers of his time was firmly established by the originality and variety as well as by the number of his sonnets.

Though but an amateur in literature, Edwards seems to have been of the class—not very numerous in the mid-eighteenth century—of accurate scholars.⁶ The son and grandson of barristers, he was himself entered at Lincoln's Inn, but he preferred letters to law, and, inheriting a good estate when yet a young man, was able to indulge his inclination. In less comfortable circumstances or with more robust health he might have become as accurate an editor as Ritson and a better-tempered one. In the abundant leisure of country life he read his Shakespeare, his Spenser, and his Milton, and became the stern critic of incompetent editors and the admiring friend of a large number of literary people, including Hester Mulso, Richard Cambridge, Thomas Birch, Daniel Wray, and Samuel Richardson.

By his own account Edwards was not an imitator, but his selection of the sonnet form for all but one of his poems ⁷ was certainly influenced by his long study of older writers. Although all of his published sonnets but four are in the regular Italian form, and though the subjects are similar to Milton's, it was not Milton's sonnets, but Spenser's, which first suggested to him the writing of sonnets, and it was the Italian writers who led him to adopt the regular form. 'The reading of Spenser's Sonnets,' he wrote to Richardson in 1751, 'was the first occasion of my writing that species of little poems, and my first six ⁸ were written in the same

⁴ They do not include the sonnets dated 1746 and 1747, nor three other Spenserian sonnets, which were, he said, his first. Richardson's *Correspondence*, Edwards to Richardson, July 18, 1754, III, 91-2.

⁵ He wrote no sonnets, according to his letter to Richardson, after 1755. *Ibid.* Jan. 15, 1755, III, 108.

⁶ Edwards's editorial standards were high; 'I should die with shame,' he wrote to Richardson, 'to be guilty of such crude unlicked performances as I justly blame in others . . . I doubt nothing can be done to save our classic authors from such scandalous injuries as we both lament.' March 30, 1751, *Ibid.* III, 15.

⁷ *An Ode occasioned by a Lady's being burnt with curling irons.* Nichols's *Select Collection*, VI, 107-8.

⁸ Of these six Spenserian sonnets but four are, apparently, extant; the first three published in Dodsley's *Collection*, those to Philip Yorke, John Clerke, and Francis Knollys—Nos. vii, ii, and iii in *Canons of Criticism*,

sort of stanza as all his and Shakespeare's are. But after that Mr. Wray brought me acquainted with the Italian authors, who were the originals of that sort of poetry, and whose measures have more variety and harmony in them,—ever since, I wrote in that stanza; drawing from the same fountains as Milton drew from;—so that I was complimented with having well imitated Milton when I was not acquainted with his Sonnets.'⁹ And he concluded: 'I have only to add that the impulse was that way; and to borrow an expression of Mr. Pope's,

I wrote in sonnet, for the numbers came.'

It seems certain that Edwards learned from Spenser and the Italians only the correct form of the sonnet; he caught none of their sweetness and grace of expression and none of their passion; he did not even borrow his subjects from them. In spite of his demurrer, however, it is hard to believe that he was not frequently guided in both choice and treatment of his subjects, if he was not originally inspired, by Milton's occasional, personal and complimentary sonnets.

The matter for some of them was certainly supplied indirectly by his study of the 'classic authors.' His outraged sense of scholarship inspired several spirited abusive sonnets which may have caught some sparks from Milton's fiery defense of *Tetrachordon*. In the later edition of his only critical work, the defense of Shakespeare against the impertinence of Warburton's emendation,¹⁰ Edwards published two vigorous sonnets expressing his contempt for Warburton.¹¹ Similar to these are the sonnet *To Shakespeare*¹²

1765—and the second to Dr. Wray, which was first published in *Canons*—No. xiii—are in this form. Evidently then these sonnets were written before those to Chancellor Hardwicke and Charles Yorke—Nos. xviii and xv in *Canons*—dated 1746 and 1747, the earliest known dates of writing. Nichols, vi, 106.

⁹ July 18, 1754, Richardson's *Correspondence*, III, 91-2.

¹⁰ *A Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakespear. Being the Canons of Criticism, and Glossary, collected from the Notes in that celebrated Work, etc.* By another Gentleman of Lincoln's Inn. London: Cooper, 1748. Other editions, 1750, 1758, 1765.

¹¹ In the first he addressed him as a

Tongue-doughty Pedant; whose ambitious mind
Prompts thee beyond thy native pitch to soar,

and in the second called him a

Half learn'd Pedant . . . allur'd by gain.

¹² Ed. 1765, 346, no. xl.

on the same subject and two on Warburton's edition of Pope,¹³ all published in posthumous editions of *Canons of Criticism*. The two sonnets 'in defence of Milton' which Edwards sent to Richardson upon the publication of Dr. Newton's 'variorum' edition but which are now lost, must have been similar in spirit, for he says that they were 'forced' by 'indignation' and adds: 'It is for the interest of letters in general that such faults, and against such authors, should not pass uncensured, especially when they claim reward instead of being contented with impunity.'¹⁴

The effect of Edwards's study of Spenser in his selection of the sonnet form has already been noticed. There is evidence in his letters that he once contemplated an edition, but the labor of collating texts, collecting parallel passages, and making a glossary, which he deemed necessary to avoid the faults he condemned in others, as well as the discovery that Thomas Warton had made considerable progress with a work on Spenser, made him abandon his plan.¹⁵ About the time that Warton's *Observations on the Fairy Queene* appeared, Edwards gave up poetry,¹⁶ and we lack what might have been an interesting sonnet on that subject. Spenser was the theme of one of Edwards's first published sonnets, *On the Cantos of Spenser's Fairy Queen, lost in the Passage from Ireland*.¹⁷ Another, *To —*, commences with a quotation from Spenser.¹⁸

With but a few exceptions the rest of Edwards's sonnets are addressed to his acquaintances and relatives, and in these the resemblance to Milton's is most apparent. Like the critical sonnets which

¹³ *Sonnet on Mr. Pope's Legacy to Mr. Warburton, Gent. Mag.*, 1751, 21, 373, published as *On the Edition of Mr. Pope's Works with a Commentary and Notes in Canons*, etc., ed. 1765, no. xxvi, and *To the Editor of Mr. Pope's Works, Ibid.*, no. xxxii.

¹⁴ May 8, 1751, Richardson's *Correspondence*, III, 21. The same letter hints that he may make an application of his 'canons' to this edition of Milton, but that plan was never carried out.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 20 and 25, May 8, 1751, and June 19, 1751.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 108, Jan. 15, 1755. 'I must own I have written no sonnets since I saw you, nor indeed have I had any impulse that way. Whether the vein is exhausted, or whether it is checked by that frost which you know happened last summer, I cannot tell; but I believe I have done with poetry.' Edwards's health was poor during the last years of his life. He died in 1757.

¹⁷ No. viii. Dodsley, II, 329, *Canons*, ed. 1765, 314.

¹⁸ No. xxxviii, *Canons*.

express his opinions in literary matters, most of these are also chiefly personal and are usually prompted by a particular occasion: some merely take advantage of a favorable opportunity to pay compliments; some are brief notes of counsel; others show his personal tastes and interests. Among the complimentary sonnets are two to Richardson, one 'to the Author of *Clarissa*,' the other 'to the Author of *Sir Charles Grandison*.'¹⁹ Two are to Richardson's neighbor, Hester Mulso, one of them written in answer to her poem *On reading Sonnets in the Style and Manner of Spenser*, by T. Edwards, Esq. 1749.²⁰ The other, transmitted in a letter to Richardson, February 28, 1752, has apparently been lost.²¹ One is to another lady in Richardson's circle, Miss Highmore, the daughter of the artist, who is said to have written a sonnet to Edwards chiding him for writing sonnets.²² Other complimentary sonnets were addressed to persons somewhat in the public eye, as those to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke²³ and his two sons, Charles and Philip Yorke,²⁴ to Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury,²⁵ to Lord Willoughby of Parham, and to the Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow, speaker of the House of Commons, and his son George. When Edwards writes sonnets to his relatives, he is very likely to give advice as well as compliments: he addresses a moral exhortation to his nephew, Nathaniel Mason, upon his departure on a long journey; he writes to another nephew, Joseph Paice, upon the prudent choice of a wife; and he encourages another relative, Mr. Harvey, in faithfulness in the ministry. He addresses similar

¹⁹ Nos. xxii and xxiii in *Canons*. See also Richardson's *Corresp.* III, 4, 6, 77.

²⁰ Edward's sonnet is No. xxiv in *Canons*, ed. 1765. Mrs. Chapone's was published, with Edwards's *Sonnet in answer to the foregoing*, in her *Miscellanies*, 1775. See also Richardson's *Corresp.* III, 17-18.

²¹ *Ibid.* 36-37.

²² *Ibid.* 91. Edwards's sonnet to her was first published in Nichols's *Select Collection*, 1780, VI, 103-4. Mention is made in the correspondence with Richardson of a sonnet to Miss Talbot, published without the lady's name. I cannot identify it unless it is No. xlii, *To Miss* —. See *Corresp.* 83.

²³ No. xviii.

²⁴ The first is No. xv. The second was first published in Dodsley's *Collection*, 1748, where it is No. i.

²⁵ No. xix. The mention of this sonnet in a letter to Richardson Feb. 6, 1754, shows it to be one of his last. *Op. cit.* 77.

mixtures of compliment and counsel to his close friends. In two sonnets he begs Isaac Hawkins Brown, his contemporary at Lincoln's Inn, to leave 'the angling Law's eternal feud' to employ his gifts as orator and poet. He advises Richard Roderick, also, another Lincoln's Inn friend, to cultivate the muses. And after a visit to Richard Owen Cambridge at his comfortable estate on the Severn, he urges him to prefer the 'clear current of a private life' to the vexed waters of the 'wide, public stream.'

Of greater importance than these are the five sonnets which by their praise of the 'calm retirement' and 'sweet contentment' of rustic life and their disparagement of the 'tinsell'd pomp,' the 'thirst of wealth' and the 'empty fame' of public life, place Edwards among the first of those eighteenth century writers who discovered the country and celebrated the rustic virtues. But Edwards is a very mild reactionary: he has no interest in landscape; even in these rural sonnets the moral note is dominant, and his inscription *For the Root-House at Wrest*, which certainly gave the best opportunity for nature poetry, praises only the moral advantages of retirement and not its attractions for the senses. The variety of subjects for which Edwards used the sonnet is complete with six miscellaneous sonnets: three elegies—two moral and religious and one, to the memory of John Hampden, celebrating the British love of liberty; a sonnet on patriotism, a prayer, and a purely personal sonnet on a family picture. It is therefore for his persistence and his independence in writing in an unpoular and almost unknown kind of poetry and adapting it to many uses, and for the diversity of theme and the correctness of form of his fifty sonnets written between 1746²⁶ and 1755²⁷ and published between 1748 and 1765,²⁸ that Thomas Edwards deserves an important place in the history of the sonnet revival in spite of obvious lack of intrinsic value.

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²⁶ Very likely some were written before, but 1746 is the earliest known date.

²⁷ See letters to Richardson Feb. 6, 1754, and Jan. 15, 1755, *op. cit.* 77, 108.

²⁸ The sonnet to Miss Highmore was first published in 1780. See above.

A PREDECESSOR OF THOMSON'S *SEASONS*

Twelve years before the publication of the *Seasons* in collected form (1730), Thomson had been anticipated, at least in the title and general scheme of his work, by an obscure English versifier, W. Hinchliffe. His *Seasons* appeared in a volume entitled *Poems, Moral, Amorous, and Divine*, which was issued in two slightly different forms in the same year (1718). An anonymous impression was printed for Jonas Brown and Jer. Batley; the other, adding the author's name at the close of the Dedication and also a curious frontispiece not to be found in the anonymous publication, was printed for the author himself, a book-seller "at Dryden's Head, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange." The completed Dedication reads: "To My dear and worthy Friend, Mr. *Henry Needler*, These Poems, As A Testimony of true Respect, And A Monument of Friendship, Are Dedicated by His most sincere and faithful Friend, W. Hinchliffe." With the exception of the differences I have noted, the two volumes of 1718 are identical in all respects and were printed from the same plates.¹

The Seasons, A Poem—divided into *Spring, Summer, Autumn*, and *Winter*—occupies pages 37-67, including a dedicatory poem "To Philesia," the "charmer" who is implored to "bend thy gentle Ear."

Thou art the Pattern of my copying Verse,
By which I paint the Graces I rehearse.
In Thee, the Charms of each fair Season meet;
With ev'ry Glory crown'd, enrich'd with ev'ry Sweet.

¹ The British Museum has only the anonymous volume. In Cibber's *Lives of the Poets* there is a brief account of Hinchliffe (1692-1742). He was educated at a private grammar school with his "intimate and ingenious friend Mr. Henry Needler." After an apprenticeship to Arthur Bettesworth the bookseller, he began business for himself, continuing, says his biographer, for "near thirty years, and having the esteem and friendship of many eminent merchants and gentlemen." Besides the poems of 1718, he published a *History of the Rebellion* (1715), and a translation of Boulainviller's *Life of Mahomet* (1734). At his death he left in manuscript a blank-verse translation of the first nine books of *Telemachus*. Cibber concludes his sketch with a poem "Invitation," which, though not published in the collection (1718), was, he says, the composition of Hinchliffe.

Like Thomson, the author was a disciple of Milton; but, I hardly need add, Hinchliffe followed the master at a great distance. The meter selected for his four poems on the "Charms of each Fair Season" is the octosyllabic couplet; his familiarity with Milton's minor poems, patent in many imitative phrases, indicates that the employment of this form was due to the example of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* rather than to the current practice of Swift and other poets who used the Hudibrastic couplet for informal verse. In the development of his subject he was, as we should expect, largely indebted to the classics, especially to Vergil. The general title is followed by a quotation from Ovid, the title of each individual poem is likewise dignified by an extract from Vergil, and imitation of both is obvious in the text itself.

A minute comparison of these poems and Thomson's might incline one to believe, in spite of the difference in both quantity and quality, that Thomson actually derived a few hints from his humble predecessor. Hinchliffe's reference to the autumnal equinox takes this form:

Soon as the radiant Balance weighs
In equal Scales the Nights and Days,
Down from the Courts of Royal *Jove*,
And presence of the Gods above,
The delegated *Season* glides.

In Thomson's description the same figure is used:

When the bright Virgin gives the beauteous days,
And *Libra* weighs in equal Scales the year,
From Heaven's high cope the fierce effulgence shook
Of parting Summer, a serener blue,
With golden light enlivened, wide invests
The happy world.

It is noticeable, too, that Hinchliffe's *Autumn* suggests the later work of Thomson in the striking prominence allotted to the devastation wrought by storm and flood. In *Summer* there is an analogy in the wish expressed by each poet for the inspiration of the grand and solitary places of nature. Hinchliffe's longing, it is true, is pretty effectually concealed by hackneyed phrasing, classic allusion, and other poetical sins of his day.

Bear me, O Muse! to *Pindus'* Shades!
To sacred Groves! *Pierian* Glades!
To Grotto's crown'd with *Sylvan* Pride,

Under th' Aonian Mountain's Side!
 There let me meditate my Song,
 Where murm'ring Rivers glide along;
 Where leavy Bowr's exclude the Day,
 And balmy Breezes sportive play;
 Where warb'ling Fountains lull the Mind
 To Peace, suggesting thoughts refin'd.
 Thus freed from Business, Noise, and Care,
 I'll tune my Harp, and strait prepare
 To sing what thou shalt then inspire,
 Whilst my Breast burns with heav'nly Fire.

The phrase "freed from Business, Noise and Care," however, is realistic in its very prosiness, and the London bookseller probably had some of the feeling which prompted the following more powerful passage, and others of a similar kind, in Thomson's *Summer*:

Hence, let me haste into the mid-wood shade,
 Where scarce a sunbeam wanders through the gloom:
 And on the dark-green grass, beside the brink
 Of haunted stream, that by the roots of oak
 Rolls o'er the rocky channel, lie at large,
 And sing the glories of the circling year.

Of Thomson's well-known pleas for the humane treatment of animals and his protest against field sports, there is at least a vague hint in the following extract from Hinchcliffe's *Winter*; but more striking still is the Thomsonian love of a quiet nook and congenial friends in the dead and cheerless season when the out-door world is no longer inviting:

Now is the Time for the rustick Race
 With Hounds the tim'rous Hare to chase.
 All have their Sports: But O my Muse,
 What are the Pleasures we shall choose?
 Of witty Friends, a chosen Few,
 United in their Hearts and True;
 And then, the Converse to refine,
 A Portion wise of gen'rous Wine.

Although Thomson neglects mention of the inspiring bottle, he recalls Hinchcliffe in his insistence that the "hallowed hour" of the winter evening shall be profaned by none

Save a few chosen friends, who sometimes deign
 To bless my humble roof, with sense refined,
 Learning digested well, exalted faith,
 Unstudied wit, and humour ever gay.

Tempted as one is by these and other similarities to see traces of a direct influence, the probability is that Thomson never read this earlier work, and that the resemblances, after all, are merely accidental: they are due partly, of course, to the common sources imitated by the two writers, especially to Vergil and Milton, and partly also to the immediate and inevitable suggestions of the common topics. Crude as the results are in Hinchliffe's treatment, they do reflect a transition stage of literary aim between the complacent artificiality of Pope's *Pastorals* (1709) and the greater sincerity of Thomson's account of nature.

Between the two authors of the *Seasons* there is, however, one fundamental difference, noteworthy because of Hinchliffe's close association with Needler. Probably the first English poet to champion the Deistic teachings of Lord Shaftesbury, Needler at least adumbrates much of Thomson's worship of nature as the immediate revelation of God and, to a less extent, anticipates his ethical doctrine of the natural affections.² In this respect Hinchliffe is totally unlike Needler and, therefore, disappointing as a prospective Thomson. He has none of the philosophic interpretation of nature found in his dear friend's verse and prose and later developed in Thomson's *Seasons* and the appended *Hymn*. In fact, Hinchliffe is pugnaciously orthodox, as orthodox as Sir Richard Blackmore and as outspoken in his contempt for the free-thinkers; it was to rebuke such heretics that he composed his *Verses written in the Blank Page of a Book, entitled, The Principles of Deism truly represented, and set in a clear Light*. Hinchliffe, in other words, dimly prefigures the general plan of Thomson's *Seasons*, and Needler the underlying philosophy. It is a curious commentary on the evolution of poetry in the eighteenth century that, if we combine the crude work of these two poetasters, Hinchliffe and Needler, we have a considerable part of the raw material out of which Thomson fabricated the *Seasons*.

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² Discussed in "The Return to Nature in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 3; "Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets in England," *P. M. L. A.*, xxxi, 2.

QUE FOR JUSQU'À CE QUE WITH ATTENDRE

Old French *tant que*¹ (= *jusqu'à ce que*) was used regularly with *attendre* just as it was with other verbs:

Ne quidiés mie que j'atendisse tant que je trovasse coutel dont je me peüsce ferir el cuer et ocïre.

(Aucassin et Nicolette, 14, 8.)

Atendez mei, beaus sire amis,
Tant qu'aie baisié vostre vis.

(Roman de Troie, 23009-10.)

Sire, car chevauchiez plus tost,
Tant qu'an cele forest soiens.

(Erec et Enide, 3556-7.)

Along by the side of *tant que* was also used the compound *jusqu'a tant que*, composed of the preposition *jusqu'a* and the conjunction *tant que*:

Einsi te contien et demainne,
Que tu n'i soies conetüz
Jusqu'a tant qu'as plus esletüz
De la cort esprovez te soies.

(Cligés, 2610-13.)

This construction is rare in the early texts, but is used very frequently in the fourteenth century.² *Tant que* and *jusqu'a tant que* were apparently used interchangeably except with the verb *attendre*. With one exception,³ *attendre* is followed by *tant que* or *que* in the texts examined.

The use of *jusqu'à ce que* dates from about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest examples of this usage that I have noted are found in the works of Christine de Pisan:

¹ For other early French equivalents of *jusqu'à ce que*, compare Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, 678.

² See *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, pub. par Ernest Hoepfner (Société des anciens textes français), I, 31, 64, 111, 152, 164, 195, 211, 250, 267; II, 166, 281, 283, 285, 306. Compare also *Œuvres de Froissart*, pub. par M. le baron Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1867, II, 84, 124, 162, 224, 235, 290, 307, 361, 375, 376, 457; III, 64, 104, 111, 115, 158, 298, 424.

³ See Froissart, *op. cit.*, II, 431: Il revenoient devant son hostel et là l'atendoient *jusques à tant qu'il yssoit hors pour aller aval le ville*.

Belle, qui chemin et trace
Estes qui ma joye entasse,
Jusqu'a ce que je trespasse.
N'aray jamais bien ne joye
Jusqu'a ce que nouvelle oye
De cil dont j'ay grant remort.

(*Œuvres poétiques*, III, 263.) ⁴

In connection with the change of *jusqu'a tant que* to *jusqu'à ce que*, it is interesting to note that *par tant que* and *pour tant que* were sometimes used for *parce que* in early French texts: ⁵

Li queiz Riggomanes chait en terre et si ot paor *par tant ke* il si grant baron osat eschernir.

(*Dial. Greg. le pape*, p. 78, Foerster.)

De beles armes sont ores vuit li plain,
Por tant que je sui pris.

(Bartsch, *op. cit.*, 43, 30.)

The tendency to use *que* with *attendre* began before the date of the earliest occurrences of *jusqu'à ce que*. The earliest examples of *attendre que* noted in the texts examined are found in Froissart and Guillaume de Machaut:

Ossi *atendoient il que* toutes les gens d'armes, li archier et les communes gens des bonnes villes et des villiaux fuissent passet outre.

(Froissart, *op. cit.*, II, 109.)

Car Fortune tout ce deveure,
Quant elle tourne,
Qui n'*atent* mie *qu'il* adjourne
Pour tourner; *qu'elle* ne sejourne,
Eins tourne, retourne et bestourne.

(*Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut* [Société des anciens textes français], II, 33, 911-915.)

Until the fourteenth century *attendre* was followed regularly by *tant que*:

J'atendrai tant qu'il s'aparoïve,
Se ja s'an doit aparcevoir.

(*Cligés*, 1016-7.)

⁴ For two other examples of *jusqu'à ce que* in the works of Christine de Pisan, compare the edition cited above, III, 293, and Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français* (neuvième édition), 89c, 4.

⁵ See Froissart, *op. cit.*, II, 88, 109, 110, 175, 177, 275, 280, 283, 332, 468.

Mis ne respont ne ne dit mot
 A nul home, qui le conjoie,
 Einçois *atant tant que* il oie,
 Quel volaté et quel corage
 Il ont vers lor droit seignorage. (Ibid., 2474-8.)

The change of *attendre tant que* to *attendre que* was doubtless due to a desire to avoid the repetition of the nasal sound in *attendre*. The pronunciation of *tant* in *tant que* was the same as that of *tend* in *attendre*. To prevent this repetition *tant* was omitted. With reference to the omission of words to avoid repetition (haplogogie de mots) Nyrop says: ⁶ "Ce phénomène assez rare et qui appartient peut-être plutôt à la syntaxe, s'observe dans diverses constructions où des petits mots comme *de*, *à* (voir ci-dessus) et *que* s'emploient dans une fonction double (ἀπὸ κοινῶν). Exemples: 'Molt pert son travail et sa peine, 'Qui d'amors rimoier se peine' (Poire, v. 353). 'Ce qu'encor est à chief traire' pour *à traire à chief* (Claris, v. 11461). L'emploi haplogologique de *que* se trouve souvent en français moderne: 'Je ne demanderais pas mieux qu'il fût mon ami' (Desnoiresterres). 'Si cet enfant est à elle, quoi de plus simple qu'elle l'ait pris (Daudet). Je ne demande pas mieux que cela soit."

With reference to the use of *jusqu'à ce que* with *attendre*, Plattner says: ⁷ "Attendre mit folgendem *jusqu'à ce que* ist eine sehr seltene Erscheinung: Nous avons encore entre les mains Vladivostok et Sakhaline. Faudra-t-il attendre *jusqu'à ce qu'ils* passent aussi aux mains de l'ennemi? (J.) Je leur recommandai de crier aussi fort qu'ils pourraient, et d'attendre *jusqu'à ce qu'ils* fussent certains d'avoir été entendus des matelots (Mme. A. Tastu)." Another example of *jusqu'à ce que* with *attendre* is found in *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 221: "La rigle de ceste bonne bourgoyse estoit de attendre son mary *jusques à ce que* l'en ne véoit guères et *jusques à ce qu'elle* se tenoit sêure de son mary qu'il ne retournoit point."

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⁶ See *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, I, § 515.

⁷ See *Ausführliche Grammatik der französischen Sprache*, Zweiter Teil, Drittes Heft (Das Verbum in syntaktischer Hinsicht, 49).

FAUST I: "NACHT, OFFEN FELD"

After the prose scene *Trüber Tag* and before the prison scene we have the short scene *Nacht, offen Feld* consisting of only six lines:

FAUST, MEPHISTOPHELES, auf schwarzen Pferden daherbrausend.

FAUST. Was weben die dort um den Rabenstein?

MEPHISTOPHELES. Weiss nicht was sie kochen und schaffen.

FAUST. Schweben auf, schweben ab, neigen sich, beugen sich.

MEPHISTOPHELES. Eine Hexenzunft.

FAUST. Sie streuen und weihen.

MEPHISTOPHELES. Vorbei! Vorbei!

The weird scene is also found in the *Urfaust* in substantially the same form. The large majority of commentators see in the *Hexenzunft* a pack of witches or spectres that are crowding around the place of execution stirring a cauldron and performing magic rites. One of the first reviewers of *Faust*, K. A. Böttiger, called attention, in 1809, to a well known passage in Bürger's *Lenore* where spectres, presumably the spirits of executed criminals, are dancing around the rack at the place of execution:¹

Sieh da! sieh da! Am Hochgericht
Tanzt' um des Rades Spindel
Halb sichtbarlich, bei Mondenlicht,
Ein luftiges Gesindel.—

Commentators generally recognize a certain influence of this passage upon the scene in *Faust*. Düntzer furthermore called attention to the witches in *Macbeth* and to the old popular superstition that witches are wont to congregate and to dance around the gallows, two suggestions that have since been repeated many times.

The scene has frequently been represented by artists. The illustrations invariably follow the usual interpretation showing a crowd of witches or spectres engaged in weird motions and incantations. The best known illustrations of the scene are those by Cornelius, Retzsch and the Frenchman Delacroix. Goethe was strongly impressed with the work of Delacroix, which was published in connection with Stapfer's French translation of the first part of *Faust*. In *Kunst und Altertum* VI, 1 (1827) he writes: "Zwei Probe-

¹ Cf. Braun, *Goethe im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen*, III, 221.

drucke (of Delacroix's illustrations) liegen vor uns, die auf das Weitere begierig machen. Der eine stellt die auf Zauberpferden in der Nacht am Hochgerichte vorbeistürmenden Gesellen dar, wo, bei aller der entsetzlichen Eile, Fausts ungestüme, neugierige Frage und eine ruhig-abweisende Antwort des Bösen gar wohl ausgedrückt sind." (Weim. ed. Vol. 41 (2), 234). In the following year he refers again to Delacroix's illustration of the scene (*ib.*, VI, 2, 391): "Vorzüglich geistreich endlich, . . . scheint das Blatt geraten, wo Mephistopheles und Faust auf Zauberpferden am Hochgericht vorübersausen. Das Feuer, der Geist, der Ausdruck, womit der Künstler diese wilde Szene dargestellt, wird zuverlässig den Beifall der Kenner und Kunstrichter erhalten." Eckermann reports the following remark of Goethe regarding Delacroix's illustration of this scene: "So muss man doch gestehen; dass man es sich selbst nicht so vollkommen gedacht hat."²

Friedrich Förster, the historian and Goethe's friend, relates in his autobiography a conversation he had with Goethe regarding the scene (December 1827 or beginning of 1828): "Ich erlaubte mir gegen die Darstellung von Cornelius die Bemerkung, dass er unmöglich die tiefe Bedeutung der Dichtung hier verstanden habe. Der Dichter, so schien es mir, habe wohl im Sinne gehabt, den Rabenstein, auf welchem am nächstfolgenden Tage Gretchen ihr Haupt auf den Block legen sollte, durch blumenstreuende Engel weihen zu lassen. Statt dessen gibt uns Cornelius einen Teufels- und Hexenspuk, womit Mephistopheles Faust belügen und betrügen will und deshalb mit "Vorbei! vorbei!" eiligst mit ihm davon reitet, "Mich haben," bemerkte Goethe, "die beiden vortrefflich galoppirenden Reiter auf den schnaubenden Rossen so in Anspruch genommen, dass ich die Szene auf dem Rabenstein noch nicht mit Bedacht angesehen habe; Sie mögen wohl das Richtige getroffen haben."³

It is true, Förster's accounts of his conversations with Goethe contain errors and inaccuracies, Minor calls him "very unreliable" (*Goethes Faust*, Stuttgart, 1901, I, 227), nevertheless we are not justified in assuming that in reporting Goethe's reply Förster simply drew upon his imagination. Goethe's statement in Förster's

² *Gespräche*, Nov. 29, 1826.

³ Förster, *Kunst und Leben*, Berlin, 1873, p. 37; Gräf, *Goethe über seine Dichtungen*, II, 2, *Faust*, p. 423.

account, that his attention had been held by the galloping horsemen to the exclusion of the scene around the Rabenstein, finds a certain support in the fact that in discussing Delacroix's illustration both in *Kunst und Altertum* and in his conversation with Eckermann Goethe only speaks of the galloping horsemen and does not refer to the figures around the place of execution. On the other hand Goethe's approval of Förster's interpretation is worded very cautiously and can certainly not be claimed as clear and final evidence for Goethe's own understanding of the scene.

The interpretation must be sought in the scene itself and in its context. Three commentators only, so far as I can see, mention the possibility, which to Förster was a certainty, that the *Hexenzunft* is not a crowd of witches but a company of good spirits. Loeper (Berlin, 1879) says: "Wollte man gute Geister annehmen, so würde in dem dann ernsthaft zu verstehenden 'Streuen und Weißen' die Vorausverkündigung liegen, dass Gretchen, wenn auch 'gerichtet,' doch 'gerettet' sein werde." Minor (*Goethes Faust*, I, 227) considers it hardly probable that Goethe wished to have the place of execution consecrated by good spirits because Gretchen's soul is to be saved. Goebel (*Goethes Faust*, N. Y., 1907) refers to Minor but expresses the belief "that we are justified in assuming that the spirits who are 'consecrating' the place are good spirits." No attempt has ever been made to analyze the scene in detail.

Faust and Mephistopheles on magic horses are hastening to the city where Gretchen is imprisoned to set her free. Faust is in a solemn mood. He is deeply conscious of the tragic fate awaiting Gretchen, he is filled with bitter resentment against Mephistopheles who has concealed from him Gretchen's condition and has deceived him with the insipid pleasures of the *Walpurgisnacht*. The sight of the mysterious figures moving about the place of execution increases the solemnity of Faust's mood, it fills him with awe but also arouses his curiosity. This feeling of awe is clearly reflected in the words which Faust uses in referring to their motions and activities: *weben, schweben, neigen, beugen, streuen, weißen*. Mephistopheles on the other hand refers to the same activities sneeringly as *kochen und schaffen*, the figures themselves he calls a *Hexenzunft*, and then urges himself and his companion to hurry past the place.

Faust applies to these figures terms some of which are in themselves full of poetic force, indeed, *weißen* has a distinctly sacred

connotation. *Weben* is used by the Earth-spirit l. 503: "Webe hin und her," cf. also ll. 395, 1119. The verb in this meaning was practically obsolete in the eighteenth century, it was kept alive and intelligible only by its use in the German Bible, especially the passage Acts 17, 28: "in ihm leben, weben und sind wir." Adelung says in his *Wörterbuch*: "Einige neuere Schriftsteller haben dieses veraltete Wort wieder in die witzige Schreibart einzuführen gesucht." He gives quotations from Hagedorn and Herder. During the Storm and Stress period the word was felt to be a poetic term just as today. If Faust had seen witches, he would not have referred to their motions as *weben*, he would have used a less poetic word. Nor would he have applied the term *weihen* to witches. Adelung after referring to the literal meaning of *weihen* as used in connection with ecclesiastical rites, especially in the Roman Church, gives three figurative uses of the word "in den edleren Schreibarten": 1. Gott und seinem Dienste bestimmen. 2. Eine gewisse Ehrwürdigkeit, Heiligkeit erteilen, ehrwürdig machen. 3. Zu einem vorzüglichen Gebrauche bestimmen, widmen. Sein Leben dem Dienste seines Vaterlandes weihen. It is difficult to see how such a word could be used of witches. *Schweben* is used repeatedly in *Faust I*, cf. ll. 394, 428, 475, 702, 1097, 1501; prose scene l. 50. Though the word might certainly be applied to the hovering about of witches, it is used in *Faust*, when not referring to objects or birds, to express the motions of spirits that to the speaker at least appear friendly and beneficial, or as in the prose scene, spirits that mete out deserved punishment. As for *streuen*, Minor (*l. c.*) refers to the angels in the second part scattering roses and to l. 11947: "Böse wichen als wir streuten," but the word might also be applied to witches. *Sich neigen*, *sich beugen* are terms that imply dignity, even solemnity, qualities which are not characteristic of witches.

Several commentators have recognized the solemn character and poetic import of Faust's words and the inappropriateness of applying these terms to the doings of witches. They have tried to solve the difficulty by assuming a parody of church ceremonies. Loeper says: "Parodie kirchlichen Brauches: das Weihen von Wasser und Rauchwerk, das Streuen von zauberischen Kräutern"; Strehle (*Wörterbuch zu Faust*, s. v. streuen): "Sie streuen und weihen, darin liegt eine Verspottung des kirchlichen Gebrauchs"; Erich Schmidt (*Jubiläumsausgabe*, XIII, 342): "Die Hexen brauen und

scheinen kirchliche Bräuche der Messe (Verbeugungen, Weihrauch, Sprengen) zu parodieren." The witch in the *Hexenküche* may indeed be said to "parody" church ceremonies, but the atmosphere of that scene is not weird but grotesque, satire is an essential element of it, the reader is not filled with awe but is amused, repelled and annoyed just like Faust himself. Our scene however, brief as it is, is one of the most powerful and impressive scenes in the poem, its atmosphere is profoundly mysterious and awe-inspiring. There is no room for parody or satire in such a scene. Faust moreover is a man "der weit entfernt von allem Schein, nur in der Wesen Tiefe trachtet." He uses elevated language because what he sees is noble and elevated and Mephistopheles uses scurrilous language (*kochen und schaffen, Hexenzunft*) because he wants to persuade Faust that he is mistaken about the figures, that they are not noble spirits but witches.

There is here the same difference in the attitude of the two as in the *Walpurgisnacht* when Faust recognizes in the phantom the form of Gretchen while Mephistopheles insists that it is Medusa. In the *Walpurgisnacht* Mephistopheles fears that the vision and thought of Gretchen may arouse the better nature of Faust, hence he lies to him, just as he had lied to him for a similar reason in the second scene in the Study when he had called the chorus of invisible spirits "die kleinen von den Meinen" (l. 1627). For whatever interpretation may be given to these spirits, they cannot possibly be the minions of Mephistopheles. It should be remembered also that Faust's penetrating spirit recognized at once the mysterious nature of the poodle in the scene *Before the Gate* while Wagner saw only a common dog. But just as Faust was not mistaken about the poodle, so he cannot be mistaken here about the mysterious figures and their doings.

Faust's first question "Was weben die dort um den Rabenstein?" is curtly dismissed by Mephistopheles who pleads ignorance. Faust then answers his own question by describing the motions of the figures in the solemn terms discussed before. Mephistopheles now realizes that Faust perceives the true meaning of the figures and their doings, he is alarmed, it is high time to turn Faust's thoughts into other channels, he gives a clear but lying answer calling the figures witches. Faust seems to pay no attention to this answer. Absorbed in the contemplation of the mysterious scene he continues describing what he sees, to himself more than to Mephis-

topheles. This time he uses a term with a sacred connotation, *weihen*. And now Mephistopheles is seized with impatience and terror, his efforts at misleading Faust have failed, the only course left for him is to get himself and his companion as quickly as possible away from this hateful scene.

If the figures around the place of execution were witches, as Mephistopheles maintains, it would not be clear why he is in such a hurry to get past the place. For the exclamation "Vorbei! Vorbei!" is addressed to himself as well as to Faust. Mephistopheles is at home in the company of witches, why should he shun them here? Faust is deeply interested in the doings of these mysterious figures, he shows no fear and no desire to get away. It is Mephistopheles who feels uncomfortable, but his fear and hurry are intelligible only on the assumption that the mysterious figures represent good spirits whose presence is repugnant to him as well as dangerous. The situation is somewhat parallel to the scene *Landstrasse* in the *Urfaust* where Mephistopheles hastens his steps and casts down his eyes, as he and Faust pass the cross along the highway.

It cannot have been the poet's intention, as has been suggested repeatedly, to lead Faust past the place of execution in order to remind him of Gretchen's fate. Faust knows exactly what fate is awaiting Gretchen. That is made perfectly clear in the opening speech of the preceding prose scene. During the whole ride he can have had only one thought, that of saving Gretchen from death at the hands of the executioner. Hence it is inconceivable that Mephistopheles should hope or try to keep Gretchen's approaching execution concealed from Faust by giving evasive and lying answers.

If the scene were simply to indicate Gretchen's approaching execution, it might still be called a masterpiece of poetic presentation, but it would be unsatisfactory from the dramatic point of view, for it would simply repeat in action what Faust had indicated in words in the preceding prose scene. It would contain no element of development. But the scene does advance the action: it presents to us good spirits consecrating the vile place for the reception of a human being that has been purified and made holy through suffering and self-renunciation; it adumbrates the salvation of Gretchen. And that is what Mephistopheles wants to conceal from Faust, what he does not want to admit to himself, for it demonstrates his impotence and failure. This interpretation also disposes of the assump-

tion that the scene is influenced by Bürger's *Lenore* or the witches in *Macbeth*.

It may not be amiss to quote Luther who expresses a related thought in theological terms when he says in a sermon on the second article of the Confession (Jena ed. VI, 76 b): "Denn wo ein Christen ligt, Da ist gewislich ein rechter Heilige, und macht die Stat auch heilig, Gott gebe, si sey geweiht oder nicht. Ja ob es gleich auff der Schindleich oder unter dem Rabenstein were."

If we consider the scene as it stands in the *Urfaust*, we arrive at the same interpretation. To be sure we cannot refer to the parallel in the *Walpurgisnacht*, as that scene did not exist then even in Goethe's imagination, but the arguments from language and context remain the same. In the *Urfaust* no voice from above expressly proclaims the saving of Gretchen's soul at the end. Our scene pointing as it does to Gretchen's redemption may have been one of the reasons why Goethe omitted the voice in the first version. When he put it in later, it was not to indicate any change in Gretchen's fate, but to guard against a misunderstanding of Mephisto's words: "Sie ist gerichtet."

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REVIEWS

The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR., Washington, D. C.: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913.

Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels. With Appendices on Some Idioms in the Germanic Languages. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR. [Hesperia: Supplementary Series, No. 5.] Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918.

Some years ago, Victor Henry, in a review of Professor Callaway's earlier studies,¹ called their syntactical method "robuste." This vigorous word aptly describes these later volumes, wherein thousands upon thousands of examples of two most elusive constructions, culled from practically the whole of Old English Litera-

¹ *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, 1889, and *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, 1901; see *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1901, pp. 285-286.

ture, are scrutinized, arranged, and interpreted with rare insight and sympathy. This mastery over material, down to the minutest detail, making it perspicuous and reposeful to the reader, always characterizes the author's work, which by virtue of its amount and uniform excellence has earned for him the first place among American scholars in his field. All lovers of the Old Language will, therefore, welcome these new books of his, and will await with longing the essay on the subjunctive announced in the preface to his most recent volume.

The *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* marshals over ten thousand occurrences, from about forty texts, in orderly array, as follows. The first three chapters discuss the substantival uses of the infinitive: Chapter I, as subject; Chapter II, as object; and Chapter III, as predicate nominative, as an appositive, and as the object of a preposition. The next six divisions deal with the predicative uses of the infinitive: Chapter IV, as it appears with auxiliary verbs; Chapter V, with verbs of motion and of rest; Chapter VI, with (*w*)*uton*; Chapter VII, with *beon*; Chapter VIII, with accusative subject; and Chapter IX, with dative subject. The three succeeding chapters contain the adverbial uses of the infinitive: Chapter X, the final infinitive; Chapter XI, the infinitive with adjectives; and Chapter XII, the causal infinitive, the infinitive of specification with verbs, the consecutive infinitive, the infinitive absolute, and the infinitives conditional and modal. Chapter XIII records the infinitive with nouns, and Chapter XV, the use of the participle as a substitute for the infinitive. Chapter XIV treats of the origin of each of the thirteen chief constructions just named, and Chapter XVI gives their history in other Germanic languages. Chapter XVII is a ten-page epitome of the whole. A fifty-five page Appendix of statistics, citation-lists, and synoptic tabulation completes the volume—save for an unusually full yet judiciously selected bibliography of over four hundred and fifty titles.

Within these main divisions the material is symmetrically, consistently, and even artistically grouped so as to reveal almost at a glance the form of the infinitive, inflected or uninflected; its voice; and the various categories of the word, whether verb, noun, adjective, or adverb, upon which it depends. In short, the book is a masterpiece of structural arrangement. However, mechanical perfection is not its sole or chiefest virtue. It not only records, but also interprets. Its categories are not mere pigeon-holing, for

here and there among them, as occasion offers, there leaps forth repeatedly the practical deduction.

Foremost among these salient inferences is, perhaps, Professor Callaway's differentiation of the uninflected infinitive in *-an* from the inflected form in *-anne* preceded by *to*. The latter, he reasons (pages 20-26), originated from the presence of a dative idea in the word upon which the infinitive depended; as in *Genesis* 2.18: *nis na god ðisum men ana to wunienne*. It therefore appears as a sort of indirect object, and is prevalent with verbs whose noun-objects would be in another case than the accusative. The uninflected form, on the other hand, is rather a direct object, and is oftenest found with verbs whose noun-objects would be in the accusative case. If the main verb have double regimen (e. g., *bebeodan*, which governs a dative of person and an accusative of the thing), then either or both forms of the infinitive are likely to be used. Many disturbing factors may enter in to blur the working of this principle, but they do not destroy its validity.

Noteworthy in Chapter II is the author's well-reasoned contention (pp. 29 ff.) that the infinitive is active, not passive, in such locutions as *Blickling Homilies* 15.28: *we nu gehyrdon ðis . . . godspell beforan us rædan*. Fact and inference, too intricate for reproduction here, he summons to his support; and, though admitting the passive interpretation as possible, he believes that the active interpretation is more consonant with the genius of Old English and of the Germanic languages in general.

In the face of considerable adverse opinion, Professor Callaway, in Chapter IV, shows that an auxiliary verb is sometimes followed by the inflected infinitive. He adduces a score or more of certain examples with *agan*, a word of inherent dative connotation. His two instances with *cunnan* (*Exodus* 437; *Riddles* 37.13) are surely doubtful, as is also that with *dear* (*Benedictine Rule* 135.11), and with *sculan* (*Chronicle* 30t). However, their validity is somewhat strengthened by his later discovery (see his *Lindisfarne Studies*, p. 119) of two certain examples:—*Lind. Mat.* i. 1.9: *audeam . . . addere* = *darr . . . to eccanne*; *id.* 5.40: *uult . . . tollere* = *wil . . . to niomanne*.

That the simple infinitive with verbs of motion, as in *Genesis* 1471: *gewat fleogan*, was thoroughly idiomatic, is proved by over a hundred occurrences—chiefly from the earlier texts; for, as Chapter XV shows, the present participle later supplants it (e. g.,

Chronicle 244m: *ferde ridende*). The author thinks that this infinitive, like that with (*w*)*uton*, in Chapter vi, was originally final, the purpose-idea gradually fading until the word comes to be complementary only.

The predicative infinitive with subject accusative, Chapter viii makes clear, was normally uninflected, save in the late texts, when distinction between the two forms had begun to disappear. Elsewhere, inflection is due to a tinge of finality or tendency in the main verb, or else, in a translated passage, to the influence of a Latin gerund or gerundive. Chapter ix denies the existence of an infinitive with dative subject, as in *Mark* 10.25: *eaðere ys olfende to farennne ðurh nædle ðyrel* = *facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire*, on the ground that the dative in such cases belongs to the main verb, rather than with the infinitive.

The final infinitive as a native idiom (see Chapters x and xiv.x, and pp. 155 ff. of the *Lindisfarne Studies*) was uninflected, and was used only after verbs of motion and, perhaps, of rest. Later came its extension to other verbs, under the influence of Latin originals. With this extension came the inflected form with *to*, possibly suggested by the Latin gerund and gerundive phrases of purpose. At any rate, this longer infinitive, with its superior clarity, gradually became the normal one; though it did not entirely supplant, at least in prose, the original native idiom.

A pendant to the volume just outlined Professor Callaway gives us in his *Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels*; the third and final chapter of which devotes 110 pages to an analysis of about 800 infinitives in this Northern text. This essay, in structure and content, naturally coincides with the earlier and longer treatise, and so I here mention only the chief divergences therefrom.

The form of the Northumbrian uninflected infinitive is, of course, usually in *-a*, not *-an*. Once, in *Mat.* 26.17, *til*, instead of *to*, precedes the inflected form. (An analogous *at* I find in *Cartularium Saxonicum* III, 216.25 and in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* II, 289.3.) In function, the Lindisfarne infinitive differs from the West-Saxon chiefly in a closer adherence to the Latin original. For instance, the infinitive with subject accusative is, in objective clauses, about four times more frequently inflected in the Northern text than in the *West-Saxon Gospels*; and this inflection is due to a closer approximation in the gloss to such Latin locutions as the various periphrastic participial, gerundial, gerundival, and infinitive.

tive constructions. But in the subjective use, the infinitive is about five times less frequently inflected in the gloss than in the West-Saxon text, since in this case the glossator was usually translating merely the Latin simple infinitive. Then too, an infinitive of active form but with passive sense is more common in the Lindisfarne text than in the West-Saxon—"a fact arising probably from the frequency of passive gerundives and passive infinitives in the Latin original and from the dislike of the glossator for the compound passive infinitive."

This tendency of the Northumbrian writer to transliterate rather than to translate explains the unidiomatic preposition plus inflected infinitive locution on page 117, exemplified in *Mat.* i, 21.10: *de tributo cæseris dando* = *of dæm gyld cæseres to seallanne*; *Luke* i, 9.16: *de possidenda vita* = *from to byenna lif*; and the like. "In West-Saxon no clear example" of this occurs, says Professor Callaway on page 118—a statement not vitiated by the fact that I am able to adduce instances from other interlinear texts, West-Saxon and others; e. g., *Canterbury Psalter* 101.23; 118.9; *Arundel Psalter* 9.4; *Liber Scintillarum* 214.7; and *Durham Ritual* 195.10. For the usage is neither Northumbrian, Midland, nor Southern; it is simply a trick of the glossator's trade.

But what did he do when he could neither transliterate nor translate; when, for instance, he was called upon to parallel a Latin future infinitive idea with a vernacular that lacked both a future infinitive and a future participle? I attempt to answer as follows. The future active infinitive in *-urus* he usually represented by means of the inflected infinitive, as in Logeman's *Benet* 107.12: *scientes pro hoc se recepturos mercedem bonam* = *witende for ði hi to underfonne mede gode*. But the Northumbrian glossator, as Professor Callaway's examples on page 181 show, frequently used the present participle instead, as in *Mat.* i, 20.4: *passurum se prænuntians* = *geðrouende hine foresægde*—a device which he probably felt to be, formally at least, more nearly like the Latin participial in *-urus*. Though Professor Callaway thrice intimates (see pp. 91, 183, and 213) that this latter usage is not found in West-Saxon, yet to me it seems logically and all but formally identical with those curious future infinitives he quotes on page 125 of the *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*; viz., *Bede* 430.24: *mid ðy ic unc wende inngongende beon* = *cum nos intraturos sperarem*; *id.* 190.30; 406.21. The only difference seems to be this, that in the

sentences from *Bede* the infinitive *beon* (= *esse*) is expressed, while in the Northern examples it is suppressed.

Then too, the Latin future infinitive passive in *-ndus* seems also to have given our Northumbrian glossator pause. Sometimes he employed the present participle, with passive sense, as in *Mark* 1, 4.14: item prædicens se *occidendum* = ec forecweð hine *slænde*; but more frequently he used the perfect, as in *Mat.* 1, 16.14: docet iustitiam *superandam* = gelæres soðfeastnisse *ofersuiðed*. Professor Callaway states that he has found no clear example of this last usage in West-Saxon. One instance, from an interlinear text however, I submit; viz., Logeman's *Benet* 97.12: se *damnandum* sciat = hine sylfne *fordemed* he wite. (And in passing I note a West-Saxon parallel to the construction he gives in (b) on page 183—*Ælfric's Lives of Saints* 1, 110.353.) All this, however, simply corroborates the author's conclusion that the "elliptical accusative-with-infinitive construction arises from the very close translation of the Latin original."

The preceding paragraph has shown that the Old English present participle was employed to translate the Latin infinitive in *-ndus*: it was, therefore, used with passive meaning. This fact would argue that in Note 4, page 184, Professor Callaway's examples of the "predicative present participle in a passive sense" are not "apparent," but real—notably so in *Luke* 7.12: ecce defunctus *efferebatur* filius unicus matris suæ = heono dead *wæs ferende* sunu ancende moderes his; and in *id.* 1, 9.9, wherein *interrogatus*, "being asked," = *wæs fregnend*. His doubt in regard to *Mat.* 13.19, 20, 22, and 23, adduced by Professor Curme,² I share entirely. However, there remains intact the latter's *Bede* 52.29, Ms. Ca.: fram ðære arleasan ðeode . . . neh ceastra gehwylce and land *wæs forhergiende*; and this from my own notes: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* 11, 8.109: nu ic wille . . . areccan hu ðæs mynstres gesetnysse *healdende wæs*, "how the ordinance of the minster was being kept." Such sentences, though rare, would seem to establish the existence of an Old English present participle used predicatively with passive meaning—just as in "The house is building," "The book is printing," and the like.

² "Development of the Progressive form in Germanic," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVIII, 1913 (see pp. 182-183).

The passage quoted on page 117 as being a unique example of the uninflected infinitive used as object of a preposition needs qualification, I believe. As there excerpted it reads—*Luke* 1, 3.1: *predicans in hominis redire in se per filium faceret* = *bodade in monnes gecerræ in him ðerh sunu dyde*. I feel that *in* does not govern *redire*; and that, therefore, the glossator did not intend for *in* to control *gecerræ*—unless, perchance, he misunderstood the Latin. The full sentence runs—[*Lucæ*] . . . *potestas permissa est, ut requirentibus demonstraret in quo (aprehendens erat natham filium introire) currentis in deum generationis admisso, indisparabilis dei, predicans, in hominis (sc. generationem) redire in se per filium faceret* = [*Lucæ*] . . . *ðio mæht ðerh-gelefed wæs, ðætte ðæm soecendum geeaude in ðæm (of-genom wæs [natham] sunu inngæ) ðæs iornende in god cneoreso tosende oððe to in[disparabilis] godes bodade in monnes gecerræ in him ðerh sunu dyde*. The punctuation as inserted above and the following translation and interpretation I owe to my colleague in Latin, Dr. William D. Ward:—"To *Luke* . . . power was given that to those inquiring he might point out in whom (he apprehended that Nathan entered in as son) admitted to be of a line running to God, the Inseparable of God (*i. e.*, David), prophesying, made Him (*i. e.*, Christ) in the line of His humanity return to himself (*i. e.*, David) through his son (*i. e.*, Nathan)." ³

The original writer of this sentence from the Preface to *Luke* seems to have in mind the difference between the genealogy of Jesus given by Matthew and that recorded by Luke. The former (*Mat.* 1.6, 7) traces the descent from David through Solomon, his royal son; the latter (*Luke* 3.31) ignores Solomon and traces the line from David through Nathan, another son (*II Sam.* 5.14), and one of comparatively little renown. Hence his involved Latin means in substance that Luke's point of view was that Nathan (not Solomon) belonged admittedly within the genealogical line of Jesus, and that Luke had the clarity of vision (*potestas*) to point out Nathan (rather than Solomon) as the one whom David had prophetically declared to be that son of his through whom David himself could claim to be a progenitor of the Christ.

³ For the identification of David with *indisparabilis dei*, see *Ps.* 16.8; 110.1 (repeated in *Mat.* 22.44; *Mk.* 12.36, and alluded to in *Luke* 24.44); *Ps.* 110.5; *Acts* 2.25, 34; 13.22 (repeating *I Sam.* 13.14). For David as prophet (*predicans*) see *II Sam.* 23.2; *Ps.* 40.9; *Acts* 2.30.

The Northumbrian glossator leaves traces of his struggle with this really difficult Latin, in *ápræhendens* = *ofgenom*, *admisso* = *tosende oððe to*, and perhaps in his unfinished gloss to *indisparabilis*. Consequently he may have thought of *in* as governing *redire*, without sensing the passage at all. If so, his must be the blame for the *in gecerræ*.

Is there an imperative infinitive in Old English? In his 1913 study Professor Callaway had answered no, and on pages 6 and 264 thereof had summarily, and rightly, dismissed *Beowulf* 1859, and *Psalms* 74.5 and 94.6. However, on page 175 of the Lindisfarne essay he quotes seven examples of this usage, which I reproduce in abbreviated form:—*Mark* 11.23: *quicumque dixerit huic monti tollere et mittere in mare* = *seðe cuoeðas ðissum more genioma and senda on sæ*; *Luke* 1, 6.13: *testatur iuuenis (sic) sequenti dimittere mortuos* = *getrymade esne fylgende forgeafa uel forleta ða deado*; *id.* 17.6: *diceritis huic arbori moro eradicare et transplantare in mare* = *gie cuoeðe ðisum tree i hearthreer ofwyrtrumia and oferplontia uel gesette on sæ*; *id.* 8.28: *obsecro te ne me torqueas* = *ic bidde ðec ne mec ðrouiga*; *John* 8.5: *moses mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu* = *moises behead us ðuslic gistæna ðu*. He states that the infinitive in *Luke* 1, 6.13 may be merely objective, and that the one in *id.* 8.28 is possibly predicative. "The remaining five examples," he continues, "seem pretty clearly to belong here," and "are due to the close following of the Latin original." He adds that in *Mark* 11.23; *Luke* 1, 6.13, and 17.6 "we have the present infinitive translating a Latin passive of the imperative mood, which latter is identical in form with the Latin active infinitive"—a statement slightly erroneous, I believe, since *dimittere* of *Luke* 1, 6.13 is not an imperative passive. In reviewing the whole matter, one naturally thinks of Northumbrian imperative and optative forms in *-as* as having some bearing by analogy upon the above-mentioned verbs. However, Professor Callaway's explanation is the only one that fits every case; and I am glad to submit one additional instance of an imperative infinitive in Old English; viz., Logeman's *Benet* 33.7: *revela domino viam tuam et spera in eum* = *unwrigon drihtne weig ðine and hiht on higne*.

Viewed as a whole, then, the Northumbrian infinitive is in substantial agreement with the West-Saxon; when differences occur, they are generally due to the former's closer adherence to the Latin original. With this concluding summary, I now turn to Professor

Callaway's recent monographs upon the Old English participle. These constitute the remaining portion of his *Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels*:—Chapter I, The Absolute Participle, and Chapter II, the Appositive Participle.

The Absolute Participle in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is an analysis, within 43 pages, of the 126 examples from this text. In general structure and content it may be said to form a pendant to the author's earlier volume, of 1889, upon this construction in West-Saxon. He here reaffirms his previously stated belief that this usage is of Latin origin; since (1) the Old English glossator translated more than half the Latin ablative absolutes he met, otherwise than by the parallel dative absolute—a fact which argues that he felt the latter to be unidiomatic; and since (2) out of the scores of dative absolutes he did bring himself to employ, only two are independent of an ablative absolute in the Latin original. Furthermore, he points out (pp. 13-25) that the balance of opinion among other recent scholars in the Germanic field favors a foreign as against a native origin for the construction. However, he would not deny (see p. 25) that certain native "tendencies," or rather situations, may have made easier the intrusion of the Latin idiom; as when, for instance, the main verb is datival and accompanied by a substantive modified by an appositive participle, as in *Mark* 5.2: *him of scepe gangendum, him sona agen arn an man = exeunti ei de navi statim occurrit homo*. But it was an intrusion, and such it long remained. The dative absolute phrase did not come trippingly to the tongue—or pen—of the Old English writer. Further evidence of this fact may be seen in his improvisation of a prepositional circumlocution whereby he strove to translate the Latin ablative absolute with less of violence to his native idiom; e. g., *John* 17.1: *sublevatis oculis in cælum dixit = mið underhebendum egum in heofnum cuoð*. Professor Callaway records a dozen or more illustrations of this *mið*-phrase. A few other kindred examples from West-Saxon texts are: *Blickling Homilies* 245.10: *on æfenne ða geworden, hie hine betyndon*; *id.* 145.22: *æfter ðyssum wordum gefylde, ða wæs Maria arisende*; *Nicodemus*, Cambridge Ms., *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.* XIII, 492.11: *hyt wæs on dæg ða ge me beclysdon at ðam gewordenan æfene*. (See the *Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 42-44.)

The Absolute Accusative, on pages 25-35, is very interesting; e. g., *Luke* 22.60: *illo loquente cantavit gallus = hine sprecende*

gesang se hona. Our author finds twenty-one instances of this usage, and establishes for the first time its widespread frequency in Northumbrian. He reaffirms his belief that no certain example of this idiom has been found in West-Saxon, explaining otherwise such apparent cases as *Guthlac* 1011; *Cotton Psalm* 50.96; *Genesis* 181; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* II, 40.610; *id.* II, 46.685, and the like. Its presence here in the Lindisfarne text he attributes to an interchange between the dative and accusative forms, which he proves to be characteristic of the Northern dialects. The Nominative Absolute phrase, he shows on pages 35-39, is only apparently such, "the glossator wavering . . . between a finite verb, which requires a nominative as its subject, and an absolute participle, which requires an oblique case"; as in *Mat.* 1.20: *eo cogitante* ecce angelus . . . apparuit = *he ðencende uel ðohte ða cuom heno engel*. He lists ten instances of this curious geminate glossing. The first, his troublesome *Mark* I, 5.3: *scribæ de mandato legis interroganti* geminum dilectionis ostendit = *ða boecere of bod æs fregnende twufald lufes ædeawde*, one is inclined to rule out by the simple, if unwarranted, expedient of taking *ða* as *ðā*, that is, *ðam*.

The Appositive Participle in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is a discussion, within 56 pages, of the 558 occurrences the author finds in this text, and is in general accord with his 1901 essay upon the same subject. However, in the Northumbrian gloss he finds that the present participle takes an accusative object much more freely than in the West-Saxon texts, and that in so doing it almost always follows the same construction in the Latin original. These facts, with other corroborative evidence, lead him to reaffirm (pp. 53 f.) his former thesis that this governing power of the present participle in Old English, as in other Germanic languages, was not native, but acquired from classic originals. To this source also, he attributes the three instances (p. 71) of a preterite participle with object accusative; viz., *Mat.* I, 18.10: *suscitans et puellam* = *geweht and ðæt mæden*; *Luke* 1.3 and *John* 4.39. One other case, equally dubious, he had already found in West-Saxon; viz., *Luke* 9.55: *conuersus* = *hine bewend*.

Was there an Old English present participle in *-ing*? Professor Callaway suggests, on page 64, that we have "one of the earliest examples" in *Luke* 8.8: *aliud cecidit in terram bonam et ortum fecit fructum centuplum* = *oðer feoll on eorðo god and uphebbing*

dyde wæstm hunteantig siða monigfald. He notes that *uphebbing* is taken by other scholars as a noun, nominative or accusative (for this case is often without inflection in Northumbrian⁴); and cites its only other occurrence, in *Lind. Luke* 1, 10.11: *elationem* = *uphebbing*, where it is admittedly a substantive. That its gender is neuter, as stated by Professor Cook (see p. 64), would appear not only from both passages above, but also from comparison with *Rush. Luke* 20.47: *ðæt mara cursunge*, which our author cites, and with *Lind. Luke* 20.47: *hi accipient damnationem maiorem* = *ða onfoeð cursung ðæt mara*. I feel, therefore, with Professor Cook, that *ortum* = *uphebbing* is a nominative neuter; though it may be accusative, with *fructum* in apposition. At any rate, I fail to see, with Professor Callaway, that "the interpretation of *uphebbing* as a noun gives no sense in the present passage," much as I should like to recognize it as an early participle in *-ing*. For we need this sentence to substantiate the existence of such a participial form in the following places:—Logeman's *Benet* 35.3: *non loquatur monstrante nobis scriptura quia in multiloquio non effugetur peccatum* = *he ne spece swytelunge [us] write ðæt na on mænifealdum spræce byð forflogen sinn*; *id.* 80.9: *si anime vero peccati causa fuerat latens, tantum abbati . . . patefaciat* = *saule synne intinga gif beoð lettinge (sic!) ðæt an ðam abbude . . . he geswutelige*—a predicative use. Compare also *Benedictine Rule*, Winteney, 7.27: *be ðam wuniunge his eardingstowe* = *de habitatore tabernaculi ejus*, and Eadwine's (*Canterbury*) *Psalter* 149.4: *beneplacitum* = *wellicung*.

A gerund in *-ung* with accusative object Professor Callaway finds (p. 64) in the Rushworth *Luke* 23.48: *qui simul aderant ad spectaculum istud* = *ðaðe ætsceowunga togedre comun to sceawunga ðæt*, though he notes that *ðæt* may be modifier instead of object. I share his perplexity, and believe that the glossator was also confused. Did he mean for *ætsceowunga* to parallel *simul*, leaving to *sceawunga ðæt* to translate *ad spectaculum istud*? Or, rather, did he not give a double gloss to this phrase: (1) *æt sceowunga*, wherein he ignores *istud*, and (2) *to sceawunga ðæt*, wherein he translates it? Or, as is most likely, did he not carelessly and gratuitously throw in the *to-* phrase, which he conceived, but did not write, as

⁴See Margaret D. Kellum: *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to Luke*, Yale Studies in English, xxx, 1906, pp. 98 ff.

to *sceawanne ðæt*? However this may be, Professor Callaway sums up (p. 66) the whole recent discussion⁵ of the Old English gerund in *-ing* with object accusative by saying that (1) examples are very rare, (2) occurring only in translations from the Latin; and furthermore, (3) that if the present participle in *-ende* "did not originally have the power to govern an accusative object, but gradually borrowed it from the Latin," then *a fortiori* "the noun in *-ing* (*-ung*), which had, and, indeed, still has less of verbal power than the present participle" could not originally have had such power, independently of the Latin.

In conclusion, very few of those minor inaccuracies which mar but do not impair, occur in either of the books. Such as I notice upon a rather careful, though not exhaustive, scrutiny are as follows:—

In the *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*: On page 2, to the two examples of *for to* plus the inflected infinitive add these, from texts not included by the author in his field of survey; viz., *Cartularium Saxonicum* III, 209. 13 (a will of Theodred, bishop of Lincoln, anno 950, circa): and me sie richlike *for to bidden*; and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* IV, 306.3 (anno 1066): and ic bidde eou alle ðæt ge bien him on fultume at ðys cristendome godes gerichten *for to seften* and to driuen.—On page 4 (a), supply "uninflected" after "purpose."—On page 47.3, *geopenian* = *patere* of *Bede* 404.22. would rather seem to be intransitive, with *ingong* as its subject accusative. If so, the sentence would belong on page 115, with other similar locutions. Likewise, on page 51, *And.* 802 undoubtedly should be classed with the sentences at the bottom of page 110.—On page 152 there appears a slight inconsistency in the listing of *eatolice*, under 4, and of *gecoplic* and *manigfealdlicor*, under 5; for reference to Notes 4 and 5 on page 159 and to the entries on pages 316 and 317 reveals that *gecoplic* should be *gecoplice*, an adverb, as are the other two words, and that all three are only questionably adjectival in function.—On page 175, *anweald* does not belong among "nouns denoting things," but solely among those denoting "ideas," on page 174, where it actually is recorded.—Chapter XIV, on the origin of the Infinitive Constructions, and Chapter XVI, The Infinitive in Other Germanic Languages,

⁵ See articles from 1912 to 1916 by Professors Curme and Einkenel, Mr. Onions, and Dr. H. Willert in *Englische Studien* and *Anglia* for these years.

though each contains over thirty pages, might well have been broken up, and their material stowed away as "appendixes" to the various chapters preceding them—as indeed is done in the *Lindisfarne Studies*.

In the *Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels*: On page 5, to the verb-list add *wyrca* of *Mat.* i, 19.1, and to the four examples of a dative absolute active translating a Latin absolute passive add *Luke* 6.10: *circumspectis omnibus* = *yumbsceawandum allum*. Also here the hypothetical *ungelefa* (and *unforleta*, page 10, *unwita*, pages 51 and 70, *unsceortiga*, page 70, and *unwoeda*, page 77) might well be starred.—On page 7, the noun plus adjective absolute phrase *sanatis hominibus* = *halgum monnum* seems rather to belong under 2 on page 12, with *assumta cruce* = *onfenge rode*.—On page 16, $\delta\epsilon$ should be $\delta\epsilon$; on page 23, *Nachamung* seems wrong; on page 67, *prseent* is, of course, wrong.

Finally, in printing quotations from an interlinear text, the order Latin = English would seem to be not only more logical, but also more comfortable to the user, than is the reverse order employed throughout this volume. Furthermore, the order English = Latin could then be reserved to indicate parallels from actual translations; such as the *West-Saxon Gospels*, *Bede*, and the like. For the user of a syntactical monograph needs all the help its author can give him, and often finds it comfortable to discern at a glance whether he is reading a translation, or a transliterated gloss.

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The Critical Principle of the Reconciliation of Opposites as Employed by Coleridge. By ALICE D. SNYDER. (Contributions to Rhetorical Theory, ed. by F. N. Scott, ix.) Ann Arbor, 1918.

The author's principal theses are: that it was a "constitutional habit"—indeed, a "constitutional malady"—with Coleridge, first to look constantly, in nature and in art, for opposed pairs of qualities or tendencies, expressible by antithetic abstract terms, and then to conceive these opposites as combined in a higher reconciling unity, yet somehow without annulment of the antithesis; that this habit was "thoroughly in keeping with the generally recognized

nature of his philosophical thinking"; that it manifests itself, usually though not always to good effect, in a great variety of his opinions on æsthetic as well as metaphysical questions; that, for example, it helped to produce that "literary charity" which has often been remarked in his criticism; that it finds expression in his definition of the imagination as "the power which reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities"; that it explains his tendency to interpret the dramatic action in Shakespeare's plays as an unfolding of the tragic or comic consequences of one-sidedness of character, as the working-out in human life of one-half of a moral antithesis without its compensating and corrective opposite.

The truth of these general theses is undeniable, and the author has usefully illustrated them by an extensive collation of passages, largely from the *Anima Poetae* and the *Literary Remains*, and has sometimes supplemented them by illuminating comments. But it is to be regretted that she has made so little use of the historical and comparative method. Nearly all these things were a part of the stock-in-trade of German Romantic philosophy, especially of those phases of Schelling's thought by which Coleridge was most influenced. The Brunonian (or, to carry it farther back, the Neo-Platonic) *coincidentia oppositorum* had been a fad among the newer schools in Germany ever since Hamann's rediscovery of it; and the notion had already been given a number of interesting, though frequently pernicious, applications. The author is not unaware of this German background of Coleridge's use of the principle; and it is, no doubt, because of restrictions of space that she has chosen, in the main, to disregard it, as well as to avoid comparisons with Coleridge's English contemporaries. But the result of this almost purely expository treatment is to limit greatly the value of the study. It is only through a comparison of Coleridge's applications of the idea with its historic sources, and with its manifestations in other writers who had acquired it from the same sources, that the distinctive *nuance* of Coleridge's own mental quality and habit can be clearly exhibited. Meanwhile, Miss Snyder has given us a careful and well-digested collection of material, serviceable towards a synthetic and comparative study which, it is to be hoped, we may some day have from some competent hand: a really comprehensive examination of the influence upon English thought and letters of the new ideas, catchwords and presupposi-

tion of German philosophy and criticism of the period 1780-1810, and an analysis of the diverse responses which they evoked. To the new intellectual fashions and influences of that period five of the most notable British minds of the early nineteenth century were especially exposed, and by them were powerfully affected—Coleridge, Carlyle, J. S. Mill, De Quincey, and, in less degree, Wordsworth. There could be few more interesting or valuable contributions to the history of ideas than a presentation of the contrasting ways in which these different temperaments reacted to the same intellectual stimuli, and derived, in part, unlike and even highly conflicting consequences from similar premises or preconceptions. Such a study would both throw light upon what may be called the pragmatic value of the ideas in question—upon the character of the consequences, in opinion and in action, which they tend upon the whole to produce, as they are diffused and pass through different minds; and it would also bring into strongest relief the temperamental idiosyncrasies of the several minds whose reactions to a common influence were thus noted and compared.

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THE *Livre des Vertuz*

In his history of Old French literature Gröber¹ mentions an unpublished poem with the title *Traitié des vertuz* and adds that the method of treatment of the subject is not known. Naetebus² mentions the same poem under the title *Livre des vertuz*. This poem is found in the two closely related manuscripts Bib. nat. 24429, fol. 115-117 and Vatican 1682, fonds de la reine Christine, fol. 108a-109c. The difference of title is due to the fact that in the Paris manuscript, which Gröber studied,³ the poem bears the title which he gives it, while in the Vatican manuscript it is designated by the second title. Naetebus took his data from Langlois' article describing the Vatican manuscript.⁴

Langlois tells us that the poem consists of "soixante quatrains monorimes décasyllabiques" and quotes the first two and the last stanzas:

¹ *Grundriss* II, 870.

² *Die Nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, p. 55.

³ *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 351.

⁴ *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. XXXIII, p. 206.

- 1) Questioner vous vueil d'un jugement:
Si .l. haut sires envoie son present,
Cil qui le porte le retient ou le vent,
Esgardez vous qu'il mefface nient?
- 2) Et se il a la rente au seigneur prise
Pour vivre soi du sien en son servise,
Quant il le sert en ensi faite guise,
Est vous avis que doie estre requise?
- 60) Dieu veult sa grace eslargir en pardons,
Contre lui est que nous en marcheons.
Ahi! Judas, tant avras compagnons
Qui por avoir font de Deu livroisons.

In the course of reading the unpublished *Roman des Romans*, of which up to the present we know four complete manuscripts and a fragment, I find that the first two quatrains quoted above are quatrains 181, 182, and the last, quatrain 244 of the *Roman*. The *Livre des vertuz*, or *Traitié des vertuz*, is, therefore, not an independent poem but a fragment of a longer poem with four stanzas omitted, at least from the Vatican manuscript, if Langlois' "soixante quatrains" is correct.

It is not surprising that this fragment should have been current as a separate poem, since it is complete in itself, an allegory to illustrate the corruption of the church. The author of the *Roman des Romans* states his subject in the fifth stanza:

- 5) A cest romanz est li mundes matire,
Cum il fu ja e cum il ore empire,
Par quels manieres nus le veons desfire
Tant en nature tant en faire e en dire.
- 6) Des granz miseres dirai premerement
Que nus veons comunals entre gent,
Puis traiterai del establissement
Que seinte iglise recut premerement.

True to his plan, the author gives us a long and rather remarkable picture of the wretchedness of human life and the fleeting joys of this world. They last but for a moment; king and villain meet at last in the grave, and if the latter be of taller stature the king will have less place than he. Man is born in pain and lives his life in suffering; naked he enters the world and he takes nothing from it. Could they but speak, even the beasts might mock him that he must wrap his frail flesh from the cold in their stolen pelts while his own dead skin is worthless. Life is but vanity and death comes upon us quick and silent, like a dog that gives no warning bark. We are weak and feeble beside the men of old, the earth is outworn and unproductive and wealth is in the hands of the unworthy.

We next have a picture of the corruption of the church, the unfitness of many of its ministers, the selling of its offices for gold. The clergy have proved bad stewards of the divine treasure com-

mitted to their care. It is to enforce this thesis that the author introduces the allegory which forms the *Livre des vertuz*.

If a king has mortal enemies and has set constables and seneschals to guard his people and has given them treasure to spend and fortresses and arms for defense, and if they steal the treasure and fraternize with the enemy, ought he not to destroy them? The king is God. His constables and seneschals are the clergy, his enemies the devils. The treasure is his law, the fortresses, baptism and sanctification. The arms are those named by Saint Paul, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the spirit, but we have further the *gunfanun* of the true cross and the *saint haubert* of justice. As sergeants of the commanders of the castle, Reason watches above the battlements with Melody of songs old and new, Abstinence is keeper of the gate, Obedience, Charity, Patience, Humility, Peace, Justice, Wisdom, Truth, Pity, Concord, Sufficiency, Perseverance, Hope, each plays her part and Sainte Confession is the clever mason that mends the breaches in the wall. Thus has God furnished his representatives with assistance and promised them the help of his son. They should serve well such a lord, but they fail him at the pinch. The devils attack in many ways and they have invented one engine of war more fatal than all others—Covetousness, and, since Sufficiency has been thrust aside by those within, Covetousness has entered the castle.

The *Roman des Romans* continues for eight stanzas more the discussion of Judas and the sin of covetousness, closing with the stanza

252) Car s'il eüst a Deu merci crié
Od bone fei e od simplicité
Deus est si pleins de sa grant piété
Qu'il lui eüst sun pecchié pardonné.

The *Livre des vertuz* should, therefore, be stricken from the list of titles of Old French literature and two new fragments added to the number of known manuscripts of the *Roman des Romans*.

IRVILLE C. LECOMPTE.

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Temer WITH THE INDICATIVE

In Benavente's *Los Intereses Creados*, acto primero, cuadro segundo, escena VI, there appears the construction "Ya temí que no vendríaís." Dr. Van Horne, in a note to this construction in the text-book edition recently published by Heath and Co., says in part: "An unusual construction; the subjunctive is the normal form after *temer*. It would appear that in this instance the verb has lost its emotional character, and has become almost equal to a verb of believing." I question the statement that the construction is un-

usual, and believe that a better reason can be offered for the use of the conditional after *temer* than that expressed above. The following constructions with *temer* are taken at random from four writers of the seventeenth century in Spain.

En mi casa sin temer

Que así a una mujer destruye.—Calderón, *El Médico de su Honra*, Act II.

mas temía

Que érades casada.—Lope de Vega, *Amar sin Saber a Quien*, Act II.

Temí que no llegaría,

Zulema, el maestro a tiempo.—Lope, *La Envidia de la Nobleza*, Act I.

Mas teme que pueden ser

Por ventura venenosas.—Lope, *Los Guanches de Tenerife*, Act I.

Temo que me han de matar.—Lope, *El Nuevo Mundo*, Act III.

Que temo que han de ponerme

En ocasión de intentar

Algún desatino.—Lope, *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitán*, Act III.

Temo que le hemos de hacer

Narices nuevas de plata.—Ruiz de Alarcón, *La Cueva de Salamanca*, Act I.

Temo que me han de espiar

Mis contrarios.—Alarcón, *Todo es Ventura*, Act II.

No temas que se me irá.—Alarcón, *El Desdichado en Fingir*, Act III.

sino que temían que se les había de huir.

—Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, Part I, chap. 22.

temiendo que si primero nos echaban en tierra, . . . podríamos descubrir que quedaba el bergantín en la mar.

—Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, Part II, chap. 63.

Constructions like the above, which could be multiplied indefinitely, surely prove the legitimacy of the indicative following *temer*. Grammarians do admit the use of the future indicative after verbs of fearing,¹ though they make no mention of the conditional or other forms not subjunctive. If we admit the use of the future indicative after *temer*, then according to the equation *vendrá : vendría :: viene : venía (vino)*,² the conditional or past preterit form logically replaces the imperfect subjunctive.

There also exists another construction which I am inclined to believe can be adduced in support of the conditional replacing the imperfect subjunctive. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence either the conditional or the imperfect subjunctive in *-ra* is permissible, and the unconscious association of these two forms has tended to give them equal values which may well persist in other constructions.

Another point in the treatment of the use of the conditional for

¹ Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana* (1913), pp. 237-238, where is cited Wiggers, *Grammatik der spanischen Sprache*, p. 238.

² Cf. Bell, *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (10th edition, 1907), par. 452; Hanssen, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

the imperfect subjunctive must not be neglected when dealing with modern Castilian, and that is the French influence, unfortunately a very potent factor. This influence is manifesting itself more and more in the works of Spanish writers of the present day, and should perhaps be mentioned first as a solution of the problem in its relation to the twentieth century.

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APROPOS OF *fondo en*

In a recent article¹ Professor Morley has collected eight cases of the rare idiom *fondo en*, and queries whether it is an oath, or equivalent to *sobre un fondo de*, *con fondos de*, "or something of the sort." When I first came across this expression, in Lope de Vega's *La Moza de Cántaro*, II, 7 (noted by Morley), I came to the conclusion that it meant 'at bottom,' 'in reality,' French 'au fond'² or 'à fond de.'³ It will be found that one or another of these meanings will fit Morley's examples, as well as this additional one, which has the distinction of being in prose:

Armengol, astrólogo, fondo en poeta (*Vejámen de D. Francisco de Rojas*, in *Sales españolas*, II, 311).

Fondo en is essentially a figurative mode of indicating contrast between appearance and reality (lo blanco, fondo en Guinea = negro; blanca nieve, fondo en grajo = negro; las damas, fondo en ángel); but since it is used elliptically and, as Morley points out, facetiously, its precise meaning varies considerably. Thus in one case (hermosa, fondo en tabaco) it seems to have a slightly concessive force.⁴

In a poem by Quevedo there occurs what would be the fuller expression corresponding to *fondo en*:

¿Qué gracia puede tener
muger con fondos en frayle,
que de sermones y chismes
sus razonamientos hace?

*Burla de los eruditos de embeleco, que enamoran
á feas cultas*, in *Obras*, Madrid, 1794, VIII, 343.

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII, 501-503.

² Au fond, elle est très fière de moi. (Lavedan, *Le Prince d'Aurec*, I, VII.)

³ Velours à fond d'or. (Littré, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. fond.)

⁴ Baralt considers *en el fondo* a "galicismo superfluo," and prefers *en lo sustancial*, *en lo esencial*, *en lo principal*, *en realidad*. See the *Diccionario de galicismos*, art. *fondo*. R. Caballero, *Diccionario de modismos*, translates, *en parte*, *en lo esencial*. *Diccionario Salvá* gives *intrínsecamente*, *realmente*, *en el conjunto*. Not in the first or the latest edition of the *Dicc. de la Academia*, nor in the *Novísimo Diccionario*. Not in Oudin (1621), Percivale (1623), Franciosi (1638), Covarrubias (1674).

The modern Spanish equivalent of *fondo en* is *en el fondo*. As this phrase does not appear in the dictionaries, it may be well to append some instances of its use.

¡Soy en el fondo un bendito!

Poem of A. Bonilla y San Martín, cited by Icaza, *Supercherías cervantinas*, p. 284.

En el fondo temía las veleidades de Fernando. (Baroja, *Camino de perfección*, Madrid, 1913, p. 244.)

Se le atacaba [á Trigo] . . . por la torturada complicación de su estilo. En el fondo porque vendía más libros que nadie. (*El Gráfico*, Nov., 1916, p. 33.)

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OLD FRENCH *Despoesteir*

An investigation of the past participle *despoesteis* (in four syllables) occurring in line 7480 of Bolderston's edition (Oxford, 1912) of Richier's *Vie de Saint Remi* has disclosed an interesting situation with regard to the treatment of the O. F. verb "to dispossess" in Godefroy's *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française*. Godefroy lists *despoestir*, *despostir*, and *depostir*, but no forms in which the uncontracted ending *-eir* occurs. The etymon is **dispotestātre*, which would ordinarily have given O. F. *despoesteir*, contracting later to (1) *despoesteir* or (2) *despoestir*, and finally to (3) *despostir*. Of these forms Godefroy lists (2) and (3), while (1) is attested by its appearance in the *Saint Remi*, the form occurring without variant in both of the extant mss. Since (1) and (2) are obviously descendants of the same parent, it is not unreasonable to assume the existence of the full form, *despoesteir*, in which neither contraction had yet taken place. The non-appearance of forms in *-eir* other than the past participle in the *Remi* is surprising, especially if one compare a similar case, that of the adjective **potestativum*, which gives (1) the full form *poesteif*; (2) both contractions, *posteif* and *poestif*; and (3) the final contraction, *postif*. All these forms are cited by Godefroy, though under the heading *poestif* instead of the probably earlier *poesteif*. In both adjective and verb the retention of the Latin *ā* as O. F. fem. *e* is rather to be expected than not, especially in the earlier forms, in which the force of analogy due to the existence of the noun *poesté* (from *potestātem*) might readily have been exerted. A revision of Godefroy's entry, by listing the verb under the full form *despoesteir*, with a mention of this occurrence of *despoesteir*, would seem desirable. Further search may disclose

other forms in *-eir*. The disappearance of the *s* in the prefix of the verb may be due to a formation with Latin *de* instead of *dis*, or to the fall of *s* before the consonant, where it may have been silent even when written. In any case this question is not germane to the main point under discussion. It should be stated that the significance of this form was first pointed out by my former teacher, Professor E. S. Sheldon.

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ON COLERIDGE'S *Ancient Mariner*

It seems now to be generally accepted that *The Ancient Mariner* is a sort of allegory, picturing human life as a Pilgrim's Progress upon the sea. The poem contains not only a mysterious or supernatural element, which none can fail to see, but also carries a deep mystical and symbolic meaning which requires careful interpretation. The larger part of the poem lends itself readily to such an interpretation, and its meaning has become tolerably clear. The mariner starts out on the voyage of life, only to find himself at once getting into all sorts of trouble. This seems symbolic of the sins that overtake men in life. After penance he starts on his return home, rounding out his voyage at the port from which he embarked. There are, however, certain difficult points in the interpretation. On his return voyage the Mariner is aided by the Pilot, the Pilot's boy, and the Hermit. These come out in the Pilot's boat to welcome him as he draws near, and finally rescue him from the sea as his ship goes down. Little is given in the poem to indicate the meaning of these, but of the Hermit the Mariner says:

It is the Hermit good!
He singeth loud his godly hymns
That he makes in the wood.
He'll shrive my soul, he'll wash away
The Albatross's blood.

He further speaks of him as living in the wood, where "He kneels at morn, and noon, and eve—," praying beside the trees in the forest. In the margin Coleridge calls him "The Hermit of the Wood," and evidently intends to portray in him Nature's High Priest, who shrives the Mariner from his sins against Nature. The Mariner has sinned primarily against God's creatures, or Nature, as symbolized by the Albatross, and only the Hermit, as Priest of Nature, can shrive him from this sin.

The Pilot and the Pilot's boy, however, are not so easily interpreted. They perform no such function in the poem as the Hermit.

The boat they come in, which rescues the Mariner, is called "the Pilot's boat," though neither the Pilot nor the Pilot's boy seems to give any real assistance to the Mariner. On the contrary, they seem only to add to the confusion, for when the crisis came the Pilot said, "I am a-feard," and after the ship went down and they had picked up the Mariner's body,

the Pilot shrieked
And fell down in a fit.

And to make matters worse, when the Mariner himself took the oars, as the Hermit prayed,

the Pilot's boy,
Who now doth crazy go,
Laughed loud and long, and all the while
His eyes went to and fro.

Then he added further embarrassment and revealed his utter inability to appreciate anything of the real situation by suggesting that the Mariner is no other than the Devil himself.

Few writers have made any attempt to explain the allegory at these points, and none so far as I know has offered a satisfactory explanation. One editor, however, suggests that the Pilot represents "in some sense practical wisdom," and that the Hermit acts "as the bearer of the truths of Christianity." But these suggestions do not seem to meet the difficulty, and are in fact too indefinite to be of value.

As an attempt at explanation, one of my students¹ some time ago ventured the suggestion that perhaps the Pilot may represent the Church and the Pilot's boy the clergy. And a careful consideration of both the poem and the mind of the poet at this period of his work leads me to believe that this is the real solution of the difficulty and the true explanation of the persons. As all students of Coleridge know, he was not well satisfied with the condition of the Church of his day, and not averse to passing criticism on both the Church and the clergy.

Coleridge was brought up in the established church, as the son of a clergyman, but for a period covering the time of the writing of *The Ancient Mariner*, and several succeeding years, he separated himself from that church and identified himself with the Unitarians. Only the annuity from the Wedgwoods in 1798 prevented him accepting a call to become minister of the Unitarian Church at Shrewsbury. At a later date, however, he repudiated the doctrines of Unitarianism, and became more sympathetic toward the orthodox churches. When writing his poem he believed that

¹ Mr. Vernon B. Rhodenizer, now Professor of English in Acadia College, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

the Church was devoid of spiritual power or religious leadership, and was unable to render any assistance in the spiritual crises of men's lives; he deplored the Church's lack of religion, and the spiritual barrenness of the eighteenth century. Romanticism, indeed, put new emphasis upon the spiritual life. But the Pilot in the poem could provide only the boat, or the empty form and institution of the Church, while the Hermit alone could render any real spiritual assistance. At the very climax of the crisis the Pilot himself was utterly confused and "fell down in a fit." Then, when the Mariner took up the oars, the Pilot's boy went "crazy," and with an idiotic laugh called the Mariner a "devil." This seems to imply that to the clergy of the day spiritual phenomena looked like forms of lunacy, or the work of evil spirits, so unfamiliar were they with anything of the sort. The great religious revival of the century had not yet accomplished its work. With no aid from the church, then, the Mariner passed through the greatest spiritual crisis of his life. And after completing his voyage back to his home harbor, he felt constrained to travel from land to land telling the "ghastly tale" of his new and wonderful experience.

The Ancient Mariner, then, is not only Coleridge's interpretation of man's deepest spiritual experiences, but also his criticism of the spiritual feebleness of the Church of his day. The poet, fortunately, lived to see a day when he could think better of the Church.

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SHAKSPERE AND *The Passionate Pilgrim*

The extent to which the short pieces of verse known as *The Passionate Pilgrim* represent the work of Shakspeare has been of scarcely less interest to students of the dramatist than his share in certain plays. But five in this collection (Nos. I, II, III, V, XVI) are indisputably Shakspeare's. Certain others are assigned to him with confidence by some, and rejected with equal confidence by others¹; whereas other pieces are, as is known, not from the hand of Shakspeare. One on which the critics differ is No. IV. Professor Dowden² many years ago pointed out the resemblance between the incident of Cytherea, Adonis, and the brook in this piece (including No. VI) and a passage in *The Taming of the Shrew*.³ To Dowden

¹ For discussion see C. K. Pooler, *Venus and Adonis*, etc., Arden (also known as the Dowden) edition, lxxi ff.

² In his Introduction to *The Passionate Pilgrim* (Griggs' Facsimile).

³ Induction, scene II, 51 ff.

this was "some slight ground for a presumption" that Shakspeare wrote No. IV (and No. VI).⁴ Further substantiation of this view may be found in the prominence given (that is, at the beginning of his collection) by the shrewd Jaggard to both these pieces as well as to those four definitely known to be Shakspeare's.⁵

The following small bit of evidence is offered in support of the view that Shakspeare did write No. IV. The sonnet, it may be recalled, closes with the rime of "toward" and "froward." This rime is not common in Shakspeare's other works nor, apparently, in those of his contemporaries.⁶ It does however occur three times in *The Shrew*⁷; and a variant—"coward" and "froward"—occurs in the other contemporaneous poem, *Venus and Adonis* (570). In view of the seeming unusualness of the rime, the contemporaneousness of the pieces under discussion, and the fact that the rime occurs four times in two of Shakspeare's works, we have one more shred of evidence that No. IV is by the same poet.

It will be observed that I have assumed Shakspeare to be the sole author of *The Shrew*. It is true that the rime occurs also in the suspected part.⁸ There is, however, a considerable body of evidence (which I hope to make accessible soon) supporting single authorship of the play. It follows therefore that my observation on No. IV of *The Passionate Pilgrim* rests upon the authorship of this play.

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BRIEF MENTION

Modern Punctuation: Its Utilities and Conventions. By George Summey, Jr. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1919). A teacher of English in the North Carolina State College and formerly managing editor of the *North Carolina Review*, the author of this hand-book should be well prepared to set up the just balance between theory and practice in the matter of punctuation; and it is gratifying to be convinced that he has achieved this preparation. How to keep the best of basic theory inviolate and yet to be so flexible as to admit the variations that make of punctuation not a

⁴ His suggestion has not been accepted by Sir Sidney Lee (*Life of Shakespeare*, revised edition, 1916, 267).

⁵ Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown. Compare Dr. Brown's discussion in his Introduction to *Venus and Adonis*, *The Tudor Shakespeare*, 1913, xxii.

⁶ It is not in the *Fidessa* by Bartholomew Griffin, whom Lee (*ibid.*, 267, note 3) suggests as the author.

⁷ I, I, 68-9; IV, v, 78-9; V, II, 182-3.

⁸ I, I, 68-9; V, II, 180-1.

stiff traditon but an organic aid to the most varied forms and purposes of expression, that is what Mr. Summey teaches with success. There are dead rules that are not to be applied to the living language. English was once punctuated to suit the rhythmic management of the reader's breathing,—it has been called 'phrasal punctuation.' The schools once trained pupils in the relative strength of the 'points' by requiring them to pause at each point to count one (for the comma), two (for the semi-colon), or more, according to the measure of this imputed value. The fashion of punctuation has been subject to many changes, but the history of these changes does not concern the author of this treatise, except in an incidental manner. He is studying punctuation in its latest fashion. "As the facts of punctuation are of infinite number," he observes, "it has seemed desirable to concentrate attention upon practice in recent American-printed books and American periodicals. With few exceptions the books cited as examples of modern practice are of dates not earlier than 1900; the periodicals cited are of the years 1917 and 1918." He also wishes that 'practical' be understood to mean the practice of an art—"an art and not a code—which is practiced blindly or intelligently by all who speak through pen or type."

What is characteristic of the author's point of view and purpose may be briefly indicated by citation from his own words. He would correct the method of expounding the principles of punctuation from "single sentences isolated from their context." The working-principle of the art is not to be defined by emphasis, or clearness, or economy of points, but "good pointing depends on structure," for the function of the art is interlocked with the process of creative expression. "Text-books for students of English composition," while tending to less dogmatism, "nearly all ignore . . . the relation of pointing to the meaning of the paragraph." Special attention is thus called to the sections on paragraph-pointing, in which the author communicates interesting observations. The following general statements may also be added to show the author's estimation of the organic function of the art. "Punctuation marks when properly used are not to be noticed for themselves. Their purpose is to show at a glance the relation, the relative weights, or the nature of the words they set off. If a point attracts attention to itself, this is usually because there is something wrong in punctuation or in structure. Punctuation marks do not determine thought, or take the place of thought; yet by virtue of certain familiar customs and expectations they enable the writer to effect what would otherwise be difficult." Again, punctuation "is an integral part of written composition. . . . Points may reveal the meaning of a badly constructed sentence, but in that case they will also reveal the badness of the structure."

The doctrine of the treatise is that punctuation is structural,

not narrowly grammatical nor loosely rhetorical, tho the term 'rhetorical' may, for the specific purpose, be defined and is here used in the sense of the better term 'structural.' Structure is tested by the laws of clear and effective communication. "Communication means the process of imparting information, or giving pleasure, or inducing some one to share a feeling or pursue a certain course of action—any or all of these, as the writer may desire." The chapter on "The Nature of Punctuation," therefore, leads to the summary statement that "The rhetorical nature of the marks must be insisted on, because the grammatical viewpoint—legitimate in itself—has laid emphasis upon formal syntax rather than upon communication. The field of syntax is the sentence, and the sentence has in practice been the field of discussion for the 'rules of punctuation.' But questions of punctuation frequently require decision on grounds of utility in the paragraph."

The consideration of general principles is narrowed, in the next chapter, to "The Problems of Punctuation." One of these problems relates to 'convention,' which "in the use of marks is not absolutely fixed, but so far as [it is] definite it can be ignored only at peril"; but organically constructive and properly stylistic variations are equally essential to the complete function of the art. The same flexible doctrine is then applied in a brief but suggestive consideration of the elements Clearness and Emphasis, which "are inextricably united with the complex and highly important effect called movement," the subject next expounded. The comprehensive view is that "The problem of punctuation in text matter [text-matter] is to employ words, points, and paragraph breaks [paragraph-breaks] in such a way as to achieve at the same time clearness, proper distribution of emphasis, and the desired kind of movement. The negative side of the matter is the avoidance of obscurity, monotony, false emphasis, ill-timed formality; and clumsiness of all kinds." Nor is the 'design,' the outward appearance of the printed page, to be ignored. The effects of "the distribution and proportion of white space" are therefore briefly described with the convictions of a practiced observer. There is also the rule of economy in punctuation, which evokes a repetition of the comprehensive doctrine that punctuation is an art that should be governed by an intelligent and purposeful application of rules: "Modern preference favors the use of the fewest and least obtrusive marks that will do the required work. As a matter of course, each question of punctuation is to be settled on the merits of the case." Economy must not be pushed to the extreme of an excuse for eliminating "the use of the points most suitable to the immediate purpose." And finally, with reference to 'Variety' in pointing, this "is not an unnecessary refinement, because pointing and style are inseparable."

After laying down the fundamental principles of punctuation in the spirit and manner indicated, the author enters on the main portion of his book (pp. 48-258) to test these principles in the practice of present-day writers, that he may instructively approve success and correct or modify error. He would hold the mind of the reader to a recognition of the intellectual implications of the art, and agree with Dionysius of Halicarnassus that "the natural course is for the expression to follow the ideas, not the ideas the expression," and add that punctuation is an organic element of expression. The reader is, therefore, not to relax his mind in its concern for clear thinking, lucidity, emphasis; nor for euphony, appropriateness of movement, and whatever else may contribute to tasteful and effective adaptation of 'discourse' to directness of purpose. The book is suggestive and instructive, but it is rather a hand-book to be consulted by teachers and advanced readers than a text-book for the schools. The method of treatment is too discursive for the average class-room; but Mr. Summey has here supplied admirable "side-reading" for the chapter on punctuation in, for example, the latest book on *The Writing of English*, that by Professor J. M. Manly and Miss Edith Rickert (New York, H. Holt & Co.).

The use of the compounding hyphen is so varied and so grammatically inconsistent that a few observations on the subject shall be added here. Mr. Summey's section on the subject (pp. 175-177) is introduced by the confession that "Just what shall be hyphenated has to be decided arbitrarily in part, because the dictionaries and style books [style-books] do not agree"; and in this statement as well as thruout the book he gives abundant proof of this arbitrariness in his own practice. To cite a very small number of examples, altho he writes proof-reader and grouping-points, he does not hyphenate punctuation-marks, quote-marks, text-matter, clause-breaks, clause-link, clause-boundary, and a very large number of compounds of the same character. This is a matter of grammar, of a fundamental characteristic of English word-accent, and Mr. Summey is not altogether unaware of this, for he notices that "the hyphen affects the apparent grouping and at the same time suggests a recession of accent." How far the present practice in the writing of substantive compounds may be brought back from sheer caprice to the observance of an inherent law of the language, one may not predict; but it is evident enough that better schooling in this subject is one of the most manifest needs.

J. W. B.

French Terminologies in the Making, by H. J. Swann (Columbia University Press, 1919), relates to three parts of the subject. In the first three chapters the author examines the language additions resulting from new inventions; in the next two he takes up the enlarged vocabulary due to the conscious constructive efforts of certain individuals; while in the last three chapters (and these are, by far, the most interesting) he studies the changes in, and the growth of terminologies brought about by the development of human thought, the birth of new conceptions and new ideals.

To thoroughly investigate any one of these three phases would involve the writing of volumes, so the author has chosen certain representative examples to illustrate the trend of his study. It is a matter of regret that in the first group he has chosen three inventions of the same general character: namely, the locomotive, the automobile, and the aeroplane. It might have lent more variation and force to the presentation had he chosen inventions of somewhat different types, such as photography, the telephone, the telegraph with its numerous ramifications "avec et sans fil," whence the "ondulations électriques" are "projetées" by means of a "radiateur" and picked up with a "récepteur" or a "cohéreur"; or, again, he might have considered that essential adjunct of modern business, the typewriter, which, at first a mere "machine à écrire," became "un dactylographe" and is now more commonly known as "une dactylotype." However, his tracing of the additions brought to the French language by the three chosen inventions has been thoroughly and well done. Particularly interesting to us is the fact that, railroads having been introduced in France some twenty years after their appearance in England, not a few of the new French terms were borrowed from the English, and of those that were not imported from across the Channel many were transferred from the vocabulary of the already existing excellent system of French canals.

Chapter IV, dealing with the nomenclature of the Republican Calendar, and Chapter V, which takes up the metric terminology, are extremely interesting in their tracing of the history of these two word-groups. The selection of these examples is particularly happy in that, although both are the outcome of "deliberate construction," the one which at first was greeted by an approving populace failed to live, while the other, received with general criticism, has little by little earned its character of permanency and universality.

The last three chapters are the most vital ones in the book. In them the author has rendered obsolete the words of Darmesteter: "On ne s'est pas encore avisé d'étudier systématiquement le vocabulaire d'une langue de manière à suivre dans les changements de l'expression le mouvement de la pensée." Taking as his "source d'action" the motto of Republican France: Liberté, Egalité,

Fraternité (the last of which he calls "democracy"), Dr. Swann has carefully indicated to us how these new ideas, bursting forth with irresistible force, brought with them not "une horde farouche de vertus bourgeoises," but a great body of new conceptions that were expressed either by changing the meaning of words already in use or by creating new ones. For instance, he traces for us that queer phenomenon in language-building by which a word that formerly represented a state of honor becomes an appellation of infamy. Thus, the noble title conferred upon the galaxy of Charlemagne's brave warriors, the title of "chevalier," is, during the Revolution, bestowed upon the Jacobins who were dubbed the "Chevaliers de la Guillotine," while today the "chevaliers d'industrie" are no less undesirable citizens. Elsewhere Dr. Swann shows us how, by a grim irony, words were transferred to the very opposite of their former use. In this way a new vocabulary of some 800 words was created to render adequately the new notions of liberty and equality after which the French set about forming a large mass of words to express the idea of democracy, of fraternity and, resulting from it, the new conception of authority, that authority vested in, and exercised by the people themselves. The whole machinery of government had to be renamed; that which, before '89, was considered with love or hate, fear or defiance, now became a function of the people, which they were proud and pleased to exercise. An entirely new conception of authority had come into existence, demanding an entirely new vocabulary. The author has proved to the reader that the language of a people is indeed the accurate expression of its temper, its character, its ideas and ideals, that "en matière de langue le peuple est tout puissant et il est infallible, parce que ses erreurs, tôt ou tard, font loi." A. C. F.

The distinguishing trait of Professor Frederick E. Pierce's *Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation* (Yale University Press) is, as the title indicates, in his plan of attack. He avoids the obvious method of taking up one author after another with each chapter a biographical and critical essay, nor does he try to take a wide sweep of the whole romantic movement and include everything within an impossibly comprehensive definition. He prefers, as he says, "to resurrect the attitude of the romantic generation toward itself, to trace [the] different minor movements, to point out the lines of division between them with such differences as existed in the character of their poetry, and to explain these differences, as far as seems reasonable, by the effect of social and geographical environment, of racial instincts, and of other forming influences." We accordingly do not find any exhaustive treatment

of individual writers, no discussion of their philosophy or analysis of their message or the like, but we see them in the light of their peculiar environment. Our attention is directed more to the various currents and eddies that caught them, the small ones as well as the great, while they were progressing down the streams of their literary careers. Wordsworth appears for a short time in the eddy round Bristol, then in the Lake current, and again in the eddy about Scott. Only such poems are considered as show indications of (dare one say?) the current influence; all others are either not mentioned or are dismissed in a line or so. Wordsworth's great ode is referred to three times in the course of the work and only to show that though published in the Scott period it was virtually independent of his influence. About the only comments given to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* consist of a few lines on its Greek qualities and the influence of Roman climate upon its imagery. On the other hand, in order to bring out the full value of the influence of these eddies and currents especially as it was recognized by contemporaries, the minor writers are given a prominence they have largely lost in the course of the century. If we would know the generation we should know all those who belonged to it, and only so can we know fully the great ones who rose above their fellows but just as surely shared their intellectual and spiritual life. The group treatment of this movement shows how markedly English romanticism differed from French and German, how unconscious it was, how far from being a school in the continental sense. This is made the more obvious by the arrangement of the groups, from Bristol, the Lake district, and Scotland to London, from the regions least affected by the neo-classicism of the school of Pope and his followers to the very heart of this tradition in the London society poets who foregathered at Holland House with Byron as their great and shining light. But it was not then the Byron as he exists in popular consciousness today, but the Popian imitator under the influence of Rogers, the composer of "over three thousand lines of satire in the neo-classic couplet," mostly without literary merit. The Byron of the great poems is treated among the "Expatriated Poets" with Shelley and lesser writers. The value of this book is in the cross-section consideration of the authors of the period from 1789 to 1830, not in the interpretation of separate works. In fact, in the last chapter, "The Survival of the Fittest," the judgment passed is about what we should expect from any reasonable book of modern criticism. Convenient bibliographies for all the chapters but the twelfth are furnished as an appendix, and the twelfth needs one.

J. W. T.

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CHAUCEER'S DESERT

Miss Brown's recent suggestion of the *Corbaccio* as a partial source of the *House of Fame*¹ must be welcomed by scholars in their attempt to get together all possible analogues for the type of allegory which is represented in that poem. But her conclusions in regard to Chaucer's specific indebtedness may not prove entirely satisfactory, since her argument leans so much on resemblances which may be paralleled throughout almost the entire range of the allegory of the Court of Love.² In only one respect does the

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII, 411 ff.

² The first point, that both works are related by the dreamers, is characteristic of many of the love visions. The second, that both dreamers are students who find their pleasure in poring over books and have sorry success in affairs of love, is only a superficial resemblance. Chaucer's books, as the eagle says, are books of love, while Boccaccio's are those which teach the vanity of love. Chaucer's attitude of being unsuccessful in such affairs is constant in his verse. On this point as good a parallel is found in Froissart's *Joli Buisson*, ll. 137 ff. The eighth point is similarly weak because while in Boccaccio the sighings and groanings are those of unhappy lovers, in Chaucer the noise (which is not heard in the valley or desert) is that of the rumor-machine and this includes whisperings happy as well as sad. The parallel which Miss Brown attempts to draw between the tidings which Chaucer will hear and the facts which Boccaccio will learn is unfortunate: Chaucer is told that he will learn love-tidings; Boccaccio is to be instructed about women—"What things women are; for what reasons they are called and wish to be called ladies; and that very few really are ladies." Chaucer took the trouble to create the rumor-machine to develop his point about tidings. Is this the sort of information he is to get from *rumor*? Finally, Miss Brown's seventh point should not have been so listed, since it is merely a confession of weakness albeit not a dangerous one. Some hint as to the general nature of the *House of*

Corbaccio at first seem to approximate the English poem more nearly—in the “desert” tract in which both the dreamers eventually find themselves astray. For the purposes of this article we may waive the question of whether Chaucer did or did not use the Italian; on several occasions he is known to have drawn from more than one source for a single feature. It is more important to discover available treatments of the theme elsewhere.

The temple of Venus in the *House of Fame* is well known in the tradition of the Court of Love, and is clearly related to the realm of the Otherworld in folklore. So too is the abode of Fame herself. And in the many descriptions of the Otherworld, the surrounding country lying desolate under a spell is familiar enough, especially in the variety known as the “waste city.”³ An element of this kind seems to be the forest which borders the Otherworld in the Court of Love literature, and which serves often as a barrier to the longed-for country. Instances occur in the *Mireoirs as Dames* of Watriquet de Couvin, in Froissart’s *Temple d’Onnour*, and in the *Dit dou Lyon* of Guillaume de Machaut.⁴ As the scene in Machaut is “De ronces et d’espines pleine,” the “solitudine deserta” of the *Corbaccio* is “piena di salvatiche piante, di prune e di bronchi.”⁵ A good case may be made out that the valley of the *Corbaccio* is a development of the “selva oscura” of Dante, which is also a “piaggia deserta,” which is also located in a valley,

Fame, that it was not designed to continue in the manner of Boccaccio, may be found in the fact that Chaucer mentions it along with the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Parliament* as the first which serves to praise the name of love (*Leg. Good Women*, pro., l. 417).

³Gawain passes through a hideous valley in the *Mule sanz Frein*; Lancelot in the *Perlesvaus* wanders through “a waste land, a country broad and long, wherein wonned neither beast nor bird, for the land was so poor and parched,” (Branch VII, title XI, Evans’ trans., *Everyman’s Lib.*, p. 104.) Thomas of Erceldoun crosses a “desart wide” on his way to “Elflin land” (Child, *Eng. Scot. Pop. Ballads*, I, p. 325, C, st. 9).

⁴Watriquet de Couvin, ed. Scheler, pp. 2 ff., ll. 40 ff.; Froissart, ed. Scheler, II, p. 164, ll. 63 ff.; Machaut, ed. Hoepffner, *SATF*, II, p. 169, ll. 285 ff. Cf. Hesdin’s *Prise Amoureuse*, ed. Hoepffner, p. 6, ll. 153 ff. Cf. the thorny road in the scene described by Baudoin de Condé, ed. Scheler, I, pp. 209 ff., ll. 120 ff. Cf. also the scene about the Palace of Mars in the *Teseide*, st. 31. For the theme in German literature, see Neilson, *Court of Love*, Boston, 1899, pp. 126 ff. See also *Romania*, XXIX, pp. 86 and 92.

⁵Ed. Firenze, 1828, p. 162.

and into which the poet wanders in fear when "la diritta via era smarrita." In this case too a man of gret auctoritee rescues the wanderer, and interprets to him his ensuing experiences. In its setting in Boccaccio's narrative, however, the waste country seems rather to belong to the tradition which I have outlined.

What is more startling is that the scene is reproduced in a French poem which we know Chaucer used as a source for the *House of Fame*,—the *Panthere d'Amours* of Nicole de Margivale.⁶ Although the similarity of the two poems has been appreciated in so far as the House of Fortune and the House of Fame are concerned, hardly enough attention has been accorded to the parallel of the general scheme and, in particular, of the flight with the birds and of the use of the waste country. In the *Panthere* the poet is carried away by the birds; in a forest he sees the panther near the waste country; he is entertained by the Court of Love; he gets a closer view of the waste region, which is interpreted to him at length by the God of Love; he goes to the Hotel de l'Amour, and finally to the House of Fortune. Before Chaucer's eagle takes him to his "bon hostel," he visits the palace of Venus and comes out on the desert tract; otherwise the course of the episodes is the same. And even in regard to this point we may note that with Nicole the dreamer goes to examine the waste country after leaving the Court of Love. If a shift of episodes is necessary here it is also necessary in the case of the *Corbaccio*.⁷

The problem is somewhat complicated by the fact that a fifteenth-century Spanish allegory also introduces some of these details in a way that may seem to bear on Chaucer's use. The *Laberinto de Fortuna* of Juan de Mena might be taken as based in part on the section of the *Corbaccio* leading up to the "Laberinto d'Amore." In the Spanish the sequence of episodes is as follows: the poet is engaged in denouncing Fortune, when suddenly he is snatched up

⁶ Ed. H. A. Todd, Paris, 1883, *SATF*. See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's HF*, Chaucer Soc., 1907, p. 118 and *passim*.

⁷ In the *Palice of Honour* of Douglas the desert scene appears just before the procession of the Court of Love, and in this point the poem is closer to the *Panthere*. It is sometimes difficult to tell what Miss Brown considers the parallels: thus, the Shade of the *Corbaccio* serves both for the eagle and the man of gret auctoritee; and the laberinto for the Palace of Venus, the house of Fame, and the house of rumors.

by Bellona's chariot drawn by winged dragons, and deposited on a desert before the Palace of Fortune:

Assi me soltaron en medio de un plano
desque ouieron dado comigo una buelta,
como a les vezes el aguilá suelta
la presa bien nol finche la mano;
yo de tal caso mirable, ynumano,
falleme espantado en un grand desierto
do vi multitud, non numero cierto,
en son religioso e modo profano.

E toda la otra vezina planura
estaua cercada de nitido muro,
assi trasparente, clarifico, puro,
que marmol de Paro pareçe en alburá.*

At this juncture Providencia appears out of a dark cloud and becomes his guide. There is nothing in this account that cannot be adequately explained by general allegorical tradition, in particular by the *Anticlaudianus* (for the chariot and Providencia), and by the *Panthere d'Amours* (for the "nitido muro" and the House of Fortune). French tradition, to which I shall later return (note, however, the valley in the *Dis de l'Escharbote*), and Spanish allegory as well, in such a poem as the *Infierno de los enamorados* of Santillana, might have furnished the desert. And since it appears that even the title "Laberinto" may be quite independent of any reminiscence of Boccaccio,⁸ what we have here may really be an adaptation of the stock themes of allegory in much the same manner as Chaucer's. Possibly Juan de Mena knew Chaucer's poem; for curiously enough in 1520 Guerrero apparently saw the

* Foulché-Delbosc, *Cancionero Castellano del siglo XV*, Madrid, 1912, I, p. 154, st. 14-15.

⁸ See *Romanic Review*, III, p. 228, n. 20. The entire article is a study of the sources of Juan de Mena; and the only point in this poem which Professor Post thinks may have been influenced by the *Corbaccio* is the mist surrounding Providencia (*ibid.*, p. 239). The possibility is not mentioned in a later study by the same author, *Medieval Spanish Allegory*, Cambridge, 1915, pp. 234 ff. This work gives a useful review of the tradition of the forest and the desert in Spanish (pp. 75 ff.), and the use of the arid meadow in Andreas Capellanus, which is pointed out (p. 78), is worth noting. In the *Infierno* of Santillana the dreamer is seized by Fortune and carried to a lofty mountain forest (st. 1, Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, I, p. 544).

similarity, imitated the *Laberinto*, and transformed it into a *Castle of Fame*.¹⁰ No real argument is to be derived from this Spanish development; in any case it affords simply a striking coincidence.

There is still one difficulty to be dealt with, however, and in this the *Panthere* and the *Corbaccio* both prove deficient. Chaucer's "large feld" is not merely a desolate region; it is not a forest at all. It is actually a sandy desert:

When I out at the dores cam,
I faste aboute me beheld.
Then saw I but a large feld,
As fer as that I mighte see,
Withouten toun, or hous, or tree,
Or bush, or gras, or ered lond;
For al the feld nas but of sond
As smal as man may see yet lye
In the desert of Libye;
Ne I no maner creature,
That is formed by nature,
Ne saw, me for to rede or wisse.¹¹

The sense of desolation and fear is common in scenes of the kind, in the *Panthere* as well as in the *Corbaccio* and elsewhere.¹² Verbal echoes of either of the possible sources are lacking here;¹³ and

¹⁰ Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, Madrid, 1863, I, col. 165.

¹¹ *HF*, ll. 480 ff.

¹² *Panthere*, ll. 147 ff. and ll. 690 ff.

¹³ The only verbal reminiscence proposed by Miss Brown is in Chaucer's expression "domus Dedali or Laborintus" referring to the house of rumors. But the word "laborintus" is fairly common in Latin, Italian, and English in Chaucer's time: *Aen.* v, l. 588; Servius's commentary on *Aen.* vi, 14, in his *Grammatici*, Thilo and Hagen, II, p. 6, ll. 7 and 19; p. 7, l. 7 (for Chaucer's knowledge of Servius, see *Mod. Phil.*, xv, pp. 6 ff. It is easy to see how Chaucer came on the passage in the *Aeneid*: Book vi has to do with the mountain shrine where the Sibyl gives her prophetic utterances through the hundred mouths of the cavern; see *HF*, l. 439). See the Latin marginal index to *Conf. Amantis*, ed. Macaulay, Oxford, 1901, III, p. 89 (called in the story of Dedalus his "house.") See *Amor. Vis.*, XXII, l. 4; Petrarch's *Rime*, Carducci, 1905, 211, 114, and 224, l. 4. The expression may have been proverbial: see Trevisa, *Polychron.*, Rolls, I, 8. See also Boethius, *Cons. Phil.*, III, pr. xii, l. 77, translated by Chaucer "the house of Dedalus." It is to be noted that in the *HF* Chaucer uses the Latin form, whereas when borrowing from the Italian in this poem he usually keeps the Italian form (see Imelmann, *Eng. Stud.*, 45, p. 411). Also note that the story of Dedalus would naturally be in his mind for other reasons: see *HF*, ll. 405 ff.; 919-20; and the flight with the eagle.

Chaucer turns instead to the passage in the *Inferno*, where we find the same allusion to the desert of Libya as described in Lucan's *Pharsalia*.¹⁴

What reminded Chaucer of the passage in Dante? Let us examine Dante's account:

Dico che arrivammo ad una landa,
che dal suo letto ogni rimuove.
La dolorosa selva l'è ghirlanda
intorno, come il fosso tristo ad essa;
quivi fermammo i passi a randa a randa.
Lo spazzo era un' arena arida e spessa,
non d'altra foggia fatta che colei,
che fu da' piè di Caton già soppressa.¹⁵

In the *Panthere* the dreamer stands gazing at the valley, while its meaning is made clear to him; and Nicole says that his valley was enclosed by a hedge and also that within the enclosure was a "fosse":

Un po regardai devers destre;
Ilec une beste vi nestre
A l'entree d'une valee
Qui estoit d'orties fermee,
De ronces et de fors espines.¹⁶
Dedens le val ot une fosse
Ou la beste se reposoit.¹⁷
De grant paor lors tressailli,
Quant je me vi en la valee,
Et que la haie oy trespassee.¹⁸

Chaucer certainly thought of the lines of the *Inferno* for some reason, and here is at least a possible explanation. Immediately after the episode in Dante comes the flight with Geryon.

Chaucer's eagle can hardly be said to owe much to that monster; it borrows instead a few feathers from the bird of which Dante dreams while he lies sleeping in a valley of the *Purgatorio*. But there is another bird which Virgil describes as flying about the towns of Libya, a region some of the concerns of which occupy Chaucer for a long time in the early part of his poem. This is

¹⁴ *Phars.*, IX, 371 ff.

¹⁵ *Inf.*, XIV, ll. 8 ff.

¹⁶ Ll. 83 ff. Cf. Machaut, ed. Hoepffner, II, p. 169. Here in the *Dit dou Lyon* the poet meets the lion which becomes his faithful guide.

¹⁷ Ll. 448 ff.

¹⁸ Ll. 690 ff.

Rumor. It is interesting to note at this point that it is the eagle who serves so faithfully in guiding Chaucer into the machine of rumors. And if Chaucer had at his elbow one of the convenient manuals of mythology of the time, he may have added a few more plumes from this source. In planning a poem in which he intended to describe a deity comparatively new in mediæval allegory, it would be natural for him to open Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum*, where Fame is allowed considerable space. There he could find the long quotation from Ovid in which the location of Fame's lofty palace is described.¹⁹ There Boccaccio gives the Virgilian passage (which may have recalled the similar passage in *Boethius*) regarding the sliding scale of Fame's stature.²⁰ And there his eye would also have met the following commentary on Virgil's Rumor:

Monstrum autem, ingens asserit: et horrendum ratione corporis quod illi describit: uolens in hoc quod omnes eius plumae: cum auem dicat propter eius celerem motum habeant hominis effigiem. ad hoc ut per hoc intelligatur unumquemque de aliqua re loquentem pennam unam addere phamae et sic ex multis cum multae sint auium pennae: non ex paucis phama conficitur.²¹

This monster was rather better than Geryon for many reasons—especially those connected with both allegory and folklore.

There were others who visited the desert and found it an empty waste without a leaf of hope. Deschamps laments in one of his lays that he was once in the earthly paradise of love and that all the world was bright and happy, but that now everything is changed. He is now in the desert of love:

¹⁹ *De Gen. Deorum*, dated in the colophon 1487 (Hain's *Repertorium*, 1826, *3316), p. ix ro.

²⁰ P. viii vo. The passage in full in the *Aeneid* (iv, 173) begins, "Ex-templo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes." Boccaccio's quotation starts with the next line. Note particularly:

Parua metu primo mox sese attollit in auras
Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit, (176-7).

²¹ P. ix ro. The passage is a commentary on Virgil's lines:

Monstrum horrendum ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae
Tot vigiles oculi: subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris, (181-3).

Ne venez pas en ce desert
 Ou il n'a fueille, ne boys vert,
 Herbe, fleur, fruit, n'autre verdure;
 Tout chant d'oiseil y ert desert.²²

Chaucer may have used this *Lay du Desert d'Amours* for further suggestions; its introduction of other details such as the thorns shows its reliance on the general tradition.²³ Chartier's *Hospital d'Amours* (dated 1441) describes a thorny road called "Trop dure Responce" which leads to the bottom of a dismal valley. There the poet finds a great desert "Montjoye de Douleurs," a true vale of tears where every tree is full of "gens pendus" and where the river flows full of drowned lovers.²⁴

The desert, then, seems to be the realm of despair for the lover. Chaucer after visiting the very temple of Venus herself is left in this region; truly he is one of those whom Love "list not avaunce." But he has consolation in store, for he is presently to hear some very pretty gossip about his neighbors. Rumor, who flew about telling the story of Dido to the Libyans, bestowed on Chaucer a particular favor:

Luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
 Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
 Tam ficti pravique tenax quam veri,

and it took him where the air was filled with love-tidings apparently of some importance.

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²² Deschamps, *SATF*, II, p. 190, ll. 236 ff. Note ll. 240-1:

Fors que bruiere n'y appert,
 Noif, gresil et toute froidure.

These recall the scene in the *Inferno* (XIV, ll. 28-30), especially "Come di neve in alpe senza vento." Raynaud seems to date the poem 1376 (XI, p. 23). See also Deschamps, III, pp. 373-4.

²³ See the passage already pointed out by Sypherd (*op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 1) in the *Prison Amoureuse*. See also the valley before the city of the Otherworld in Watriquet's *Dis de l'Escharbote*, ll. 73 ff. (cf. l. 175). See the forest in the *Jardin de Plaisance* published in 1501 but containing some early material (fol. e ii v^o; fol. f iii; and h ii v^o). Note too the poem of love by Oton de Granson called "Le desert" mentioned in a manuscript (*Romania*, XIX, 431).

²⁴ See Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff., and pp. 87 ff.

TWO SPANISH BALLADS TRANSLATED BY SOUTHEY

Well known is the interest which, during the Romantic period, was awakened by things pertaining to Spain. The old epic themes, especially, supplied a number of European writers with material. Proof of the diffusion of this material is found in the fact that within a space of a quarter-century the legend relating to the last of the Gothic Kings was treated by Walter Scott, Savage Landor—an honorary colonel in the Spanish Army¹—and Southey in England,² and by Guiraud, Deschamps, and Victor Hugo in France. To his enthusiasm for things Spanish Southey united a profound knowledge of history and literature, and a clear vision of their problems.³

Of peculiar interest is the discovery of some copies of translations of two Spanish ballads (*Abenámar*, *Abenámar* and *No con azules tahalies*) by the author of *Roderick*. These are found in a volume (with pages not numbered) in the Section of Manuscripts (**D. Mass. 33) of the splendid library which Ticknor bequeathed to the Boston Public Library. These copies were sent to the famous Harvard professor by a lady, Rose Lawrence,⁴ to whom, according

¹ Forster, John, *Walter Savage Landor*, Boston, 1869, pp. 141-2.

² Cf. Southey's letter to Walter Scott on the subject, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, London, 1849-50, III, 314 f.

³ Cf. Pfandl, Ludwig, *Robert Southey und Spanien*, *Revue hispanique*, XXVIII, 1-315.

⁴ I have not been very successful in obtaining information about this lady. In a letter to Ticknor, dated from New Liverpool, August, 1851, which is preserved in the same volume with the ballad translations, she describes herself as being very much interested in Spanish literature, and as being a friend of Blanco White's, through whose intermediation she had been able to read the *Conde Lucanor*. She further states that she is sending him some books she has published. In the English Catalogue of Books, 1801-1836 (London, 1914, p. 334), several works appear under her name, and I have found a criticism of one of them (*The Last Autumn at a Favorite Residence*, Liverpool, 1829) in *The Christian Examiner* (VII, 59 f.), which reads: "A great deal of sweet and quiet poetry, like that contained in the above named volume, is published in England, and never read, or even heard of here. . . . Next . . . is placed a collection of shorter poems entitled *Fragments*. They are mostly imitations from the German, Spanish . . ." In the catalogue of the New York Public Library,

to a note written on the copies, Southey had given the translations at his home in Keswick in September, 1808.

A little later, on the 6th of November, the poet wrote to Walter Scott⁵ from his Keswick residence: "I have sometimes thought of publishing translations from the Spanish and Portuguese. . . . Very, very few of the Spanish ballads are good.⁶ . . . Nevertheless, I might be tempted. Some translations I have by me and many of my books are marked for others. . . ."

We were already acquainted with the translations of three ballads made by the English Romanticist (*La Mañana de San Juan, Paseábase el Rey moro, and Moro Alcaide, Moro Alcaide*), which were published in the notes to the *Chronicle of the Cid*,⁷ and still later in the *Fourth Series* of *Southey's Common Place Book*.⁸ Of the two ballads, whose translations I am now publishing, that of *Abenámár* is unquestionably, in every respect, far more interesting than the other, which belongs to an artistic epoch, is marked by an incipient subtlety of expression, and corresponds to an æsthetic category very much inferior to that of *Abenámár*. Nevertheless, Durán praises it in glowing terms.⁹

The ballad of *Abenámár*, which appears in the *Historia de los Bandos or Guerras de Granada* of Pérez de Hita, seems to have shared the enormous popularity enjoyed by the novel, which had such a great influence on the heroic cycle of the French novel of the seventeenth century. From Voiture's correspondence it can be gathered that it was very well known and liked by the coterie that met at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. The aulic poet of this refined circle quotes it in a letter to Mlle. Paulet,¹⁰ the *belle lionne*, held in such high esteem in the *chambre bleue*. Another bit of the same

a translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, published anonymously in Liverpool in 1799 (the same year in which Walter Scott's translation appeared), is attributed to a person of the same name.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, III, 177.

⁶ "Southey has pronounced them inferior to those of England, a judgment to which no patriotic Spaniard will assent, and which we are not quite sure would be confirmed by an intelligent German or Frenchman," says G. S. Hillard in the review of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (*Christian Examiner*, XLVIII, 132).

⁷ London, 1808, pp. 371 ff.

⁸ London, 1850-51, pp. 262 ff.

⁹ *Romancero, Bib. Aut. Esp.*, x, 89.

¹⁰ *Œuvres de Voiture*, Paris, 1855, I, 156.

ballad appears in a letter to Mlle. de Rambouillet,¹¹ and Voiture has recourse to it again when he decides to send to the same destination some curious Spanish verses in which he did not put his inspiration to any great test.¹² Chateaubriand was later to imitate the ballad in his *Aventures du dernier Abencérage*.¹³

La Historia de los Bandos was translated into English for the first time in 1801¹⁴ by Thomas Rodd, who also published this same year some ballad translations in a small octavo volume, *Ancient ballads from the Civil wars of Granada, and The Twelve Peers of France*. It is necessary, then, to advance by eleven years the date given by Professor Morley in his introduction to *Spanish Ballads*, when in speaking of the English translations, he says, "Rodd seems to have been the first to enter the field seriously (1812)," and some additions should be made to the list of translations which he gives.¹⁵

In 1803 Rodd's works were published in new editions, and later

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*, 413.

¹² *Loc. cit.*, II, 435. Cf. Lanson *Études sur les rapports de la littérature française et de la littérature espagnole au XVII^e siècle*, *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, IV, 180-94.

¹³ *Le roi don Juan, Un jour chevauchant*. . . .

¹⁴ In this connection, the error in the bibliography of Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge's edition of Pérez de Hita (Madrid, 1913, CXVIII), should be corrected. Notwithstanding the fact that there was no English translation, it did have an influence on Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 360). It will be recalled that in this heroic drama an Abenamar makes his appearance. This fabulous Abenamar, an invention of Pérez de Hita, must not be confused with his namesake, the hero of the ballad, a historical personage. In fact, the worthy Pérez is careful to remind us that there were two who bore that name; in the fifth chapter of his novel he says "y este Abenámara era nieto del otro Abenámara, de quien atrás avemos hablado."

¹⁵ The list lacks the above-mentioned book of Rodd's; Southey's translations, published in the notes to the *Chronicle of the Cid*; and some translations which Pinkerton published with *Select Scottish Ballads* as an appendix to his *Dissertation II*, I, xlvii ff., in the edition of 1783, in which, after talking of the *Historia de las Guerras civiles de Granada*, adopting the fantastic theory of an Arabic original, he gives some equally fantastic renderings of the ballads *La mañana de San Juan*, *Estando el Rey Don Fernando*, *Ocho a ocho, diez a diez*, and pieces together a new mosaic from the three others, *Por la plaza de San Lúcar*, *Sale la estrella de Venus*, and *No de tal braveza lleno*. Another translation of *Ocho a ocho, diez a diez* appears in Evans' collection of *Old Ballads* (1810), IV, 248 ff.

a new translation of *Abenámár*, due to James Y. Gibson, makes its appearance.¹⁶

Abenámár merits special attention for the Oriental characteristics which have been pointed out in it; the peculiarly Oriental comparison of the city of Granada with a bride, a conceit current in Arabic poetry; the payment of a sum of money to the architect when he is not working, and the order to kill him

Porque no labre otros tales
Al Rey del Andalucia,

a reading found in the version of the *Cancionero* of 1550 and in later editions, and which has its origin in a pre-Islamic Arabic legend.¹⁷

The historicity of the ballad has been clearly demonstrated by Menéndez Pidal in his work, *Los Orígenes del Romancero*,¹⁸ a convincing reply to certain somewhat rash statements of Foulché-Delbosc.¹⁹

We may identify the *Abenámár* of the ballads with the *Abenalmáo* of the Christian chronicles, known in the list of kings of Granada as *Yusuf-Ibn-Alahmar*, who, with the help of the Castilian king, John II, attained the throne of Granada in the first days of 1432, enjoying a very short reign. New points of connection between the historical facts and the poetic composition could be brought out if we should study some historical documents, in which may lie the explanation of the apparent inconsistency at the conclusion of the two versions, the one from the *Guerras de Granada* and the other from the *Cancioneros* and the *Silva*, but this is not the place to discuss the matter.

There can be no doubt about the beauty of this ballad. Mrs.

¹⁶ *The Cid Ballads and other Poems*, London, 1887, II, 43-45. I do not know the collection of *Moorish Ballads* by Epiphanius Wilson.

¹⁷ Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, Stuttgart, 1877, II, 114 ff.; René Basset, *Les Alixares de Grenade et le Château de Khaouarnaq*, *Revue Africaine*, I, 22-36; Menéndez Pidal, *L'Épopée castillane*, 174 f.; *El Romancero español*, 43 f.; Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología*, XII, 187, believes that the reading in the *Cancionero* is a *rifacimento*, which is not to be taken into account, but this Oriental motive, pointed out later by Basset, makes it very interesting.

¹⁸ *Revista de Libros*, II, Enero, 3-14.

¹⁹ *Essai sur les origines du Romancero*, Paris, 1912.

Lawrence says in a note written at the bottom of her copy: "Southey told me he thought it the finest ballad in the Spanish lyric; yet he would not consider the latter part allegorical as I did, or take the same view of its meaning. I believe he thought it merely literal." Such a statement is naturally incomprehensible unless Southey assumed that his interlocutor had adopted the view of Rodd, who believed erroneously that Abenámar personified the city of Granada.

ABENAMAR, ABENAMAR²⁰

O thou Moor of Moreria,
There were mighty signs and aspects
On the day when thou wert born;
Calm and lovely was the ocean
Bright and full the moon above.
Moor, the child of such an aspect
Never ought to answer falsely.
Then replied the Moorish Captive
(You shall hear the Moor's reply).

Nor will I untruly answer,
Tho' I died for saying truth.
I am son of Moorish sire,
My mother was a Christian slave.
In my childhood, in my boyhood,
Often would my mother bid me
Never know the liar's shame.
Ask thou therefore King! thy question
Truly I will answer thee.

Thank thee, thank thee, Abenamar,
For thy gentle answer thanks.
What are yonder lofty castles,
Those that shine so bright on high?
That, O King, is the Alhambra,
Yonder is the Mosque of God,
There you see the Alixares,
Works of skill and wonder they;
Ten times ten doubloons the builder
Daily for his hire received;
If an idle day he wasted
Ten times ten doubloons he paid.

²⁰ Except for changes in punctuation, the ballads are printed exactly as they appear in the Boston Manuscript, above Southey's signature. The reader is referred to the notes on Abenámar in Professor Morley's collection.

Farther is the Generalife,
Peerless are its garden groves.
Those are the vermilion towers,
Far and wide their fame is known.

Then spake up the King Don Juan
(You shall hear the Monarch's speech).
Wouldst thou marry me, Granada,
Gladly would I for thy dowry
Cordova and Seville give.

I am married, King Don Juan,
King! I am not yet a widow.
Well I love my Moorish husband,
Well my wedded Lord loves me.

R. S.

THE FUNERAL OF ALIATAR

Not now with gilded scymetar
From blue belt hanging low,
Not now with plumed turbans
That make a martial show.
With the pomp of war no more,
But marching four and four
The soldiers of brave Aliatar
Mournfully and slow
In the weeds of mourning go
Homeward from the war,
Sad and slow home they go
Not now with clarion's clamour,
Not now with beat of tambour:
Their tambours are slackened & silent for woe.

The Phoenix banner which but late
So proudly blazed in air,
That the gale seemed to shrink & fear
The flames enwoven there,
Now from the bloody plain
Returning home again
Before a mournful throng
Mournfully is borne,
And seems itself to mourn
Dragged on the ground along.
Sad and slow home they go
&c., &c., &c.

With a hundred Moors to help
His brother in the war,
On a proudly prancing steed

Forth went brave Aliatar.
 On a proudly prancing steed
 Did Aliatar proceed
 Before his merry men;
 Stretched out the following morn
 On a litter he was borne
 When he came home again.
 Sad and slow home they go
 &c., &c., &c.

The Master Knights of the green Cross²¹
 Were ready on the way.
 With sudden charge they rose on him
 From the tall canes where they lay.
 With a grievous wound
 Was he driven to the ground
 And death was there his lot;
 His men the fight maintained,
 Sore evil they sustained
 But conquered they were not:
 Sad and slow home they go
 &c., &c., &c.

Oh, what is Zayda's suffering then,
 The flower of Moorish girls,
 As fast as all his wounds shed blood
 Her eyes are shedding pearls.
 Speak thou, her doleful tears
 Oh Love! if thou hast seen
 That sight of misery!
 (Love bound his eyes more tight
 At that miserable sight
 Which he had not the heart to see)²²
 Sad and slow home they go
 &c., &c., &c.

Not only Zayda mourns, but all
 Partake that general sorrow

²¹ In the Spanish original we read *Caballeros del Maestre*. A note written in the margin of the copy says: "The green Cross was borne by the Knights of the order of Calatrava." However, as a matter of fact, the order of Calatrava has for its insignia a red cross *fleur-de-lisée*, and the green cross belongs to the order of Alcántara. The Spanish original clearly refers to the order of Calatrava, since the combat of the Master of Calatrava with Aliatar is the theme of a *romance viejo* (*De Granada parte el moro*). Cf. Milá, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana*, 318; Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología*, XII, 218 ff.

²² The three lines in parentheses are crossed out in the MS.

Who from Albazzen²³ to Alhambra drink
 Of the Genil and the Darro.²⁴
 The women weep and sigh
 For the flower of courtesy
 The Brave the Brave deplore.

The chiefs lament the chief,
 And the people groan in grief.
 Their Champion is no more.
 Sad and slow home they go
 Not now with clarion's clamour,
 Not now with beat of tambour.
 Their tambours are slackened and silent for woe.

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SHAKESPEARE, HEYWOOD, AND THE CLASSICS

In the early years of the seventeenth century, the learned and industrious Thomas Heywood, who used for his motto "Aut prodesse solent, aut delectare," made a philanthropic attempt to popularize Greek culture among the middle classes of London. For this purpose he chose to dramatize the classical mythology as told by Ovid, and the story of the fall of Troy as related by Homer and Lydgate. The result was a series of splendid plays, called respectively *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Age*, *The Brazen Age*, and *The Iron Age*, the last in two parts. These plays, Heywood tells us, were his "serious labour," written

to vnlocke the Casket long time shut,
 Of which none but the learned keepe the key.

He further announced his intention of publishing the five plays in "a handsome Volume"; and he adds: "I purpose (*Deo Assistente*), to illustrate the whole Worke with an Explanation of all the difficulties, and an Historicall Comment of euery hard name which may appeare obscure or intricate to such as are not frequent in poetry."

²³ *Albazzen*. A modification of the Spanish *Albaicín* (from the Arabic *albayyāzīn*, pl. of *albayyāz*, falconer); a quarter of Granada to the north of the city, separated from it on the south by the deep gorge of the Darro.

²⁴ *Genil and Darro*. Rivers which traverse Granada.

This purpose he was unable to fulfil; but the success of his plays on the stage surpassed his fondest expectations, and led to the interesting case of theatrical fraternizing which is the subject of this paper.

The Golden Age was entered in the Stationers' Registers on October 14, 1611, and was printed later in the same year. In an address To the Reader, Heywood informs us that the play was "the eldest brother of three Ages that haue aduentured the Stage, but the onely yet that hath beene iudged to the Presse." And he adds: "As this is receiued, so you shall find the rest: either fearefull further to proceede, or encouraged boldly to follow." They followed, whether boldly or not we cannot say, in 1613, with the titles *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age*. But *The Iron Age*, though probably written before the end of 1612, was not printed until 1632. In his address To the Reader, prefixed to this edition, Heywood says: "These Ages haue beene long since Writ, and suited with the Time then: I know not how they may bee receiued in this Age." And he adds proudly: "I desire thee to take notice, that these were the Playes often (and not with the least applause) Publickely Acted by two Companies vppon one Stage at once, and haue at sundry times thronged three seuerall Theatres, with numerous and mighty Auditories."

When Heywood wrote the Ages¹ he was an actor and full sharer in the Queen's Company, and was employed as its chief playwright. This excellent troupe, second in importance only to the King's Men, occupied the Red Bull Theatre, which seems to have been erected especially for it. *The Golden Age* is described on the title-page as having been "sundry times acted at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants"; and in all probability, though the statement is not made on the title-page, the same was true of the other Ages.

But how are we to understand Heywood's boast that the Ages had been "publickly acted by two companies upon one stage at once"? The desirability of having two companies combine their numbers and their resources to present the Ages will be apparent on the slightest examination of the plays. Indeed it is hard to see how a single troupe of actors could do justice to them. *The Silver*

¹ I ignore the possibility that in part he was merely reworking certain old plays bought by Henslowe in 1595 and 1596; the Ages in the form we now have them were certainly the product of Heywood in 1610-12.

Age records in its list of *dramatis personæ* no fewer than thirty-two characters of prime importance, besides the Furies, the Seven Planets, six Centaurs, two Captains, a guard, Theban Ladies, swains, and serving men; while *The Brazen Age* has thirty-eight persons of prime importance. Equally if not more exacting was the demand made for properties, machines, costumes, and theatrical paraphernalia of all kinds. Thus, that the plays ultimately should have been acted by two companies in full coöperation might be anticipated.

Yet no one, I believe, has identified the company that coöperated with the Queen's Men in this novel undertaking. I venture to suggest that the company was none other than Shakespeare's, the King's Men; and for two reasons.

From "The Booke of the Revells," we learn that on the Sunday after Twelfth Night, 1612, the Queen's Men and the King's Men joined in performing at Greenwich, before the Queen and the young Prince, Heywood's *Silver Age*, and on the Monday following, *The Rape of Lucrece*.² Now these two companies, the largest and most important in London, would hardly have been summoned to Greenwich (the King was not there) to coöperate in these performances unless they were already coöperating on the public stage. Further, if these two companies had joined for the purpose of presenting *The Silver Age*, it is to be presumed that they did the like for the other Ages, of which *The Silver Age* was an integral part. It would seem, moreover, that their experiment with the Ages, having met with such unusual success as to throng their theatres with "numerous and mighty auditories," led them to add to their repertoire Heywood's other classical play, *The Rape of Lucrece*.

That the performance of the Ages was successful is pretty clearly indicated by Heywood's complacent reference to them in his *Apology for Actors*, written in 1612:

"To see a Hector all besmèred in blood, trampling upon the bulkes of kinges; a Troilus returning from the field, in the sight of his father Priam, as if man and horse, even from the steed's rough fetlockes to the plume on the champion's helmet, had bene together

² See Peter Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. 211. Both plays were written by Heywood, and belonged to the Queen's Men. *The Rape of Lucrece* was published in 1608, as "Acted by her Maiesties Seruants at the Red Bull."

plunged into a purple ocean. . . . To see as I have seene, Hercules, in his owne shape, hunting the boare, knocking downe the bull, taming the hart, fighting with Hydra, murdering Geryon, slaughtering Diomed, wounding the Stymphalides, killing the Centaurs, pashing the lion, squeezing the dragon, dragging Cerberus in chaynes, and lastly, on his high pyramides writing *Nil ultra*, Oh, these were sights to make an Alexander!"

The second reason for supposing that the King's Men were associated with the Queen's Men in the presentation of these plays is the particular number of theatres mentioned. The Queen's Men had at their disposal only the Red Bull, but the King's Men had the unique luxury of two theatres, the Globe and the Blackfriars. Hence the Queen's and the King's Men together could make use of "three theatres"; and no other combination of troupes could do so. Thus the "three theatres" that were several times thronged with "numerous and mighty auditories" were probably the Red Bull, the Blackfriars, and the Globe.

If this conclusion is sound, and I see no way to escape it, we may suppose that Shakespeare was associated with the effort to popularize classical stories among theatre-goers, and himself took a part in the performance of the plays. In this connection it is interesting to recall Heywood's reference to Shakespeare in this very year, 1612. In an epistle to Nicholas Okes, added at the end of *An Apology for Actors*, he complains of William Jaggard for publishing two of his poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* under the name of Shakespeare: "But as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his [Shakespeare's] patronage under whom he [Jaggard] hath published them, so the author [Shakespeare] I know much offended with M. Jaggard." It is conceivable that Shakespeare was in some way personally responsible for this coöperation between the two chief London troupes in their worthy effort to "bring the golden fleece" of Greek culture into the homes of the London middle classes. At least, one would like to think so.

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CONCERNING BODLEIAN MS. ASHMOLE 48

MS. Ashmole 48, in the Bodleian Library, is well known because it contains the older version of the ballad of "Chevy Chase." The MS. is described in W. H. Black's *Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of the MSS. bequeathed to Oxford* (1845, pp. 83-90), and was edited in 1860 for the Roxburghe Club by Thomas Wright under the title of *Songs and Ballads, with Other Short Poems, chiefly of the Reign of Philip and Mary*. In his preface Wright showed clearly that a number of the ballads were written *circa* 1558. He also believed that Richard Sheale actually composed "Chevy Chase," to which his name is signed, that the MS. "was not a mere selection made at the caprice of an individual, but . . . the collector no doubt entered in it the pieces of poetry of this class which enjoyed the greatest popularity, or, in other words, which he was most frequently called upon by his audience to repeat"; for "this most curious collection of poems was made by Richard Sheale, and . . . the greater part of it is in his handwriting." "We must also bear in mind," urges Wright, "that these poems probably did not exist in printed copies, to which the author might have given his last correction, but that they were transcribed from manuscript copies, often surreptitious and incorrect, or taken down from oral recitation."

Curiously enough, Wright's preface (except for his remarks on Sheale's authorship of "Chevy Chase") has during all these years been accepted as the final word, and nobody has paid any attention to the actual contents of the MS. Professor Child, in his introduction to "Chevy Chase" (No. 162), remarked that the MS. might be dated "1550 or later"; and this was repeated by the late Professor Flügel (*Anglia* XXI, 320). The notes that follow point out various facts, not hitherto observed, about some of the ballads, throw light on the date of the MS., and show the vulnerability of Wright's conclusions. The ballads are numbered according to Wright's scheme.

2. A ballad with a refrain variously expressing the thought that God "Sent downe hys only sone to be ower new yers gyfft." Perhaps this is the "new yeres gyfte made by Leves Evanns" licensed by Owen Rogers in 1561-62 (Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, I, 177). In 1565-66 T. Purfoote licensed "a

newe yeres geyfte" and A. Lacy licensed "a new yeres geyfte made by Barnarde Garter" (Arber, I, 302, 303).

3. A ballad by Harry Spooner showing that young girls *should* be taught music. Spooner was obviously taking part in a ballad controversy. Thomas Brice's "Against filthy writing, and such like delighting" (H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broad-sides*, p. 36; Collier's *Old Ballads*, p. 49), registered in 1561-62, contains the lines,

We are not foes to musicke wee, a mis your man doth take vs
so frendes to thinges corrupt and vile, you all shall neuer make vs.

Brice was attacking two or more unnamed balladists who had exalted love over religion; and possibly Spooner was one of his antagonists. In 1562-63 Thomas Churchyard published a "boke" called "the commendation of musyke" (Arber, I, 205), and shortly afterwards Nicholas Whight's ballad, "A commendation of Musicke, And a confutation of them which dispraise it" (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 275), was licensed (Arber, I, 209). Richard Edwards's ballad "In commendation of Musick," published about 1562, is preserved in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises* (Collier's reprint, p. 89). Spooner's ballad, then, must have appeared about 1562.

5. An enormously long ballad satirizing Lent, and written in a curious nine-line stanza. This is probably the "ballett intituled lenton pennaunce" which W. Peking licensed in 1569-70 (Arber, I, 410); for at about the same time Elderton's anti-Lent ballad, No. 60, below, was licensed. No. 5, however, is clearly much older than this date would indicate. Perhaps it is one of the ballads about which in Edward VI's reign Bishop Gardner complained so bitterly; or it may have been written after the statute for a stricter observance of Lent was made in 1562-63 (5 Eliz. c. 5, § 12).

11. A ballad beginning,

After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll,
Sume what before the mornyng gray,
Me thought a voyce thus dyd me cawll,
"O lustye youthe, ayes, I say,"

which is also preserved in B. M. Add. MS. 15, 233 (ed. Halliwell-Phillipps, old Shakespeare Society, xxxvii, p. 89). J. P. Collier knew of the existence of the latter but not of the former ballad. In his *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, I, 185 ff., he purposed to identify the B. M. MS. ballad with the ballad of "awake out of your slumbre" (licensed by John Alde in 1568-69: Arber, I, 382), which he considered identical with the very first entry in the Registers, a ballad of "a Ryse and wake." To make this identification more probable (it is false: see No. 52, below), he printed from his much quoted "MS. of the reign of James I" a ballad called "Arise and wake" which he describes as "a more brief, and on some

accounts a more correct version," "in some respects modernized from the other" (*i. e.*, MS. 15, 233). Evidently Collier's version is a modern fabrication, written to fit not only the 1568-69 entry but also the first entry (1557) made in the Registers. A comparison of the two authentic MS. copies leaves little doubt of this. No. 11 may, or may not, be the ballad that was licensed by Alde in 1568-69: at any rate, it was surely printed and copied into the MS. before that date.

12. Begins "I lothe what I dyd love" and is "The aged louer renounceth loue," by Lord Vaux (?), in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. E. Arber, p. 173). It is signed "Fynys, quod lord Vaws." The *Miscellany* poem has fourteen, the MS. poem thirteen stanzas. The MS. omits the thirteenth stanza of the *Miscellany* and transposes stanzas eleven and twelve; it also has a number of slightly different readings, though, in the main, it follows the printed poem almost verbatim. Probably the copyist used not *Tottel's* but a broadside version of the poem. A broadside was issued by Richard Serle in 1563-64 (Arber, I, 235).

13. Begins "The lyf ys longe that lothesumlye dothe last" and is the "Comparison of lyfe and death," by an uncertain author, in *Tottel's* (p. 129). In the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 75), this poem is signed D[r?] S[ands?]. In *Nugae Antiquae* (ed. T. Park, 1804, II, 332), by the way, three stanzas of the poem are printed under the title of "Elegy wrote in the Tower by John Haryngton, confined with the Princess Elizabeth, 1554." The MS. copy follows *Tottel's* almost verbatim, though the uncertain spelling and occasional variations from the text give it a strange appearance. On the whole, the MS. copy is more reliable than that in the *Paradise*, from which in several important respects it varies.

14. Begins "My frynd, the lyf I lead at all," under which title it was registered by Thomas Colwell in 1565-66 (Arber, I, 306).

15. This ballad has the refrain,

That knowledge wytheowt gracce
Ys worcè thene ygnorance,

and is probably the "ballett of knowledge" licensed by John Sampson (*alias* Awdeley), in 1560-61 (Arber, I, 154). The ballad is printed almost verbatim (though its fifth stanza is omitted) in Edward Wollay's prose and verse broadside, "A new yeres Gyft, intituled, A playne Pathway to perfect rest . . . Imprinted at London, by William How, for Richard Iohnes . . . 1571" (Collmann's *Ballads*, pp. 277-279). This broadside has two introductory and one concluding stanzas not found in the MS. version, but these are not a real part of the ballad. The MS. version is clearly the older.

16. A ballad about wise King Solomon, beginning,

The reare and grettyst gyfte of all
 That ever God gave unto mane,
 Unto kyng Salomone dyd befawll.

This is very probably the ballad of "kyng Saloman" which Peter Walker registered on March 4, 1559-60 (Arber, I, 127). The first line is the tune of a ballad by "T. Richeson" (*i. e.*, Thomas Richardson, "sometime Student in Cambridge," as he is described in the *Handfull of Pleasant Delights*), preserved in B. M. MS. Cotton Vesp. A. xxv (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Sprache*, N. F., II, 362).

19. Begins "Who lovithe to lyve in peas, and merkithe every change," and is the "Descripcion of an vngodly worlde," by an uncertain author, in *Tottel's* (p. 205). *Tottel's* version has seventy-four, the MS. version eighty-two lines. Obviously the MS. copy was made from a broadside issue which omitted certain verses that were in *Tottel's*, combined others, inserted new lines, and concluded with a prayer for "Philepe our kyng and Mary our quyne." W. Peking licensed a ballad of "Who loveth to lyve in peace and marketh every chanche &c" on September 4, 1564 (Arber, I, 263); but from the prayer at the end of the MS. copy, one judges that it must have been printed before November, 1558.

22. A ballad, signed T. S. P., warning men to "Give no sure credence to every hear-saye." Ten stanzas of this ballad, with no indication of their source, are printed in Sir John Hawkins's *General History of Music* (1776), III, 33-35; and the same ten stanzas are in R. H. Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, IV, 41-42, under the title of "Caveat against Idle Rumours, written about the year 1550." Five of the fourteen stanzas in the MS. are printed in E. F. Rimbault's *Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, 1851, pp. 44 ff., with this note: "From an old music-book, temp. Henry VIII, which the Editor purchased at [a then recent sale]. The music was composed by Robert Pend, a gentleman of Henry the Eighth's royal chapel. He may also have been the author of the words." I have not seen the work to which Rimbault referred, but when it is located it may throw light on the date of this ballad and on the mysterious initials T. S. P.

23. Begins "Thoughe weddyng go be destenye," and is a lover's extravagant praise of his lady. Possibly it is the ballad "in the prayse of a serten Ladye" licensed by Thomas Hackett in 1561-62 (Arber, I, 180), and it may have been connected, in one way or another, with the ballad of "The proverbe ys tru yat weddyng ys Destyne," licensed by Redle and Lant in 1558-59 (Arber, I, 96). These titles would perhaps furnish a more appropriate note on *All's Well That Ends Well*, I, iii, 63 ff., than any yet written: cf. also the song of

The Proverb reporteth, no man can deny,
 That wedding and hanging is destiny,

which is given at length in the play of *Tom Tyler and His Wife*, sign. A 2 b (Malone Society reprint); and the proverb, "Hanging and marrying goe by destinie," in R. Brathwaite's *Strappado for the Devil*, 1615 (ed. Ebsworth, p. 112). The proverb is also quoted in Heywood's *Proverbs*; Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, II, i, 8; Fletcher's *Wife for a Month*, II, i, 2-3; Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig* (1630), sign. H 4.

25. Begins "Thys myserable world in dede/ This day for to beholde," and contains such lines as

For vice dothe more and mor increce,
And vertu dothe decaye;
Trouthe ys clene thruste owt off the preace,
And falsshede bears the swaye.
Fewe lyppes or non ar voyde of lyes,
Most tonges be full off gyle. . . .

It is signed "Amen, quoth Harry Sponare," and is almost beyond doubt the ballad of "A lamentation of the mesyrye of mankynde" licensed by A. Lacy along with two other ballads of Spooner's in 1561-62 (Arber, I, 179). Cf. No. 35, below. Lacy was Spooner's favorite printer.

30. A song on the bearing of the Cross of Christ, signed "Finis, Sponer." It begins:

Awak, all fethfull harttes, awake,
And with meeke myndes your selvis prepare
The crosse of Criste on youe to take,
Whiche all trewe cristiance ought to bare. . .

and was registered as "a frutfull songe of bearynge of Christes Crosse" by A. Lacy in 1568-69 (Arber, I, 387). It is improbable, however, that this was the first issue of the ballad.

31. Begins "When ragyng dethe doth drawe his darte," and is signed "Finis, Sponer." This is a moralization of "When ragyng loue with extreme payne/ Most cruelly distrains my hart," a poem by Surrey in *Tottel's* (p. 14). Surrey's poem had been imitated as early as 1551 by the ballad-monger who wrote "A newe Balade made by Nicholas Balthorp, which suffered in Calys the xv daie of marche M.D.L." (Collier's *Old Ballads*, p. 14), a "good-night" beginning,

When raging death with extreme paine
Most cruelly assaultes my herte;

but this good-night was re-issued in 1557 (Arber, I, 76), and Surrey's poem appeared as a broadside ballad also in that year, as well as in 1560-61 and 1561-62 (*ibid.*, pp. 75, 154, 177). Spooner's moralization was probably written after one of these issues had appeared.

32. A ballad, signed "Finis, quoth Sponer," with the refrains "That the[y] his name myght lawde and prayce" (used three times), "Godes name for his highe mercy prays," and the like.

This is without doubt the ballad called "a songe Exortinge to the laude of God" which William Serys licensed in 1558-59 (Arber, I, 96).

33. A ballad, signed "Amen, quoth Henry Sponar," beginning

Awak, rych men, for shame, and here
The powars owtery and playnte,
Let mercy ons in youe apear,
So eays them of ther streante.

It is the ballad of "have pytie on the poore" which Owen Rogers licensed in 1558-59 (Arber, I, 96).

34. "A grace befor dynner," signed "Amen," is by Spooner. Cf. No. 35.

35. "A grace aftare dynnare," signed "Amen, quoth Sponare." Nos. 34 and 35 were registered in 1561-62 (Arber, I, 179):

Recevyd of Alexandre laeye for his lycense for pryntinge of *serten*
graces to be sayde before Denner and after Denner/ with a balled
intituled *A lamentation of the mesyrye of mankynde . . . viij^d*

The second ballad was No. 25, above. It is probable that this was the very first issue of Nos. 25, 34, 35. The ms. undoubtedly followed printed copies. The entry in the Registers shows that the two "Graces" were printed on one broadside: the first "Grace," or first part, was signed simply "Amen," the second "Grace" was signed "Amen, quoth Spooner," just as in the ms.

36. A ballad by John Wallis of the courtship and wedding of "Jocky and Jenny." This is the liveliest and the best ballad—ignoring "Chevy Chase"—in the ms. It begins "Our Jockye sale have our Jenny," and this line is also used as a partial refrain. When the ballad was first printed it is impossible to tell, but it was registered for publication as "A Ballad of Jockey and Jenny" by John Trundle on December 9, 1615 (Arber, III, 579).

40. A coarse ballad signed "Fynys, quod Johan Walles," the first three lines of which, it seems worth while to note, are imitated by (or imitate) No. 28, a ballad by Spooner.

41. A ballad by John Wallis in which women are extravagantly praised (something quite rare in broadsides!). Perhaps this is the ballad of "the prayse of Women" licensed by Thomas Colwell in 1563-64 (Arber, I, 235).

47. Eight verses, signed "Finis, the autor unsertayn," beginning,

From a dissimylonge frende unjste,
From a sarvante dowtfull to truste. . . .

Possibly this formed part of the ballad "agaynste Dyssembelers" which Colwell licensed in 1567-68 (Arber, I, 357).

49. This ballad has the refrain "But I wyll say nothings," under which title it was registered by Colwell in 1564-65 (Arber, I, 270).

50. This ballad is about a Dearth, possibly that referred to in

Stowe's *Annals*, *sub anno* 1564. For a ballad on this dearth, registered in 1564, see Arber, I, 262.

52. Begins,

Aryse and wak, for Cristis sake,
Aryse, I say agayn;
Awake, all ye that synfull be,
Awak, for fear of payn,

and was registered by Peking in 1557 (Arber, I, 74) as a ballad of "a Ryse and wake." As this was the very first entry made in the Stationers' Registers, the identification is extremely interesting. Cf. No. 11, above.

58. Contains only these verses:

My fancie did I fix
In faithfull forme and frame,
In hope there should no bloustringe blast
Have power to move the same;
And as the godes do knowe and world can witnesse bere,
I never served other saynt nor idole other where.

This is the first two stanzas, verbatim, of "An excellent Song of an outcast Louer, to, All in a Garden green," which is preserved in *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*. The ballad was apparently written after 1565, when "All in a Garden Green" was printed (Arber, I, 295); but it may have appeared before this, since the poulter's measure of the "Excellent Song" could hardly have been written with the peculiar measure of "The Garden Green" in mind. The tune may be an error made by the publisher.

59. A ballad "To the tune of Lusty gallant," beginning

I rede howe that the marbell stone
Thorougholed ys by rany dropps.

A ballad preserved in B. M. ms. Cotton. Vesp. A. xxv (ed. Boedeker, *loc. cit.*, II, 88) begins,

So longe may a droppe fall,
bat it may perse a stone.

Both ballads were suggested by the poem "That length of time consumeth all thinges" in the second edition (1557) of *Tottel's* (p. 228), which begins

What harder is then stone, what more then water soft?
Yet with soft water drops, hard stones be persed softe.

60. "A newe ballad entytuled, Lenton stuff, for a lyttell munny ye maye have inowghe; To the tune of the Crampe . . . Finis, quoth the W. Elderton." W. Peking licensed a ballad called "lenton stuffe" in 1569-70 (Arber, I, 407), no doubt a re-issue of this ballad. The form in which the title is given suggests that a printed broadside was followed. Of this ballad Wright remarked (p. ix): "This must have been one of his [Elderton's] earliest productions.

It is known only from its existence in this manuscript. Elderton's earliest printed ballads appeared about the year 1562." As a matter of fact, Elderton's earliest known ballad, "The Panges of loue," was printed by Richard Lant in March, 1559-60. No. 60 probably first appeared about 1562-63. Cf. No. 5, above.

63. A ballad on Troilus and Cressida "To the tune of Fayne woold I fynd sum pretty thyng to geeve unto my lady." This was registered by T. Purfoote in 1565-66 (Arber, I, 300). The ballad from which the tune is named is preserved in the *Handfull*; a moralization of the *Handfull* ballad, "a fayne wolde I have a godly thyng to shewe vnto my ladye," was licensed in 1566-67 (Arber, I, 340).

64. A ballad beginning "Wysdom woold I wyshe to have," under which title it was licensed by John Cherlewood in 1563 and a day or two later relicensed by Thomas Colwell (Arber, I, 231, 232). The ballad tells the story of the judgment of King Solomon.

66. A ballad beginning

Wemen to prayse who takes in hand,
A number must displayse.

It was registered in September, or October, 1564 (Arber, I, 265), in the following fashion:

Receaved of Wylliam Pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge
of ij ballettes the one intituled *Women to please Who taketh in
hande/ the other anombre muste Dyspleasse with a Dyaloge vpon
Christes byrth*.....viij^a

In 1612 this ballad was included almost verbatim (but with an additional second stanza) in Richard Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses* (Percy Society ed., p. 52)—an interesting example of how ballad-mongers utilized the works of their predecessors.

67. This is apparently a sequel to No. 66, and must have followed closely upon it. No. 67 is signed "Finis, Wylliam Case." Perhaps Case was the writer from whom Johnson appropriated No. 66.

74. This ballad, of six twelve-line stanzas, is evidently the original of "Adewe, Sweete Harte," a ballad of three twelve-line stanzas "imprinted at London . . . by Wylliam Gryffith . . . 1569" and reprinted in Lilly's *Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 222-223. These extracts will show the resemblance:

(No. 74)

Adew, my pretty pussy,
Yow pynche me very nere;
Yowre sudden parture thus
Hath chawnged much my chere . . .
Prynce Arthur cums agayne, sir,
So tellethe me myne host;
Dick Swashe keepes Salesbury
plane, syr,
And schowrethe styll the cost.

(Lilly, p. 222)

Adewe, sweete harte, adewe!
Syth we must parte!
To lose the loue of you
It greues my harte . . .
Syr Launcelotte comes againe, syr,
So men do saye;
Tom Tosse wyll sayle to Spayne,
sir,
By Tyborne awaye.

75. A ballad beginning "At bewtyse bar, where I dyd stand." This is George Gascoigne's "The arraignment of a Louer": it contains only five stanzas, the second and the last three of the poem as published in the *Posies*, 1576, being omitted. It was reprinted as a broadside ballad on September 3, 1580 (Arber, II, 376). Hazlitt, in his edition of the *Complete Poems* (II, 335), said that the commendatory poems prefixed to Hollyband's *French Littelton*, 1566, "may be assumed to be the earliest published verses of Gascoigne"; but the verses preserved in this ms. had not only appeared before 1566 but also show a probability that Gascoigne's earliest work was published as broadside ballads!

76. A ballad beginning "The prymerose in the greene forest," under which title it was registered by Thomas Colwell in 1563-64 (Arber, I, 237). Into it four stanzas of another ballad have been inserted.¹ One of these is:

Have over the water to Floryda,
Farewell, gay Lundo[n], now[e];
Throw long deles by land and sese,
I am brawght, I cannot tell howe,
To Plymwoorthe towne, in a thredbare gowne,
And mony never [a] dele.
With hy! wunnot a wallet do well?

Ebsworth (*Roxburghe Ballads*, VII, 572) quotes this stanza—in modernized spelling and with the refrain, "Hey trixi trim, go trixi trim, and will not a wallet do well?"—from Simpson's *School of Shakspeare* (I, 151), with the remark: "This fragment of a ballad relating to the disasters of Stukely in Florida is all that has been preserved." Simpson seems to have got the stanza from Westcote's *View of Devonshire*, a work not accessible to me. Presumably Westcote did not get his verses from the Ashmolean ms. The four stanzas in the ms. undoubtedly formed part of "a ballett made by one beyinge greatly impoverysshed by the viage prepared to Terra Floryday &c," which A. Lacy licensed in 1564-65 (Arber, I, 263). The ballad was evidently well known by 1567, when *Horestes* was printed, for in this interlude (Brandl's *Quellen*, p. 504) a song is sung "to ye tune of 'haue ouer ye water to floride' or 'selengers round'"; it was also mentioned in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 67), and is sung in Robert Armin's *Two Maids of More-clacke*, 1609 (sign. C 3 b. Tudor Facsimile Texts).

The telescoping of the two ballads has played havoc with the refrain. Most of the stanzas end merely with the phrase "With hy!" but the last stanza has "With hy! tryksy trym, go tryksy,

¹ They are reprinted in C. H. Firth's *American Garland*, Oxford, 1915, pp. 7-8, under the title of "Have Over the Water to Florida." Cf. also his notes, pp. 85-86.

wunnot a wallet do well?" Fortunately I have noticed that the first stanza of the "Primrose" ballad is quoted in Thomas Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, Part II, circa 1598 (*Works*, ed. Mann, p. 176):

The Primrose in the greene Forrest,
the Violets they be gay:
The double Dazies and the rest,
that trimly decks the way,
Doth moue the spirits with brane delights,
whose beauties Darlings be:
With hey tricksie, trim goe tricksie,
vnder the greenewood tree.

From Deloney's quotation, it is evident that the "hey tricksie" refrain belonged originally to the "Primrose" ballad and that the latter is the original of a ballad included in the Scottish *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, 1567 (ed. A. F. Mitchell, 1897, Scot. Text Soc., pp. 204 ff.), which begins:

The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde,
He hes vs blindit lang,
For quhair the blind the blind dois gyde,
Na wounder baith ga wrang;
Lyke Prince and King, he led the Regne,
Of all Iniquitie:
Hay trix, tryme go trix, vnder the grene wod tre.

Mitchell was greatly puzzled by the refrain, which he decided must be connected with the Robin Hood ballads.

From these notes it appears that Ashmole ms. 48 was copied during 1557-65. The fact that the last two ballads (No. 76) in the collection were registered in 1563-65 makes it seem probable that Nos. 5, 30, 47, and 60, though entered in the Registers for the first time after 1565, had been printed and copied into the ms. before that date. Nos. 12, 13, 15, 19, 22, 58, 66, 75 and parts of 76 are, as I have shown, preserved also in printed copies, with which they agree so closely as to indicate that they were transcribed from print and not, as all previous writers have said, from the recitation of some singer or from manuscript; Nos. 34, 35, and 60 show unmistakable signs of having been copied from print; No. 16 was certainly printed, for otherwise its first line could not have been used as the tune of Thomas Richardson's ballad; and No. 11 is preserved in two manuscript copies with variations due, it seems, to the copyists of the printed text. The fact that other ballads in this collection were entered in the Registers before 1565 strengthens the presumption that from printed broadsides the ms. was compiled. To be sure, some of John Wallis's ballads, especially in their

remarkable dependence on alliteration, seem to be much older than the other pieces in the ms., though Wallis may have purposely affected an antiquated style. Apparently only one (No. 41) of his ballads was printed after 1557 (when the Stationers' Registers begin), but perhaps some of them, as well as other ballads in the ms. of which I have here taken no notice, were included in the 796 ballads that in 1560 were stored—without having been entered in the Registers—in a cupboard in Stationers' Hall.

It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that "Chevy Chase" (No. 8) was printed in broadside form under the name of Richard Sheale, and that the "rude style" of which so much has been made² was due to Sheale's misunderstanding of the lines, to the ignorance of the ballad-monger who prepared them for the press, and to the copyist who, as was his wont, in the ms. still further corrupted the printed text. It must have been from the lost broadside that "Chevy Chase" finally reached the ear of Sir Philip Sidney, just as it was from a lost broadside (the existence of which has before this time not even been suspected) that No. 66, seventy years after its original publication, made its way into Johnson's *Crown Garland*.

Wright's conjecture that this ms. was Sheale's own work, his book of airs, appears to have no foundation in fact and is not at all probable. Indeed the great care taken by the copyists to sign the ballads with the names of their authors (No. 47 is signed "the author uncertain") would alone go far towards disproving it, and proving that printed copies were followed. A minstrel of Sheale's type could not possibly have sung more than two or three of the pieces contained in the ms. Imagine him singing poems by Lord Surrey and George Gascoigne! A few doggerel verses of Sheale's own composition are preserved in the ms., and show that he was dependent for money, food, and lodging on the good will of his hearers, who were usually, one judges, like his patron Lord Strange, persons of rank; and it is hardly credible that Sheale hoped to gain this reward by singing these ballads, which every ballad-singer in England, with the modest hope of selling his broadsides for a penny each, was singing free. Minstrels no doubt sang "Chevy Chase" until it was preëmpted by ballad-singers; but they cannot have sung,

² For Professor Child's opinion about the "rude style" see his *Ballads*, III, 305.

and copied into a book, "Wisdom Would I Wish to Have," "I Will Say Nothing," or "Women to Praise" without degenerating into ordinary ballad-singers—and without giving up the "mutton and veal" so eagerly desired by and so "good for Richard Sheale." Sheale's other poems—with the exception of an epitaph on the Countess of Derby, which bears every sign of having been composed for publication by the ballad-press—are mere letters in rime, which very likely made their way into the MS. from his autograph. They may actually have been sent to one of the compilers of the MS.

MS. Ashmole 48 is not at all the remarkable compilation that Wright called it. To say nothing of the astonishing Percy Folio (astonishing because of its mixture of decent and ribald, pious and maudlin, ultra-broadside and fine traditional ballads), it is perhaps not so remarkable as the British Museum MS. Cotton Vesp. A. xxv, to which references have been made above, and certainly cannot compare with the *Shirburn Ballads*, a collection of vulgar and pious, jocular and highly sensational ballads transcribed from printed broadsides into a manuscript of the reign of James I, recently edited by Mr. Andrew Clark.³ Instead, it is merely a commonplace book of a type which Englishmen from the fourteenth century through the nineteenth have been fond of keeping,—a type ranging from the Vernon and Auchinleck MSS. to the ballad collections of Peter Buchan and Sir Walter Scott.

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NHG. *BESCHUPPEN*, *BESCHUMMELN*

In *PBBeitr.* xxxviii, 334 ff., E. Gutmacher attempts to establish a semantic connection between NHG. *beschuppen* and *beschummeln*, words which have never been satisfactorily explained. His article was written in reply to a previous attempt at explanation of the words by H. Schroeder in the *Ger. Rom. Monatsschrift*, III, 174 f. Following the suggestion of Franck, *Anz. f. d. Alt.* XI, 17,

³ Perhaps three-fourths of the *Shirburn Ballads* were entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, though Clark points out none of the entries. Some of the ballads are as old as 1564; others were copied down from sheets first published about 1616, the date at which (says Clark) the MS. was completed. Clark thinks that the entire MS. was copied from ballads issued in the years 1585-1616.

both articles try to establish a common semantic development of the meaning 'deceive, cheat' in the two words.

Schroeder develops the meaning of *beschummeln* from that of *beschuppen*, i. e., "dem Fisch die Schuppen abstreifen, ihn nackt, kahl machen." One of the meanings of *schummel* is 'cortex' and that of the verb, "baumrinden," i. e., take the bark off a tree, so he thinks: "*Beschummeln* ist eigentlich dem Baum den *Schummel* (d. i. Rinde) abziehen, ihn nackt machen, enthäuten." Gutmacher objects to this explanation as too narrow, because it is based on one meaning of the word *schummel*. His own explanation, however, exposes him to the same criticism for it is based on the meaning of the word *schummel* in one dialect, the EFris., and likewise disregards meanings of the words in other dialects. The meaning for *schummel* in EFris. 'Schmutz, Schmutzdecke,' leads him to connect it with EFris. *schummer* 'halb dunkel, dämmerig.'¹ He finds a Holstein word *schuppstunne* 'Dämmerung' which he calls a parallel form to EFris. *schummelstunde* with the same meaning, thus establishing, as he thinks, a semantic connection between the two stems. The meaning 'deceive,' then, according to his explanation, arose as follows: "mit Schuppen bedecken (as opposed to Schroeder's explanation), verdunkeln, hinters Licht führen, betrügen." He then gives (p. 336 f.) a number of examples of words, which, he believes, show the same semantic development. Curiously enough, none of these examples shows the development: 'cover, darken; deceive,' but rather the sequence: 'bedaub, besmear: deceive,' a perfectly obvious and very common semantic development. If his semantic sequence were correct, one would expect to find in his illustrative material words, not only with the meanings 'beschmutzen, beschmieren,' but also such as 'dunkel machen, dämmern, trübe machen, bedecken' etc., or some meaning that would come from the fundamental idea as Gutmacher sees it, namely, 'cover; darken.' But only one of his examples, viz. LG. *beglügen* 'betrügen,' *glum* 'trübe, vom Wasser,' *glummen* 'trüb machen' shows this fundamental idea at all and this can be accounted for in other ways.²

¹ EFris. *schummer* 'Dämmerung' is probably a secondary formation to NHG. *schimmer* 'Glanz,' OS. *skimo*, MHG. *scheme* 'Schatten,' OE. *scimian* 'dunkel sein, geblendet werden,' *scimian* 'scheinen.' Cf. Falk Torp, *Etym.* Wb. II, 996.

² It is very unlikely that *beglügen* 'deceive' is related to *glummen* 'trübe machen.' Cf. MLG. *glümen* 'hinterlistig anfallen,' *glumende* 'tückisch.' Cf. further, Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* p. 175.

To my knowledge, the idea 'make dark, darken' does not develop the meaning 'deceive' except where it is connected with the idea 'to blind,' or with the idea 'to hide, conceal.'³

It is evident, then, that Gutmacher has not proved his point. Not only does his semantic connection of *beschummeln* with *beschuppen* fail to satisfy, but the particular meanings he gives of *schummeln* as found in EFris. could not develop the meaning 'deceive' in the words as found in the other Germanic dialects.

I shall try to show, that, altho both words may be referred to the same Ger. base **sku-* having the primary meaning 'move, move quickly' (cf. Fick III, 466; Falk Torp. *Etym. Wb.* II, 1047), yet each has an entirely distinct semantic development.

In the case of *schuppen* the following variant stem endings are found in the different Germanic dialects: *b. p. bb. pp. pf.* Of these stems we must differentiate two distinct groups of words, the Low German and the High German forms. The former are represented by the normal forms *schubben*, *schuppen*, the latter by *schupfen*, *schuppen*, the form with *pp* being common to both. Both groups develop the meaning 'deceive,' but in entirely different ways. It is not unlikely that the words with one stem ending have influenced those of another, especially the double forms, and have brought about a confusion of both form and meaning. The influence of German *schaben* is also possible in the LG. forms. Cf. MLG. *schöve*, *schubbe*, *schobbe* all meaning 'Schuppe.' This may also account for the divergent explanations of the word which have been given.⁴

Let us examine the meanings of the words as found in the various dialects. The group represented mainly in the Low Ger-

³ The writer has made a study of the semantic development of the idea 'deceive' in the different Germanic dialects and hopes to publish soon the results of this investigation.

⁴ The explanations heretofore given for the words take into account only one semantic development of the idea 'deceive' in each word. Consequently, there has been a divergence of opinion as to what this development was. Weigand develops the meaning from the HG. form *beschupfen* and disregards an independent development of LG. *beschubben beschuppen*. Fick and Kluge refer *beschuppen* to a Ger. base **skuf-*, **skup-*, **skub-* 'spotten.' The meaning 'deceive' would then develop from an original 'springen, hüpfen, scherzen.' Paul, *DWb.*, p. 76, notes the meaning 'deceive,' but does not know whether to refer its development to LG. or the HG. form of the word.

man dialects develops the idea 'deceive' from the meanings 'rub off, skin, flay, rob: cheat.' Compare the meanings of the following:

MLG. *schubbe*, *schobbe* 'schuppe,' *schoven* 'beschuppen, betrügen,' *schubben* 'die Schuppen entfernen,' EFr. *beschubben*, *beschuppen* 'bereiben, bekratzen, abkratzen; betrügen, schädigen,' LG. *schubben* 'reiben, kratzen, schaben,' *schuppen* 'stossen, der Schuppen berauben, einen ausplündern, betrügen,' *beschuppen* 'anführen, überlisten, betrügen.'

The High German forms from the same stem are intensives of NHG. *schieben* and the development of deceive in them, I take to be: 'move quickly, suddenly, give a sudden push, push over; get the better of: deceive,' from which would also develop the meanings 'tease, plague,' etc., regarded by Kluge as giving the meaning 'deceive.' Cf. also Weigand *Wb.* I, 214 f. They are: OHG. *scupfa* 'Schaubelbrett,' MHG. *schupf* 'Schwung, schaukelnde Bewegung,' NHG. *schupf*, *schupp* 'schneller, heftiger Stoss,' *schupfen*, *schuppen* 'schnell und heftig stossen; einen von etw. fortstossen; hüpfen, tanzen; einen durch List und Kabale aus seiner Stellung entfernen; einen zum besten haben, übertölpeln, necken; etw. heimlich wegnehmen,' Bav. *schupfen* 'zum besten haben, übertölpeln.'

In middle Germany, especially, there was confusion in both form and meaning between the two groups. Even in the Low German dialects some meanings of *schuppen* point to this development; *schubben*, however, is, as far as observed, never confused with *schupfen*. The meaning 'deceive' in *schuppen* and its variants has, therefore, at least two distinct semantic developments.

Many examples of words showing a similar semantic development could be cited. I give only a few. For group one: MLG. *schöve* 'Fischschuppe,' Nicel. *skōfir* 'was abgeschabt wird,' NHG. *schaben* 'kratzen, polieren; jem. etw. schabend, stossend entfernen, einer Sache berauben,' Westph. *schabben* 'etw. durch Betrug erlangen,' NE. *shave* 'remove by slicing; strip, fleece, cheat, swindle.' MLG. *villen* 'schinden, das Fell abziehen,' Du. *villen* 'aussaugen, das Fell über die Ohren ziehen,' EFr. *fillen* 'häuten, schinden; kürzen, betrügen.' Literal and figurative uses of words like English *fleece*, *skin*, *strip*, *pluck* and German *schinden*, *bescheren*, *enthäuten* etc. illustrate best how common this development is.

For group two: 'get the better of: deceive' we may note the following: MHG. *snal* 'rasche Bewegung,' *übersnellen* 'überstürzen, rücklings niederwerfen; an Schnelligkeit übertreffen; über-

vorteilen, prellen,' NHG. *schnellen* 'übevorteilen,' *beschnellen* 'betrügen,' Bav. *schnellen* 'schnallen, knallen; betrügen.'

NE. dial. *best* 'excel; vanquish or overcome, take advantage of, overreach; cheat.' Here belong also a large number of NHG. words compounded with the prefix *über-* with the meaning 'get the better of,' such as *überlisten*, *übertölpeln*, *übevorteilen*, or NE. *over-* in *overreach*, *oversee*, *overwit*, etc.

In the case of *beschummeln* just as in that of *beschuppen* there is indicated a double development of the idea 'deceive' from the primary base. This base 'move quickly' develops on the one hand the meanings: 'move back and forth, quickly, deceptively, be shiftily, wily; deceive,' and on the other: 'move slowly, stelhily, do slowly, awkwardly, botch; idle, trifle; be trifling, deceptiv: deceive.' Cf. NE. *fool away* and *befool*. From the meaning 'move slowly' also develop: 'go or do in a slovenly manner; be dirty,' and this may giv the meanings 'dirt, filth' found in EFris. *schummel* and related words, from which Gutmacher attempts to derive his meaning 'deceive.'⁵ In one dialect, therefore, *beschummeln* may develop the meaning 'deceive' from the underlying idea of a quick, deceptiv movement, whereas in another the fundamental thought 'be lazy, trifling: deceptiv' may be predominant.

Schummeln and variant forms appear in the various dialects as follows: LG. *schummeln* 'unordentlich, schlottrig einhergehen, beim Gehen den Körper viel und unnötig bewegen,' EFris. *schummeln* 'waschen, scheuern, reinigen; hin und her schicken, herumschieben, heimlich betreiben; betrügerisch vorgehen,' *sich schummeln* 'sich fertig machen, beeilen; etw. heimlich fortschaffen,' *beschummeln* 'reinigen, betrügen, hinters Licht führen,' NHG. *schummeln* 'hin und her laufen, stöbern suchen, geschäftig laufen, durch Geschwindigkeit od. List betrügen,' *beschummeln* 'in niedriger Weise betrügen, Sax., Bav. *schummeln beschummeln* 'hin und her laufen; betrügen.'

The following words show the same semantic development. Since the meaning 'move quickly' often develops in the same stem the meaning 'move slowly,' (cf. EFris. *fusken* below) it is difficult to keep the two semantic groups distinct and to tell in every case

⁵ It is also possible that the idea 'Schmutz, Schmutzdecke' in EFris. *schummel* comes from the idea 'move back and forth, rub, scour, i. e., remove dirt, filth,' as indicated in the EFris. verb.

whether the meaning 'deceive' develops from the one or the other. I do not attempt, therefore, to keep entirely separate the two groups.

EFris. *fudden* 'unordentlich und nachlässig arbeiten, pfuschen; heimlich beiseite schaffen,' NHG. *fuden fudeln* 'nachlässig arbeiten,' Westph. *fudeln* 'betrügen,' sek *fudeln* 'sich heimlich hingeben, schleichen,' Lothr. *fudeln* 'sudeln, oberflächlich arbeiten; betrügen.'

NHG. *fuseln* 'mit Eilfertigkeit geschäftig sein, an etw. hin und her bewegen,' Swiss *fuselen* 'unordentlich rasch eine Arbeit abtun, pfuschen; beim Spiel betrügen.' Cf. also the meanings of NE. *foozle*, NHG. *fuscheln*, *fuschen*, *pfuschen*, Pruss. *fuschen*, *fuscheln*, EFris. *fusken* 'pfuschen, rasch, nachlässig und schlecht arbeiten, etw. in Eile betreiben; heimlich weggreissen,' *fuskerē* 'Betrügerei.'

NE. dial. *shammock* 'walk with shambling, unsteady gait; idle about; hesitate; act awkwardly; bungle; trifle deceptively, cheat,' *sham* 'cheat, trick, deceive; shirk, disregard, treat lightly.'

NE. *shuffle* 'dance; wriggle about; cheat; move the feet along the ground without raising them, bring in in a deceitful manner.'

Du. *tranten trendeln* 'schlendern, lässig und gemächlich sich einher bewegen; trodeln, arbeiten, ohne vom Fleck zu kommen,' ME. *tranten bitranten* 'deceive,' NE. *trant* 'run, turn, act trickily, employ deception.'

It seems evident, therefore, that *beschuppen* and *beschummeln* do not have the same semantic development. The meaning 'deceive' in the two words not only comes about entirely differently in each, but we actually have within each word two distinct developments of the idea. Similar cases where the same word will in different dialects develop a certain meaning along entirely different lines are not uncommon. For example, NE. *shuffle* given above, develops the meaning 'cheat' from the idea of deceptiv movement. LG. *schuffelen* 'walk clumsily, with dragging feet, mix; deal dishonestly, play unfairly,' on the other hand, develops the meaning 'cheat' from the act of shuffling cards in a game.

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REVIEWS

Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI^e siècle. Répertoire bibliographique établi à l'aide des notes de M. Paul Meyer par ARTHUR LANGFORS. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Editeur Edouard Champion. 8vo. Tome I, pp. vii + 444.

In the last few years a number of books have been published which are indispensable guides to the researches of serious students of medieval literature. In Latin literature we have A. G. Little's *Initia operum latinorum quae saeculis XIII, XIV, XV attribuantur* (1904) and M. Vattasso's *Initia Patrum aliorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ex Mignei Patrologia et ex compluribus aliis libris* (Rome, 1906-8), and in English, Carleton Brown's *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, of which the first volume was published in 1916. The earliest work, however, of just this kind was devoted to a French literary genre by Gaston Raynaud, in his *Bibliographie des chansonniers des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, published in 1884, and this work is incidentally supplemented in its own particular subject in the recently published work, which covers so much wider a field, *Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI^e siècle*. This work is based upon the notes, made for his own convenience, by the lamented Professor Paul Meyer, who for fifty years before his death stood preëminent among scholars on account of his unique acquaintance with every department of the medieval literature of France, both north and south. This acquaintance, which he revealed in numerous books and articles, of which we owe a list to Mr. Seymour de Ricci (*Revue archéologique*, 1917, II, 436-54), was not merely that of the trained cataloguer, but of the literary historian. The responsible author is Professor Långfors the Swedish Romance scholar, who has shown the same interests of the older scholar in his analyses of manuscripts, and in his editions in the less attractive fields of Old French literature.

This first volume is devoted to the *incipits* of the poems which interested Professor Meyer, arranged alphabetically, with cross-references to both variants of readings and versions, and references to editions, or descriptions of, the manuscripts in which the poems

entered are found. The best-read students of Old French will be saved time and worry, and rejoice accordingly, in being able to discover at once whether, and where, some work he finds either in a manuscript or mentioned in a catalogue of manuscripts, has been published, and the novice will have no excuse, henceforth, for publishing as an unknown work something which has been known, and commented on, a number of times. Unfortunately, one finds straightway occasion to criticize the unfortunate use made of his material by the compiler, Professor Långfors. Professor Meyer, in making these notes for his own convenience, referred for details on the manuscripts of certain poems to his own article in the *Histoire littéraire*, XXXIII, on the lives of the saints, and to Nätebus's *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, just as he failed to mention the *incipit* of the *Roman de la Rose*, with a reference to Langlois's work on its manuscripts, while he gave a complete list of the manuscripts of the *Ysopet* of Marie de France (68), and of the *Roman de Troie* (360-1), of which excellent editions, with full descriptions of the manuscripts, have been published. One has no occasion to find fault with the learned scholar's private notes, however temperamental they may be, but it was the business of the compiler who printed them to give them a uniformity in detail of information, even at the cost of increasing the size of his work, by referring to the manuscripts containing the several lives of saints and other poems. The second volume is to contain indices of subjects; it should also include a list of manuscripts referred to, such as is to be found in the *Table des trente premiers volumes* of the *Romania*, but the unfortunate system of giving second-hand references in the first volume makes this important addition hardly feasible. Such an index to manuscripts would have saved the compiler a number of errors and omissions. To cite two typical examples of the advantage of such an index: On p. 142 under the *incipit*:

Festes mauvairement coultive
Qui de bonnes euvres oisive,

reference is made to the two manuscripts Avranches 244, and Paris, B. N., nouv. acq. fr. 6835, on which is based the text of the poem on the "Légende des danseurs maudits," by G. Raynaud in the *Mélanges Wilmotte*, II, 569. On p. 225 is cited the edition of E. Walberg of "Deux anciens poèmes inédits sur saint Simon de

Crépy" (*Lunds Univ. Arsskr.*, N. F., Afd. 1, vol. VI, No. 5, 1909), as a reference to one of the poems, but one does not find the *incipit* of the other poem published in the same work, based on the above-mentioned manuscripts. Detailed descriptions of these manuscripts are available, of that of Avranches in the *Cat. gén. des MSS. des bibliothèques publ. de France* x (1889), 122, and of that of Paris by L. Delisle in the *Jour. des Savants*, 1899, 500-5. A reference to these descriptions would have identified as parts of one work those poems entered under (p. 57):

Ceux qui puissans et riches a tousjours estre vuelent
Entendent es vroiz biens qui ainsi croistre seulent,

and a version of the life of St. Alexis (p. 167):

Il ot en cel temps de jadis,

the latter being attributed to Eustache, prieur de la Fontaine Notre-Dame, who was only the patron of the nameless author. These same manuscripts would have supplied a number of missing items. Again, under (409):

Tres douches gens, or entendés
En l'onneur Dieu, qui fu penés,

Le Trespas Nostre-Dame, reference is made to MS. Arras 742. But there is no *incipit* for the prologue:

Oes, seigneur, pour Dieu le très doulz roy amant
Sy orez une istoire qui est belle et plaisant

(cf. L. Pannier in G. Paris, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, 1887, 337-8) of a version of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* entered under (132):

Ens en l'onneur de Dieu, le pere tout puisant,

although at times care seems to be taken in this work to cite variants of *incipits*. Finally, one fails to find the *incipit* of the *Roman de la Belle Helène*:

Seigneurs plaise vous oir glorieuse canchon.
Je croy que de milleur dire ne porroit-on

(*Cat. gén. des MSS. des bibl. publ. des départ.*, iv [1872], 297), the principal work in this manuscript (foll. 1r-199v), of which there are a number of manuscripts, as well as at least one manuscript of another version (W. Söderhjelm, *Mém. de la Soc. néophilol. à Helsingfors*, 1 [1893], 35-6).

It is all too evident that the editor has not spent much time in arranging, correcting, and supplementing his material, as a few instances will show. On p. 8 reference is made to H. Stein, *Études sur Olivier de la Marche*, which is also cited pp. 82, 84, 87, but it is only on p. 118 that the almost necessary information is given: "Extrait des Mém. de l'Acad. de Belgique, t. XLIX." P. 12: The two editions of the *Purgatoire de saint Patrice* of Marie de France by Jenkins certainly deserve mention. P. 19: For Latin versions of an independent legend of Seth, cf. Mussafia, "Sulla leggenda del legno della Croce," *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak.*, LXIII (1869), 184, 197; W. Meyer aus Speyer, "Die Gesch. d. Kreuzholzes vor Christus," *Abhandl. d. K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-philol. Kl.*, XVI, pt. 2, (1882), 130 ff., 166. P. 26: The *Roman du Lys* has been published by F. C. Ostrander, New York, 1915, and its number in the Morgan Library is M. 40. P. 27: There is no such periodical as the *Archaeologica Britannica*, as the adjective is superfluous, and the page numbers are 1-423. P. 51: For a Catalan "Fachet" cf. *Rom.*, XV, 192; XVI, 106. P. 54: For prose versions of the *Curia baronum*, cf. edition of F. W. Maitland and W. P. Baildon, Selden Society, IV (1891), and on term Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist. of England*, I (fifth ed.), 431, n. P. 56: On the *Chastielement des dames* of Robert de Blois, cf. C. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen-âge*, 158-9, 173 ff. P. 62: Why omit a reference to the incipit of this work of Robert de Blois in citing a fragment from it? P. 67: On the *Bible* of Hugues de Berzi, cf. Langlois, *op. cit.*, 65 ff. P. 86: On the *Volucraire* of Omont, C. Fant, *L'Image du monde*, Upsala, 1886, 46-51. On the *Vie de Judas*, P. F. Baum, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXXI (1916), 533. P. 97: On source of the *Histoire d'Adam et d'Eve* and on other translations, W. Meyer aus Speyer, *Abh. d. K. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., philos.-philol. Kl.*, XIV, part 3 (1878), 185 ff., Horstmann, *Herrigs Archiv*, LXXIV, 352. P. 111: *Le Pas de Saladin*. Add ed. F. E. Lodeman, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII (1897), 11, 42, 105, 137; cf. G. Paris, *Journ. des Savants* 1893, 493-8. *La Bible* of Guiot de Provins. Add ed. in *Les Œuvres de G. de Provins*, J. Orr, 1915. P. 116: A *fiche* has evidently been misplaced "Ou cuer d'yver, es longues nuyz," as it is found in a fuller form on p. 266. P. 174-5: Jason et Hercules, Joly, *Roman de Troie*, I, 417, n. 1. P. 187: Add to mss. of *Le Mireur du monde*, B. N., f. fr. 10237, fol. 203v-207r; H. Omont, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXIV (1903), 526. P. 207: Under

"Li messenger alassé del chemin" refer to "En l'estorie de Bretane majour," p. 127. P. 223: "Mostrer vous vueil une parolle" is not noted as a variant of "Segnor, entendés ma raison" (367), and a reference should also have been made to "Seigneurs, vous que en Dieux creez" (383). P. 382: *Roman d'Eledus et de Serene*. Add H. Suchier, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, XXI (1897), 112; P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXVI, 327. P. 441: *Le lai de Haveloc* has been printed not only in the almost inaccessible editions of Madden in the Roxburghe Club Publications, and in the privately printed edition of F. Michel, but also in the equally rare edition made for the Caxton Club by Thomas Wright in 1850, and in the very accessible edition in the Rolls Series made by T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin in 1888, of Geffrei Gaimar's *L'estorie des Englois*, I, 290-319, where (320-27) are given the variants of the manuscript of the College of Arms, usually known as the Herald's College, where it is numbered Arundel, XIV, as it is correctly cited under "Bien est raison et droiture" on p. 46. P. 443: The versified list of the names of the companions of William the Conqueror was included in the *Chronicon* of John Brompton published in the *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem*, ed. R. Twysden, London, 1652, I, 963-5, the source of the list in A. Thierry *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (sixth ed.), II (1843), 396 ff., where the reference is made to a non-existing book "*Rer. anglic. Script.*, ed. Selden." On the existence of a similar list cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, VI, 230-1; "Leg. of St. Wolfade and Ruffyn," vv. 318 ff., in C. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, N. F. 1881, 313, and on the historical worthlessness of such lists cf. J. Horace Round, *Monthly Review*, III, June, 1901, 91-111.

These few examples will show how this most useful book could have been made even more useful. It has not been the intention of the book to include *chansons de geste* and lyrics within its scope (vi): that is the reason, perhaps, why a reader is surprised not to find a number of dramatic poems noted in their due places. It is unfortunate that references to Gröber's article on Old French literature in his *Grundriss*, are conspicuous by their absence, as it would have furnished a small quota of unmentioned *incipits* and manuscripts, an omission the more unfortunate as a number of the manuscripts have since been destroyed.

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Swinburne and Landor. A Study of their Spiritual Relationship and its Effect on Swinburne's Moral and Poetic Development.

By W. BROOKS DRAYTON HENDERSON. London: Macmillan and Company, 1918.

The task that Mr. Henderson has essayed is, as he himself recognizes, a difficult and delicate one; to indicate the "spiritual relationship" of one man to another, when many of the phenomena advanced as proof of that relationship are capable of a different explanation, is to tread on shadowy ground; and this is specially true in the case of Swinburne, where the cross-currents and shifting tides of influence are many and contrasting. The writer gives warning at the outset that for certain characteristics of Swinburne's thought other men were more responsible than Landor, and at times he branches off from his main theme to give credit to some of these other sponsors. But his central thesis is that *Thalassius* is a full spiritual autobiography and that Landor, from first to last, was the great shaping influence of the main course of Swinburne's moral and poetic development. This argument is not of the kind wherein the chain is no stronger than the weakest link; it is possible to leave out various links in the chain of evidence that Mr. Henderson connects together and yet find that an impressive line of connection remains between the two poets. The trouble is that so many links of the chain, when tested, must be discarded that what is left is merely a mass of evidence (valuable of course in itself, since it has never before been carefully collected together) that Landor was one of the chief influences upon Swinburne—which everyone was willing to admit before Mr. Henderson began his investigation. Moreover, despite the fair warning that he gives that in many instances other influences were at work upon the poet, the emphasis laid generally upon Landor gives, when viewed in the mass, a false impression of the causes of Swinburne's development.

It is necessary to support this criticism by illustrations from the book. "The old political religion" of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary radicals, it is said, "continued to exist because of Landor." There were many other streamlets that carried these perhaps antiquated ideas down to the mid-nineteenth century—the tradition of Byron and of Shelley for example. Again: to two passages in Landor's writings is traced the inspiration of *Atalanta in Caly-*

don, though Swinburne knew Homer and Ovid from boyhood. Again: the example of Landor is made to account for Swinburne's way of introducing into his dramas on historical themes allusions to the problems and personalities of his own age. Doubtless Landor did this; but the fashion is almost traditional in the English drama, from the days of the Elizabethans—"You may apply this"—through the many politically inspired dramas of the Restoration, Revolutionary and Hanoverian periods, to Byron and beyond. Again: Landor is given the credit for stimulating Swinburne's love of children (which, Mr. Henderson adds, was also "duly influenced by the eighteenth-century esteem of childhood") and there is no hint given of the immense influence here of the author of *L'Art d'être grandpère* nor of the more tender and intimate influence of Watts-Dunton's little nephew, a frequent visitor at The Pines, praise of whom runs riot through Swinburne's family letters and who inspired many of the poems of childhood. Again: to Landor, along with Blake, is ascribed Swinburne's reverence for great men, his hero-worship—with no mention of the man who made "hero-worship" a household word, though the complex question of Carlyle's influence upon Swinburne is an important and interesting one. Again, and most noteworthy: there is an excellent discussion of the conflict between the influence of Mazzini's collectivism in political theory and the poet's own individualism. Here, on the one hand, Mr. Henderson makes no allusion to the current positivistic thought (particularly prevalent in the *Fortnightly* group with whom Swinburne had close associations) which was a powerful ally with Mazzini in giving a general humanitarian turn to the poet's thought; and, on the other hand, in tracing back to Landor the individualism that was at war in Swinburne with Mazzinianism, Mr. Henderson leaves out of account a long and sturdy English tradition of which Swinburne was the heir. In none of these cases am I denying that Landor had, or may have had, a share of influence; but in each one there is a more obvious solution of the problem involved. Again: it is simply unthinkable that the eroticism of *Poems and Ballads* derives in the slightest measure from Landor's *Hellenics*. In this connection it is noteworthy that there is no indication in the book of the influence of Gautier and that practically nothing is made of the phase of Swinburne's development seen in the second series of *Poems and Ballads*, which is so nearly purely French (albeit chastened) in its inspiration.

There is another difficulty. It would have been perhaps reasonable, though in accordance with a plan open to such obvious objections as are illustrated in the preceding paragraph, to study Landor's influence *only*; but to speak of some other influences, and remain silent about others, leads again to false emphasis. Thus: Walt Whitman, between whose "Songs of Insurrection" and *Songs before Sunrise* there are certain striking resemblances and to whom one of the finest of the latter *Songs* is addressed, is never mentioned. Mrs. Browning is referred to in a matter of detail, but there is no indication of the influence of *Casa Guidi Windows* and *Poems before Congress* upon Swinburne's poems of the *Risorgimento*. She speaks out as boldly as did ever Landor against the English policy of selfish isolation; she recurs constantly to the idea of the dawn of democracy; in her poem *Christmas Gifts* she uses the tri-color motif that Swinburne so beautifully elaborates in *A Song of Italy* and the *Song of the Standard* and that is woven with exquisite art into *Hertha* and *On the Downs*. This theme of "the green and white and red" Mr. Henderson traces to Meredith's *Vittoria* (Miss G. A. Jones pointed out the parallel some years ago). Mr. Henderson asserts absolutely and without proof that but for Meredith *A Song of Italy* "could hardly be just what it is, if indeed it could have been written at all." Was Meredith at hand to prompt Swinburne when he wrote the *Ode to Mazzini* in his college days? Mr. Henderson also traces to Meredith—fantastically, as I cannot but think—the theme of cruelty in love, drawing up a few parallels between *Modern Love* and various pieces in the *Poems and Ballads*. One does not have to subscribe to the suggestion of a French critic that the idea was innate in Swinburne's nature; but there are only too many references in Swinburne's letters to Lord Houghton to a certain notorious French marquis who could furnish all needed suggestions for this theme. Again; Mr. Henderson makes a good deal of the belief that *The Garden of Proserpine* derives from Christina Rossetti's *Dream Land*. From it Swinburne may well have derived certain suggestions, but it has been shown that Casimir Delavigne's *Les Limbes* is beyond question the source—and this Mr. Henderson fails to indicate.

A series of appendices deals with the problem of dating and arranging in approximate chronological order the several poems in *Poems and Ballads*. Here Mr. Henderson attempts again a difficult and delicate task. The pitfall into which he slips is the failure to

see that many differences in thought and point of view, which he explains as due to the gradual development of Swinburne's ideas during a succession of years, is in reality often accounted for as the result of varying and at times contradictory moods. Mr. Henderson seizes upon whatever bears out his argument and is silent with regard to what goes against it. Thus: had the noble line "Fate is a sea without shore and the soul is a rock that abides" been found in a poem of 1864-5, it would surely have been instanced as a sign of the higher manhood into which Swinburne, through the rebirth of Landor's influence, was emerging. But it happens to be the culmination of the argument of an early poem, the *Hymn to Proserpine*, written in Swinburne's year of shame, 1862! Again: *Dolores* is instanced as one of the products of the period during which Landor's influence was in abeyance, yet it belongs to 1865. *Félice*, which Mr. Henderson assigns to 1862 (where it must belong to fit into his argument) was probably written in 1864. He strangely relates *Anactoria* and *The Triumph of Time* together; and fails to see the close connection between the latter poem and *Les Noyades*, which he groups with *The Leper*. Yet, beyond doubt, *Les Noyades*, like *The Triumph of Time*, was inspired by Swinburne's unsuccessful love-affair of the sixties, as was also *A Leave-Taking*. Mr. Henderson does not indicate the close interrelationship of these three pieces, which serves to date them all 1862. Many other details in these appendices would require comment did space permit. But note two general observations. Mr. Henderson is inclined to let certain inferences, left on one page as plausible assumptions, serve as matters of proof a few pages further on (*e. g.*, on page 257 *Atalanta* is "doubtless composed in part at least in 1864"; on page 260 it is "composed 1864." It was in reality begun in 1863). Secondly: in dealing with so fine a matter as mental and moral growth during seven years (more narrowly, so far as most of the poems are concerned, from 1861 to 1864) the difference of a year is very important indeed (if the argument be admitted at all). Yet Mr. Henderson often dates a piece in such and such a year or "at least within a year or so" without seeing that just the leeway that he allows himself is sufficient to turn the poem in question back into the period of riotous despair or forward into the time of renewed Landorism. For myself, I do not doubt that Swinburne's progress (there *was* progress of course) was figuratively, as well as for a time literally, that depicted in Meredith's sonnet, *The World's*

Advance and no nicely adjusted upward movement from year to year.

Mr. Henderson's remarks on Swinburne's "lifelong defence and advocacy of tyrannicide" (derived from Landor) pass lightly over the revocation of this doctrine in the sonnet *For a Portrait of Felice Orsini*, and he omits altogether the even more significant passage in *Marino Faliero* (v. 1: "I have erred, who thought by wrong to vanquish wrong," etc.) in both the idea and context of which the influence of Mazzini is seen to shine triumphantly above that of Landor. He gives the year of Swinburne's birth as 1838; the year of the publication of *The Queen Mother and Rosamond* as 1861 (page 34; elsewhere correctly). He speaks of Swinburne's "reserving" *A Song of Italy* "until it should have become by four years less inopportune" (than the maturer Mazzinianism of *Songs before Sunrise*) whereas it was published four years *before* the *Songs*. *Athens* is placed "a few years" later than *The Armada*; it is in fact earlier by seven years. Bosola is called "Borsola." There is a very unhappy misquotation from *Atalanta* on page 37. The *Song in Time of Revolution* is called a *Hymn*. The phrase "Catholic deism" (page 188) should be altered to "Catholic theism"—no strictly orthodox Christian body is deistic. *The Pilgrim of Pleasure* should be *The Pilgrimage of Pleasure*. There is no such poem in Swinburne's work as *Aholah* (page 250, and there differentiated from *The Masque of Queen Bersabe* in which a stanza is called "Aholah"). Mr. Henderson says (page 276): "There is nothing in Wagner's libretto that suggests Swinburne's *Laus Veneris*." On the contrary, note the opening scene where Tannhäuser, accompanying himself upon the harp, sings the praises of love only at the close to fall into infinite lassitude and at length to implore the goddess to release him that he may see again the fresh woods and pastures of the upper world. Mr. Henderson finds *In the Bay* unique in its "deliberate confession of faith in some kind of immortality." "It is safe to say that in hardly another circumstance in his published formal literary work . . . does Swinburne allow himself similar liberty in confessing a faith of this sort." But see, on the contrary, among other poems: *In Memory of John William Inchbold*, the great *Elegy* on Burton, the *Sonnet Sequence* on Browning, the *Threnody* on Tennyson, several of the many poems inspired by Marston's death, and *Barking Hall: A Year After*. In some of these poems Swinburne gets no further than a yearning

hope that is almost faith; in others he expresses confidence. Mr. Henderson's "List of important books" (which does not pretend to be a complete bibliography) requires correction in the penultimate section; so do some of his notes (*e. g.*, 151, 205). The index is quite inadequate.

It would be ungenerous to close on the note of censure. Mr. Henderson, it must be repeated, was aware that to trace unqualifiedly and undividedly to Landor all the nobler characteristics of Swinburne's work would be erroneous. The trouble came in the particular application of his general thesis; in the many cases noted above further qualification and at times a total change of point of view need to be introduced. And of course the various positive errors must be corrected. But when all is said, Mr. Henderson's book is distinguished for the control of its material (within positive limits), for a peculiar gift for pointing subtle analogies and the differences and likenesses of trains of thought, for unusual powers of analysis, and for ability to keep steadily in mind a central thesis, checking meanwhile any temptation to wander off into the mists of mere impressionistic comment. It is of far more value than the studies of Swinburne by Wratislaw, Woodberry, Thomas, and Welby; in most respects it is better than Mr. Drinkwater's "Estimate"; and in not a few (especially from the point of view of the fundamental qualities of Swinburne's mind and character) it far outranks Mr. Gosse's *Life*. We know more about Swinburne when we have read this book; to say that is to justify its publication, be errors of detail numerous or few.

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A Handbook on Story Writing. By BLANCHE COLTON WILLIAMS.
New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1918. xii + 356 pp.

A Book of Short Stories: a Collection for Use in High Schools, Compiled and Edited, with Introduction and Notes, and Biographies of the Authors. By BLANCHE COLTON WILLIAMS.
New York and London: D. Appleton & Company, 1918.
xii + 291 pp.

The addition by Professor Williams to our stock of short story manuals, altho hardly as Mr. Edward J. O'Brien has called it

in the *Yearbook of the American Short Story for 1917* "the first definitive textbook on the subject," does make more than one valuable contribution to the study of story technique. Based thruout on the productions of strictly contemporary writers, of whose rank and merits on the whole as compared with story tellers of any previous period Professor Williams is quite confident, and showing everywhere marks of fresh observation and independent induction, the book is distinctly original; it breaks new ground where the throng of competing handbooks have been mainly content to retread the beaten track. The new territory which the author tells us in her preface that she felt the chief need to explore is that of story construction, or "the formulation of the laws of structure." Here, she claims, "I found underlying principles, so obvious, my first reaction was that nobody had written them down because of their obviousness." Her readers will be willing to agree that it is in the section on plot that the book offers its freshest and most helpful suggestions; but thruout there is an agreeable novelty of approach to the oft-labored problems of narrative and an abundance of apt and unhackneyed illustration.

In her treatment of plot technique Professor Williams justifies her claim to priority by doing several things hitherto unattempted by writers of story handbooks. Most of them have accepted without much comment Brunetière's dictum that the story is always based on some sort of conflict, but Professor Williams for the first time develops this theory by working out a suggestive table of different "types of struggle" employed in recent short stories, with examples. Again, she has a clever chapter on plot order, analyzing its many variations, especially as illustrated in the detective story and the multifarious kindred types, and bringing out as has never been done before the remarkable extent to which this problem and its possible solutions have occupied the attention of recent narrators. But the most valuable new pathway that the book opens is in its treatment of "complication." Consideration of this subject grows out of the distinction, which this manual is the first to give in clear-cut form, between the anecdote, the "Incident" (always written with a capital letter), and the story proper. The anecdote, we are told, may be represented merely by a point, and the Incident by a line, but the normal story only by a complication of lines: that is, the anecdote exists merely for its dramatic moment of surprise, for which all else

is but more or less effective preparation, and the Incident is made up of a single conflict, told from its inception past its turning point on to its climax; but the full-fledged story is something more than either of these. Sometimes, Professor Williams declares, we have an expanded anecdote offered up to us as a story, as often by O. Henry. Sometimes the Incident is so weighted and so minutely analyzed that it is elevated to the story level, as in the notable case of *Markheim*. But in the majority of modern stories, she maintains, there is an entanglement of two or more lines of interest, one of course being always subordinated to the other for the sake of story unity. With this preliminary assumption, the "business of complication" is taken up at length and its different varieties studied, with copious examples from current practitioners.

While these pages, as has been said, constitute the most original contribution of the book, they are also perhaps the most provocative of disagreement. The reader who opened at this chapter might suppose that he had in his hands a treatise on geometry, for the different types of complication are exhibited by a profusion of intricate figures, some of which are of astonishing complexity. No objection could be made to complicated diagrams if they really correspond to the structure of the stories analyzed. But in some cases this may be doubted. At times Professor Williams makes her interwoven lines represent each a distinct conflict united in the same narrative; at times each line stands merely for one of the antagonistic forces in what is really a single conflict; and at times the tangle represents nothing more than interwoven "lines of interest," such as mystery, local color, or character. Surely only the first furnishes a real case of complication; and the number of stories that do have two or more contiguous but distinct struggles is small, even today, tho it is probably growing. The blending of diverse "lines of interest" is, of course, a far more frequent practise and is certainly growing. It is one of many marks of the fading among current story tellers of that ideal of the single effect which Poe taught was the crowning glory of the short story. And yet, altho we cannot escape a feeling of confusion and a desire for exacter definition, we must give credit to the manual for opening, in its study of "complication," a sadly neglected field. From the practical teacher's standpoint also, the insistence on multiplying the factors of interest is justifiable. As Professor Williams observes, most amateurs tend to "shut the victim up with his struggle, in a

cage or vacuum, and to allow no intrusion from the outside"; whereas "it is just the outside intrusion which the [inexperienced?] writer needs to motivate action in connection with the outcome."

As a teaching medium the handbook naturally suffers from the fact that most of its references are to excessively current writers of the short story, writers whose work may be destined to become classical but must as yet remain inaccessible, except to students who can be sent to consult public libraries in large cities. Few are the colleges that can provide classes with back files of *Everybody's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*; and without such access many of the book's discussions and analyses will remain more or less unintelligible. The handicap is inherent in the material chosen, and is mitigated to some extent by a full and careful bibliography. Furthermore, to some teachers the copious use of diagrams will be objectionable. There is no device equal to the diagram, when intelligently used, for revealing structure, either the structure of a sentence or of a story; but in the former field this valuable pedagogic instrument has won undeserved disrepute from the over-elaboration or the wooden rigidity with which it has been too often employed. Professor Williams' diagrams suffer perhaps from the first fault, but never from the second. After all, the best diagrams are those a man makes for himself, and the disagreement which these provoke may be an advantage, by stimulating the production of new ones. As a last and more serious defect it may be mentioned that the style of the book is hazy and lacks crispness. Too often when the thought behind the word is clear-cut enough, and worth the trouble of adequate expression, it is made unnecessarily difficult to arrive at. For example, at the beginning of the book Professor Williams reviews some of the older definitions of the short story, after which she sets forth her own. If we compare the best of these, which is Mr. Pitkin's "a narrative drama with a single effect," or a still better one which she has omitted, namely that of Mr. Clayton Hamilton: "a story whose aim is to produce a single narrative effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis," with her loosely worded substitute: "a narrative artistically presenting characters in a struggle or complication which has a definite outcome," we can but wonder what has been gained by the change. As a definition, at least half of it is superfluous; to have said "a narrative of a struggle or

complication of struggles " would have included the rest. Besides, it fails to exclude the tale, the drama, the historical account, or even the newspaper report. And yet later in the same chapter we find in the novel distinction between anecdote, Incident, and story a valuable and valid new criterion, overlooked by all her predecessors, which clearly belongs in the definition on which the whole book is founded. Perhaps, however, it is natural that a pioneer should be surrounded by a certain amount of chips and dust.

None of these objections can be brought against the *Book of Short Stories*. For its different purpose it is much the more finished of the two books. The introductions, biographies, and notes are well done and supply helpful information and suggestive criticism in much clearer language than is to be found in the *Handbook*. In the choice of stories there is a welcome avoidance of the customary round of specimens, and a large majority of the selections have not been used previously for this purpose. The inevitable *Necklace* reappears, it is true, but in a fresh translation; there are the old standbys, *The Cask of Amontillado* and *On the Stairs*; but there are also several splendid recent stories, such as Miss Jordan's *The Comforter* and Captain Greene's *Molly McGuire Fourteen* (the latter the best college story yet written) which have hitherto been hard to get hold of. The collection is designed for high schools, but unless the older students consider a textbook with pictures beneath their dignity it might be equally serviceable with college classes.

Professor Williams is an enthusiastic supporter of the twentieth century as the golden age of short story writing, as compared with the nineteenth. She affirms that Poe " would not be read by the better class of readers were he now writing what he wrote four score years back." And she looks confidently for further heights of achievement. " If the golden day of *conte* writing is, as I believe, not at four o'clock, but ten, the short story of the next decade will shine more splendid than ever." Just so did the versifiers of the eighteenth century, when it was part of a gentleman's education to be able to turn out a polished " copy " of heroic couplets on any subject, refer condescendingly to the roughness of Dryden. Today, when every college and nearly every high school teaches the mystery of the short story, it is on the way to becoming quite as universal an accomplishment. But our current practitioners, in spite of the fact that they have smoothed some rough corners and introduced

several new tricks, seldom, as a matter of fact, recapture the secret which was Poe's supreme discovery—genuine "totality of effect." As Professor Williams has abundantly illustrated with her diagrams, the present day story writer is nearly always driven to interweave several "lines of interest," sometimes even two or more distinct dramatic conflicts, to secure his effect. A Poe story never has but one line of interest; and the master knew how to make that single line strong enough to carry his readers quite successfully to the desired goal. Surely the present is rather to be called the silver age of the short story, in spite of the clever contributors to our ingenious magazines; if for no other reason, because no such penetrating study of technique as this of Professor Williams' is ever produced in the golden age of a literary type.

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CORRESPONDENCE

MARK TWAIN AND ADOLF WILBRANDT

When briefly referring to *Mark Twain's Letters*, in the February number of the *Notes*, p. 128, I mentioned a passage from a letter to William Dean Howells, written on December 30, 1898: "We saw the 'Master of Palmyra' last night." I stated, "That is all, and the student asks in vain how Wilbrandt's highly significant drama impressed Mark Twain, whose love of the drama is sufficiently known." It is true that in his letters the author has not said more about the play in question, but I overlooked the fact that as early as October, 1898, there appeared in *The Forum* one of Mark Twain's most seriously meant articles, entitled *About Play-Acting*, which can now be found in his collection *My Début as a Literary Person with other essays and stories*. The title of the essay is misleading enough, for it really contains an eulogy of Wilbrandt's dramatic poem together with some suggestions for the benefit of American theater-goers in general and of New Yorkers in particular.

Mark Twain objects to the term 'play' for Wilbrandt's "dramatisches Gedicht," which he rightly characterizes as a departure from the common laws of the drama. It impresses him, nevertheless, as "a great and metaphysical poem, and deeply fascinating." He even calls it Wilbrandt's masterpiece and the work which is to make his name permanent in German literature. This view of his agreed with nearly all the contemporary literary critics in Germany as well as abroad. Théodore Henckels in his American

college edition of Wilbrandt's work, 1900, writes, *e. g.*, "*Der Meister von Palmyra* is a masterpiece, full of symbolism and metaphysics, a veritable consolation to those who in the last twenty-five years have been much disconcerted by the realism of the German writers—a realism which had changed their ideas of Germany formed through their reading of the German poets and philosophers." And Robert F. Arnold in *Das Moderne Drama*, Strassburg, 1912, p. 52, calls it "das tiefste und schönste Epigonenstück," whatever that means. A thorough study of the *Meister von Palmyra* as an *Epigonenstück* has not yet been made.

To Mark Twain the strength of the whole piece lies in the "dash of metempsychosis"; it gave him "the sense of the passage of a dimly connected procession of dream-pictures." And as the chief actress is reincarnated several times, the absorbing fascination of the theater-goer is easily explained. "A number of curious and interesting features" add to this more sensational interest (1) Apelles' eternal youth as compared with the decay of age in men and scenery; (2) "Death, in person, walks about the stage in every act." And, as Mark Twain remarks, "and always its coming made the fussy human pack seem infinitely pitiful and shabby and hardly worth the attention of either saving or damning." The idea of perennial youth corresponded with one of Mark Twain's favorite fancies, as Albert Bigelow Paine tells us, that life should begin with old age and approach strong manhood, golden youth, to end at last with pampered and beloved babyhood. Or in the humorist's own words (*Letters*, p. 709): "It's an epitome of life. The first half of it consists of the capacity to enjoy without the chance; the last half consists of the chance without the capacity." Wilbrandt's Apelles also wanted to keep his youth, his strength, and his mental faculties unimpaired. That in the end he was fooled by his very desire, could only be pleasing to the gay satirist Mark Twain; and for the same reason he delighted in the contempt Wilbrandt's Pausanias, as "death, in person," showed for the frail human race. Mark Twain's letters to W. D. Howells, written on April 2nd and May 12th, 1899, sound like an accompaniment to the article on Wilbrandt.

After giving a synopsis of the different acts, Mark Twain drives his main point home. For there is no question of his not being interested in the *Meister von Palmyra* for merely literary reasons. He found the ethical lesson of it in complete harmony with his own world-view which, as we know, became decidedly pessimistic in the nineties. All kinds of hard experiences had saddened his life so as to make him prepared for Wilbrandt's metaphysical message. It goes without saying that afterwards he interpreted that piece according to his own spiritual needs. So when he writes: "This piece is just one long, soulful, sardonic laugh at human life. Its title might properly be "Is Life a Failure?" and leave the five

acts to play with the answer. I am not at all sure that the author meant to laugh at life. I only notice that he has done it." Mark Twain's doubt as to the German author's intention is verified by Master Apelles' words in the third scene of the last act:

"Nur der kann leben, der in andern lebt,
An andern wächst, mit andern sich erneut;
Ist das dahin, dann, Erde, tu dich auf,
Treib *neue Menschen* an das Licht hervor,
Und uns, *die Scheinlebendigen*, verschlinge!"

And in the very last scene it is promised and accorded

"Erlösung dem,
Der, lang geprüft, des Lebens Rätsel und
Des Todes Lehre fasste."

Wilbrandt has indeed not laughed at life, either cynically or despairingly; on the contrary, he did his very best as thinker and artist to solve the main riddle of life, viz., Life. Mark Twain in his peculiar way tried the same as is proved by the essay *What is Man?* and the story *The Mysterious Stranger*, the former being written in 1898 and the latter being started at least shortly after. It may be a mere coincidence that he wrote his two most important philosophic works at the time he was impressed so deeply by the *Meister von Palmyra*, but it is also possible that this "majestic drama of depth and seriousness" set his mind to work. Obviously he was in a responsive mood. Besides, impressive scenes in which Wilbrandt proved himself a clever observer of civilization with its hills and dales, a thorough student of man and a critic of heathens and Christians alike; characters like Aurelius and Septimius or the scoffer Timolaos who jokes his worthy neighbors about their "inherited ideas" and their doubtful "moral sense," to use Mark Twain's terminology, and, finally, passages on life and death or Longinus' truism, "So lass uns weise sein, um frei zu bleiben," will lead you into Mark Twain's gloomy avenues of life and thought, as depicted in *The Mysterious Stranger*, the scene of which is laid in an imaginary medieval Austrian village, Eselsdorf, the spiritual atmosphere of which is not so unlike that of Palmyra of Wilbrandt's creation. Mark Twain's "mysterious stranger" Philip Traum is of the same stuff Wilbrandt's "mysterious stranger" Pausanias is made of. The reader will surely find in *The Mysterious Stranger* as well as in *Der Meister von Palmyra* the "sense of the passage of a dimly connected procession of dream-pictures."

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SOBRE EL ESPAÑOL *calavera*

Es extraño cómo la etimología de Diez (*Etym. Wört.*, 435) *calvaria*, 'decalvatio,' ha podido ser aceptada para el castellano *calavera*, y menos para el portugués *caveira*, para lo cual es preciso admitir, aun no mirando las dificultades del significado, una base **calavaria* en periodo anterior a la pérdida de *l* interna y la chocante disgregación de *calvu*, *calvo*. Esta etimología no tiene apoyo en datos históricos, y en cambio tiene datos positivos en contra. En primer término esta voz ha de ser comparada con *calaverna*: "No quedó otra cosa más de toda aquella su hermosura que la *calaverna* y los extremos de los pies y manos," Granada, *Trat. de la Oración*, I. miérc. en la noche; "Representan unas *calavernas* de muertos," Laguna, *Dioscórides*, IV, 129. Esta forma, que tiene la misma significación que *calavera*, o sea, 'los huesos de la cabeza desnudos,' se liga indefectiblemente con la forma *calavrina*,¹ 'esqueleto de hombre o de animal,' conocido del antiguo castellano: "En *calavrina* de animalla enconada, o en *calavrina* de quatrophea enconada o en *calavrina* de sierpe enconada," Biblia de Constantinopla y Ferrariense, Lev. 5, 2; "Y al rey de Hal colgó sobre la forca . . . ; encomendó que abaxaran su *calavrina* de la forca y que la echaran a la entrada de la puerta de la ciudad," Jos., 8, 29. Y no es menos evidente que esta forma se relaciona con *calabre*,² voz no incluida en el Dic. de la R. A. E., pero que es la común en todas las regiones españolas, frente al cultismo *cadáver*. Por uno de esos caprichos del uso, *calabre* es voz repudiada por los cultistas, y en cambio *descalabrar* es admitida universalmente en la acepción de 'romper el cráneo.' Esta forma sirve para descubriarnos el lazo de unión entre *calabre*, 'cadáver, esqueleto,' y *calavera* (*descalabrar* parece por **descalaverar*). Aún existe otra voz interesante, *calaverón*, 'lugar en que se echan los animales muertos,' que contiene la forma de *calavera* y la significación de *cadáver*. Admitiendo por estos datos el origen común de todas las formas citadas, y rechazando *calvaria*, es preciso buscar alguna explicación razonable para estas formaciones. Yo creo que al lado de *cadaver*, origen del gallego y portugués *cadavre*, se formó pronto una variante **calaver*, bien por influencia de las consonantes siguientes, bien por una etimología popular, de la cual normalmente arranca *calabre*. Sobre un derivado incierto **calaverinu* > **calaverinu* (comp. *cristalino*, de *-inu*) por **cadaverinu* se produ-

¹ De aquí *encalabrinar*, 'llenar la cabeza de un vapor o hálito que la turbe; tomar un tema, empeñarse en una cosa sin dar oídos a nada,' Dic. de la R. A. E. s. v.

² De aquí *encalabriar*, del mismo significado que *encalabrinar*, ib. La idea fundamental es la de 'llenar y desvanecer la cabeza, la *calabrina* o *calabre*,' que, como se ve, coincide en estos verbos con la idea limitada de 'cabeza o *calavera*,' y no la genérica de 'cadáver o esqueleto.'

jeron respectivamente **calavérina* > *calaverna* y **calaverína* > *calabrina*. Junto a estos, una base probable *cadavèra* **calavèra* (plural neutro tomado por su *a* como singular femenino, como *arma*, *mora*) debió deformarse, ya en latín (-*aria*) ya en romance (-*era*, -*eira*), según la analogía de los tipos *ossarium*, *pernera*, *coilleira*, trayendo la sustitución de sufijo el cambio de acento (comp. *can cerbéro* de *cerbèrus* según *portero*, *lebrero*), convirtiéndose un anterior **calávera* en *calavéra*.

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JOHN FLORIO

I have happened upon an apparently unrecorded work by John Florio. In 1626 William Vaughan published a translation of Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (Venice, 1612-13), with the title *The New-Found Politicke*, which alludes, as he explains in his dedication to King Charles, to his residence of some years in Newfoundland. He says in the same dedication that the first of the three books (103 pages) was done by "M. Florio, sometime Servant to your Royall Mother of blessed memory." (Florio died in 1625). His statement is not quite accurate, for what he calls the first part is really an abridged version of Boccacini's whole work; in which Florio has brought together chapters from all the three parts of the original and arranged them in an order determined by their subject-matter. The other two parts of the translation consist of chapters not included by Florio. It looks as if Florio had prepared his part as a complete work meant for separate publication. It is not mentioned by Sir Sidney Lee in the *DNB.*, or in any other bibliography that I have consulted.

There is some interest in this prompt rendering into English of an Italian classic of statecraft. A valuable study could be made of the translation of similar works into English in the seventeenth century and the constant study of political science that they show to have been in progress there.

As to Florio, he is the same resolute, free-handed translator as in his Montaigne. There is some gusto and a rich colloquial vocabulary, which compensate in some degree for his outrageous faults and (to speak frankly) his bad style.

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A NON-EXISTENT VOLUME

Although one is frequently troubled by the difficulty of obtaining a volume which is well known to be hidden away in some obscure library, one seldom suffers from finding out a number of alleged facts about a volume which in reality has never even existed. Such, however, is the case regarding John Hoole's mythical rendering into English verse of Maspherson's *Fingal*.

Writing in *Englische Studien* (XXIII, 58), Br. Schnabel lists for the year 1772 two separate metrical versions of Macpherson's prose *Fingal*, the one anonymous, the other by "Hoole." Of the well known anonymous edition which appeared at Oxford in 1772 he quotes the title in full, but for the other edition he has, strangely enough, no exact title. His words are "In demselben jahre wurde eine weitere übersetzung des Fingal in versen von Hoole publicirt." In support of this statement he cites an article by Nicolai in *Herrig's Archiv* (LVIII, 153). Then on his own authority he adds in a footnote "wohl der als dramatiker und übersetzer (aus dem Italienischen) im Dict. of Nat. Biogr. genannte John Hoole (1727-1803)."

As a matter of fact, nearly every statement which Schnabel has here made can be shown to be incorrect. The man who versified Macpherson's *Fingal* in the year 1772 was not John Hoole, or any other Hoole, but rather Richard Hole. This fact may be ascertained by reference to Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (1814, VIII, 92-93), or to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, or to the following explanatory letter from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1792, p. 728:

Aug. 4

Mr. URBAN,

In p. 616, a similarity of name has occasioned an odd mistake. The Rev. *Richard Hole*, the celebrated translator of the "Hymn to Ceres," and author of "Arthur," "Fingal," and of some beautiful poetry in a lately-published collection (see p. 742), resides at Sowton, a village about seven miles from Exeter, loved and respected by all who have the happiness of his acquaintance.

The Rev. *Charles Hoole*, the excellent son of the translator of Tasso, was honored by the particular regard of Dr. Johnson, and, besides his poem of "The Curate," has published "Aurelia, a mock heroic poem," a series of Letters in imitation of the Bath Guide; a volume of Sermons, &c, &c.

T. C.

Having thus established the identity of our poet, we may proceed without much trouble to prove that only one English metrical version of *Fingal* appeared in 1772; that is, that the anonymous edition published at Oxford was in reality by Richard Hole. Our clue here lies in the fact that this volume contains, in addition to *Fingal*, an excellent *Ode to Imagination*, also anonymous but well known to be by Richard Hole. That Hole was the author of this ode may be shown from various pieces of evidence, of which the

most accessible is Nichols' statement in his *Literary Anecdotes*, VIII, 92-93.

In brief, then, Richard Hole was the author of the anonymous metrical *Fingal* published at Oxford in 1772 under the title, *Fingal, a poem in six books by Ossian; Translated from the original Galic by Mr. Macpherson, and Rendered into Verse from that Translation*. No writer named Hoole is to be connected in any way with Macpherson's *Fingal*.

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JOHANNES DE CHAUSE HAUBERGER

It has been thought possible that all the references to John Chaucer between 1324 and 1367 refer to the father of the poet. I have found a reference, however, which would indicate that there were at least two of that name alive in 1325. In that year, letters of protection were granted to "Johannes de Chause Hauberger," going abroad with the king (Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. London, 1818, II, part 1, p. 605). The spelling of the name, although an unusual one, occurs also in reference to Philippa Chaucer (Kern, A. A., *The Ancestry of Chaucer*, Baltimore, 1906, p. 11 and p. 12, note 40).

This John de Chause Hauberger could not well have been the John Chaucer abducted on 3 Dec., 1324, at that time under fourteen years of age (Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.), who in 1328 was still living with his mother and stepfather (*ibid.*, p. 55). It is by no means improbable, however, that he was the John Chaucer who received a similar protection 12 June, 1338, to go abroad with the king (*Life Records of Chaucer*, Published by the Chaucer Society, London, 1900, p. 145). Nor is it improbable that certain of the later records which have been supposed to apply to Chaucer's father apply to this John. Such, for example, might be the appointment of John Chausere as the deputy of John de Wesenham, chief butler, and of John Chaucier, his deputy in the ports of Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, and Portsmouth (Kern, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5, and 155-7).

In connection with the occupation of this John de Chause, it is interesting to recall that a certain "Willelmus le Chaucer dictus le Taverner" was one of the parishioners of St. Mary-le-Bow in 1326, a man of some position in his community, and a member of what Professor Kern calls the equivalent of "the Local Government Board" (*op. cit.*, p. 26). The discovery of this John de Chause Hauberger still further complicates the family history of the Chaucers.

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BRIEF MENTION

The American Language: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. By H. L. Mencken (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1919). In the days of Noah Webster, the prophecy of "a future separation of the American tongue from the English" was protected against serious refutation primarily by its patriotic symbolism, and surely also because of an undeveloped state of linguistic science. This new language Webster declared to be "necessary and inevitable." Mr. Mencken quotes the argument: "Numerous local causes, such as a new country, new associations of people, new combinations of ideas in arts and sciences, and some intercourse with tribes wholly unknown in Europe, will introduce new words into the American tongue. These causes will produce, in a course of time, a language in North America as different from the future language of England as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another." The inequality of terms, the confusion of values, apparent even to the elementary observer, is sufficient to show that Webster in this comparison did not reason soundly, but allowed his imagination to break thru its normal restraints to riot in irresponsible fancy. As for the vision as a whole, it has never been and never can be regarded as anything more serious and valuable than a capricious play of the mind of the patriotic grammarian and lexicographer. But it must in haste be added that there was also much of incontrovertible truth—of common-place truth—in the terms of the vision. A "new country" connoted the independent development of a 'new world,' with implications of vastly important linguistic influence. 'Americanisms' would of course be inevitable; and even in his calmest mood Webster might have predicted a long enduring scholastic and popular interest in these aspects of the language. The technical linguist, he might have said, will not be easily misled in the evaluation of these national peculiarities; but the untrained observer, who is easily led *nodum in scirpo quaerere*, will probably find this subject especially available for that variety of popular discussion which is marked by ostentation of knowledge and pride of wit in controversy.

The power to assimilate new elements and to adapt itself to new conditions belongs to a strong and well organized language; and no language has surpassed English in a triumphant maintenance of this power under severest tests. Even an elementary knowledge of the history of the language is sufficient to fortify the mind against the acceptance of any theory that leans to the possibility of a future breaking up of so powerful, resourceful, and organically complete a unity. Moreover the test to which the essential oneness of the language has been put under American conditions has not, in strictness, been a severe test. In both England and America the popular mind has never been in doubt about the fact that English

is the language of America as truly as it is that of England; and it is well aware that in passing from one country to the other differences are encountered in the naming of some objects, in colloquialisms, in several preferred idioms, and in the intonation of the voice. And the popular mind could not be persuaded that these differences are of a character that might lead to a division of English into two languages. All average experience favors the right judgment in this matter. The schools of both countries teach correct English, with at most an incidental reference to slight variations in national usage,—but for the most part with no reference whatever to these variations,—and the basis of this instruction is a common literature. In England, it may be added, there is an influence of the historic dialects and in America the influence of the languages of immigrants to be counteracted in the schools, but these conditions serve merely to give clearer definition to the function of the schools. Popular education, which has notable modern aspects, is moreover but one of the agencies in the complex of forces by which the character of the language is conserved and strengthened,—forces that may be grouped as being social, literary, scientific, commercial, and national.

The title of Mr. Mencken's book would indicate a revamping of Webster's prophetic theory, but he is too alert to be so easily ensnared and refers the reader to his sub-title. He justifies his undertaking by declaring that he is aiming to supply a contribution to a sorely needed account of what, in all its details, is characteristic of English in America. He is disturbed by the inadequacy of the records of 'Americanisms' and the lack of trustworthy treatises on the national 'idiom' in the light of linguistic science. "On the large and important subject of American pronunciation, for example," he declares, "I could find nothing save a few casual essays. On American spelling, with its wide and constantly visible divergencies from English usage, there was little more. On American grammar there was nothing whatever. Worse, an important part of the poor literature that I unearthed was devoted to absurd efforts to prove that no such thing as an American variety of English existed." But since these statements may by implication promise too much, the book is defended on a modified basis: "Perhaps one dialect, in the long run, will defeat and absorb the other; in that case, something may be accomplished by examining the differences which exist today. In some ways, as in intonation, English usage is plainly better than American. In others, as in spelling, American usage is as plainly better than English. But in order to develop usages that the peoples of both nations will accept it is obviously necessary to study the differences now visible. This study thus shows a certain utility;" but a culminating purpose is served by the 'study:' "its chief excuse is its human interest, for it prods deeply into national idiosyncrasies and ways of mind, and that sort of prodding is always entertaining."

In the expressions just now cited, Mr. Mencken's attitude to the subject of his book is made clear enough. It is not the attitude of the accurate and philosophic scholar, but that of the facile journalist, well endowed with a sense for the perception of the humorous and satiric sides of the subject and for the recognition of material rich in popular elements for making copy. But in making an excursion into this alluring field, Mr. Mencken has not assumed his task to be an easy one, as is attested by the bibliography of his sources, which consists of some three hundred titles, and by the appended "List of Words and Phrases" treated in the book, an index-list occupying eighteen pages closely printed in three columns to the page. His book is a stately volume of 374 royal octavo pages, with the subject-matter in nine comprehensive chapters, each of which is arranged in a number of logically distinguished sections. Whatever, therefore, of praise has been deserved by enthusiastic industry and constructive skill in composing this book must be freely granted, but Mr. Mencken must in turn be content with the judgment that finds but a modicum of linguistic value in it. The science of language requires a sustained elevation in accuracy of fact and trained perceptions in the discussion of principles. In this department of knowledge, as in all others, there is for the untrained aspirant an easy descent to the bottom of the unauthentic: *si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum*.

When Mr. Mencken writes "The exigencies of my vocation make me almost completely bilingual; I can write English, as in this clause, quite as readily as American, as in this here one," it might be thought that he is challenging the reader to prove that he is not jesting; but the reader has only to turn to the chapter on "The Common Speech" to discover that the so-called American clause gives the key-note to the most serious argument of the book. In respect of linguistic doctrine this chapter puts the author in the strongest light. The first section is a vaudeville gibe at grammar as a science, at grammarians as dolts, and at 'school-marms' teaching grammar as a pitifully incompetent class. Unfortunately it is true that some compilers of school-grammars and many teachers using these books hardly surpass Mr. Mencken in failure to understand the profound import of grammar as a codification of laws of the mind. "Spoken American As It is" is the subject of the next section. What is considered to be the true form of American English is the "highly viril and defiant dialect . . . of the mill-hand . . . with his five years of common schooling behind him, . . . and not the fossilized English of the school-marm and her books." This brings the author to a point where material abounds for 'copy' to sustain the implications of his American clause already cited. Much of the material consists of reports of school-children's errors in language,—errors that are reviewed in the following sections of this long chapter under the titles: The Verb; The Pronoun; The Adverb; The Noun and Ad-

jective; The Double Negative; and Pronunciation. In this classification Mr. Mencken must of course accept the "imbecile classifications" of grammar, that "most funereal of the sciences." But he is consistently inconsistent, for he can denounce grammar and heap reproach upon the grammarian, and then turn to Bradley, Lounsbury, Sayce, and Sweet and compile, in technical terms, pages from their books. Indeed he here shows himself extraordinarily apt in acquiring an elementary comprehension and facility in application of the principles of analogy, form-association, phonetic change, and comprehensive tendencies in linguistic tradition, and thereby puts a stress on his deficiency in the training that would have fitted him to keep his book in consistent conformity with sound scholarship and authentic reasoning.

In his report of the "American vulgate," Mr. Mencken keeps his promise in offering abundant entertainment, which, in no small measure, is achieved by a sustained air of profound generalization from errors of a class that the average reader will consider either too infrequent or of too little influence to call for the most serious attention. Mr. Mencken's observations and discussion should, however, also make clearer the pedagogic helpfulness of carefully prepared lists of the errors in language brought to the schools by the children of America. The teachers in the schools of England would be assisted in a corresponding way. These national lists would have many points of agreement, which taken together with the points of divergence would add to the proof of the essential and enduring unity of the English language.

In the bibliography, already mentioned, Mr. Mencken himself has a credit of a good dozen of titles. From these preliminary studies (one published in *The Smart Set*, the others in newspapers) a popular, racy, journalistic style has been imported into the book, which has, on the other hand, gained from the same source a fulness and variety of details,—the fruit of occupation with the subject at intervals during some nine years. The book therefore conveys a well-marked type of entertainment in both style and subject-matter; and let it be frankly acknowledged that the average reader will here find abundant instruction that is not elsewhere made easily accessible in so comprehensive a manner. In accepting both entertainment and instruction, the expert reader will not, of course, dethrone his scientific judgment.

The titles of Mr. Mencken's chapters shall be cited, altho these are so comprehensive in form as to make necessary the aid of the section-titles in a satisfactory report of what the book contains: I, By Way of Introduction; II, The Beginnings of American; III, The Period of Growth; IV, American and English Today; V, Tendencies in American; VI, The Common Speech; VII, Differences in Spelling; VIII, Proper Names in American; IX, Miscellanea (here the section-titles are: Proverb and Platitude; American Slang; The Future of the Language). In the penultimate chapter

(the section-titles are: Surnames; Given Names; Geographical Names; Street Names) Mr. Mencken has with admirable industry and with alertness in personal observation brought together in an entertaining and instructive manner material that no intelligent reader will fail to value as a factor in the complex problem of the interior history of the nation. Incidentally it may be observed that the clever author has missed the point of the Darby and Enroughty event (p. 283); this should here be passed by, if the correction did not also reach to a misapplication of analogy in the context. The final 'miscellanea' leave the reader's mind freshly stirred to speculate on the probabilities favorable to an increasing supremacy of English among the most highly developed languages of the world.

J. W. B.

Formative Types in English Poetry. By George Herbert Palmer (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918). The "eager auditors" which, according to the author's preface, this book has found when it was presented in the form of lectures at various colleges must have been stimulated largely by Professor Palmer's delightful manner of reading from the works of the poets upon whom he offers his comments. That personal appeal has disappeared from the printed page. Leaving aside Milton because he was "too big" for him, and Donne because he despaired of making him "intelligible within any brief compass," he considers seven poets whose attitude towards life and towards their art made their work "formative," so that they influenced the subsequent development of poetry. These men are: Chaucer, who, according to Professor Palmer, "looks out upon life, enjoys it, and attempts to reproduce it for our pleasure" in an objective and realistic way; Spenser, who withdraws "as far as possible from subjection to fact" and finds "in verse a veritable refuge from reality"; Herbert, who endeavors to get the mood of his unique soul "transferred with utmost precision to other minds"; Pope, who contributes a "sober, rational, and corrective influence" in opposition to the earlier "turbulent egotism" and deals "with typical character, expressive of some universal principle"; Wordsworth, who "turned away from the generalities of Classicism, prizing the specific fact, the specific experience, the specific person," but who incompletely carried out this function of the Romanticist; Tennyson, who reconstituted the technique of poetry and applied himself to the delineation of individual moods; and Browning, who makes us "feel the complex and unstable unity of an individual person." Browning is thus exalted to the position of culmination towards which poetry had long been gradually rising. Such plotting of stages of advance betokens the point of view of a realistic individualist; hence the sympathy with Pope despite the extraordinary dictum that "about in proportion as English poetry becomes clear and simple it becomes doubtfully sincere"; hence the entire lack

of comprehension of the genius of Chaucer of whom it is said that "he never dissected motives, studied aspirations, laid bare the waywardness and contradictions which lurk in the interior of each of us." The popularization of poetry is a worthy occupation; but need it be done in the fashion of a primer? And need its presentation of old well-worn truths be marred by misunderstandings and by more minor inaccuracies than there is space to set down here?

S. C. C.

Miss Lily B. Campbell has written a very entertaining *History of Costuming on the English Stage between 1660 and 1823*, which appears as No. 2 of the University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. It is a study parallel to her "Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century" (*PMLA*. xxx, 2), and it shows the same influences at work. Through the first half of this period there was an unthinking obedience to tradition. The costumes were contemporaneous with the dramatist, not with his historic characters, and no regard was paid to the peculiarities of race or nation. Hamlet's "forest of feathers," which actors "of heroism and dignity" were supposed to wear, persisted till the time of Garrick, and black velvet was the only wear for empresses and queens. At the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, with the advent of Aaron Hill and Macklin, the first influences of romanticism began to make themselves felt in costuming just as they did in other departments of art and literature, with the result that propriety as well as probability in costume and beauty in line and color were insisted upon. With the development of antiquarian research and a more accurate knowledge of the dress of foreign peoples and of other times there came a corresponding endeavor to bring stage-costuming more into harmony with the scene presented on the boards. It was slow work, however, as Miss Campbell's quotations from contemporary documents convincing and often amusingly show. As late as 1789 Mrs. Crouch appeared in "a fancy hat, powdered hair, rouge, point lace, and fine linen" as one of the witches in *Macbeth*, and though the ghost in *Hamlet* wore armor, Hamlet himself was in a modern suit. It was not till 1823, when Charles Kemble in much trepidation as to the result presented *King John* in the dress of the period, that realism in stage-costume according to historically accurate designs triumphantly established itself. So this study shows once more that when theatrical managements try to lead and educate the public, they generally can do so. It might have been better if Miss Campbell had shown the parallel development of stage-setting through this period, for the relation of costume and scenery must have been very close. But perhaps that is being reserved for a third paper.

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MORDRAIN, CORBENIC, AND THE VULGATE GRAIL ROMANCES

In the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand Saint Graal*, as it is often called) of the Vulgate cycle of the Old French Arthurian prose romances Joseph of Arimathea and his newly converted followers come with the Holy Grail to Sarras, capital of the Saracens, on the eleventh day after their departure from Jerusalem.¹ Evalac (Evalach),² king of the Saracens, is at the time engaged in a war with Tholomer (= Ptolemy), king of the Egyptians, and had recently suffered a severe defeat. He is, consequently, in a susceptible mood for arguments in favor of the new religion, which, according to Joseph's promises, will bring him victory over his enemies, if he should hearken to his (Joseph's) teachings. In due course of time, after a long train of events, which we need not

¹ Cp. p. 21 of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* in H. O. Sommer's edition, which constitutes Vol. I of his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (7 vols., Washington, D. C.). This volume, although dated 1909, really appeared in 1910. The *Queste del Saint Graal* occupies pp. 3-199 of Vol. VI (1913) of the same work. My references to these romances in the following article are to Sommer's editions.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 135 f., I have pointed out that Sarras, the name of the Saracen capital was obtained simply by cutting off -in from *Sarrasin*, the old French word for Saracen. Cp., especially, Sommer, I, 21, lines 8 ff.

² The origin of this name has not yet been fixed. For various suggestions on the subject, cp. R. Heinzel, *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 137 ff. (Wien, 1891). J. Rhys is certainly wrong when he tries, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 324, to connect it with Welsh *Avallach* or *Avallon*. It is probably a corrupt form of some name in the Vulgate. The same thing is, doubtless, true of *Seraphe*, Nascien's name before he was converted to Christianity. I hope to return some day to the discussion of these and other names in the *Estoire*.

recapitulate here, Joseph's promises are fulfilled, Evalac triumphs over the Egyptians, a miracle of healing confirms still further the authenticity of the religion which Joseph taught, whereupon Evalac publicly confesses Christ and is baptized. As soon as he is baptized, his new, Christian, name, "Mordrain," appears on his forehead, and henceforth he is so called.³ Later on, contrary to God's command, he looks upon the Holy Grail and becomes blind and paralyzed, in consequence. He now retires, penitent, to a hermitage, and erects there an abbey of white monks. There he dies, after he has been visited by Galahad.⁴

Immediately before the baptism of the Saracen king, his brother-in-law, whose pagan name was Seraphe and who had been Mordrain's principal lieutenant in the war against Tholomer, had already been baptized and re-named Nascien (Nassien), by Joseph.⁵

In a previous article I have pointed out⁶ that the new name which Joseph conferred upon Seraphe, viz. *Nascien* (*Nassien*) is taken from the genealogy of Christ, *St. Matthew*, I, 4. It is the *Naasson* of that genealogy.⁷ I believe now that I have discovered also,—although in an entirely different field—the original of the Christian name, *Mordrain*, which was conferred upon Evalac after his conversion. It is, as I believe will be evident, a Germanic name—one which, in our extant records, however, seems to be preserved only in its Latinized forms, viz. *Maurdramnus*, *Maurdrannus*, *Mordramnus*, *Morithrannus*.

Now, it is to be presumed that more than one person must have borne this name in the course of the Middle Ages, but, after the

³ Cp. Sommer, I, 75.

⁴ For these later incidents in Mordrain's career cp. Sommer, I, 241-244, and VI, 185, respectively.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 134 f.

⁷ There was a reason for naming the head of Galahad's paternal line (*Nascien*) after an ancestor of Christ (and one of the earliest), for in the Grail romances Galahad represents Christ—he is a sort of Knight Templar Christ. On the other hand, there would have been no justification for drawing Mordrain's Christian name from so exalted a source, since he was not a progenitor of Galahad. It was sufficient that he should be named after some high personage who was reputed to have led a holy life. Mordrain owes something, of course, to Chrétien's Fisher King. Like the latter, he was maimed (i. e., in his later career) and could only be healed by the coming of the Grail Winner.

most diligent search among all possible materials pertaining to the subject, in every instance where it occurs I find that it is always the name of the same person, viz. the abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Corbie in Picardy, who filled that office from 769 to 781.⁸ In the last-named year, Maurdramnus abdicated in favor of Adelard,—Charlemagne's cousin, who later (in 822) became famous as the founder of the monastery of Corvey (Nova Corbeia) in Saxony—and died, it appears, the same year. The earliest documents in which the name has been preserved are as follows:

1. An eighth century MS. of certain books of the Bible⁹—

⁸For a history of the abbey of Corbie (Corbeia), which was situated at the junction of the Somme and the Corbie (a few kilometers east of Amiens), see *Gallia Christiana*, x, cols. 1263-1289 (16 vols., Paris, 1856-1874), where a list of its abbots is also given. The meagre information which has been preserved concerning Mordrannus (as he is there called) will be found col. 1266. Cp. also, the article on Corbie by Augustin Thierry, in the *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers état*, III, 413 ff. (Paris, 1856).

According to Thierry, the abbey was founded "vers l'an 657 par la reine Bathilde et son fils Chlotaire III, sur un domaine appartenant au fisc et qui provenait d'un seigneur appelé Guntland" (p. 414). Towards the end of the ninth century the abbots took the title of counts by a royal grant. The abbey was burnt down by the Normans in 859 and 881, and besieged in 1185 by Philippe d'Alsace, Chrétien de Troyes' patron, but relieved by the troops of Philip Augustus. In 1194 (cp. Thierry, p. 419) we find that the people of Corbie had the figure of a crow on their banners. In a dispute in the year 1448 (cp. Thierry, p. 417, note 1) the monks asserted that St. Bathild had endowed their foundation with the estates of a count (purely imaginary, however), named *Corbant*. These fanciful etymologies are on a par with those in the *Estoire*.

⁹For a description of this MS. cp. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, p. 102 (Paris, 1893). It was in reading this passage in Berger that I first came across the name, *Maurdramnus*. It struck me at once that *Mordrains* was the French form of this name. On the other hand *Maurdramnus* was, itself, obviously, of Germanic origin, so that I looked up E. Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* (2nd edition, 2 vols., Bonn, 1900-1901), and found it listed there (I, col. 1118) under the heading, *Maurdramnus*. Förstemann gives references to the last three documents which I cite above, but the occurrence of the name in the MS. at Amiens had escaped his notice.

According to Förstemann, the name is connected with such Germanic names as *Maur* (*Moor*), *Mauricho* (*Moricho*), *Mauring* (*Moring*, *Morine*), etc., and the first element in it is Latin *Maurus* = OHG. *mōr* "Aethiops."

originally at Corbie, but latterly ms. No. 11 of the town library at Amiens. Here on fol. 96, at the end of *Maccabees*, stand the words "Ego Maurdramnus . . . hoc volumen fieri jussi."

2. A list of names, entitled *Congregacio S. Amandi*, which is included in the old Confraternity Book of St. Peter's in Salzburg (Austria). The form of the name here is *Morthrannus*. Cp. the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae: Necrologia Germaniae*, II, 9 (Berlin, 1890). S. Herzberg-Fränkell¹⁰ has proved that the name of Morthrannus, whom he rightly identifies with the abbot of Corbie, was entered in the list between the years 787 and 804.

3. An early list of the abbots of Corbie printed by B. Guérard, *Polyptique de l'abbé Irminon*, III, 338 f. (3 vols., Paris, 1844). The name is here (p. 339) written *Mordramnus*.

4. A document entitled *De Anniversario Ratoldi* (i. e., on the anniversary of an abbot of Corbie, who, it seems, had died within the year) and dated 986, which has been also printed by Guérard, *loc. cit.*, p. 337. Here we have the following entry: "XIII Kal.

The second element is, of course, OHG. (*h*)*raban*=*raven*. Professor Hermann Collitz of the Johns Hopkins University points out to me that *Maurdramnus* is, in a sense, the same name as *R(h)abanus Maurus* (borne by the well-known German theologian of the ninth century), only the order of the elements is reversed. He suggests that the dental—*d* or *th*—which separates the two members of the compound in *Maurdramnus*, *Morthramnus*, etc., is due to the analogy of names like *Beraht-hraban*, *Leud-ramnus*, *Theut-ramnus*, *Gunth-ramnus*, etc. He cites other OHG. names that show an inorganic dental from the same cause, e. g. *Aclet-ramnus*=*Agleramnus*, *Eberdolt*=*Eber-holt*, etc.

In the *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, xxxvi, 9 f. (1913), Dietrich von Kralik explains the inorganic dental in these names in the same manner as Collitz, although he does not happen to mention just the name *Maurdramnus* (or its variants) among his examples. Still further, he makes the important observation that Germanic names which end in *-ramnus*, preceded by a dental, that does not properly belong to them, are confined to France. The reason seems to be as follows: As the originally Germanic population adopted the *lingua romana*, they lost their sense of the true composition of names like *Leudramnus*, *Gunthramnus*, etc., and came to regard *-dramnus*, *-t(h)ramnus*, not *-ramnus*, as the second element in such compounds. This misconception, accordingly, led to the substitution of *-dramnus*, *-t(h)ramnus* for *-ramnus* in names where before there had been no dental.

¹⁰ Cp. pp. 95 f. of his article, "Ueber das älteste Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII, 55 ff. (Hannover, 1887).

junii [year not designated] obiit Maurdrannus abbas qui Tanedas Montem dedit nobis. Videte ne ejus memoria obliviscatur: praepositus inde fratribus pastum facere debet."

In the identification of *Maurdrannus*, *Mordramnus* (and variants) with *Mordrain* only one morphological detail requires explanation, viz. the presence of the *i*. Usually the suffix *-amn* in Germanic proper names develops into *-am* (later, *-an*) in Old French.¹¹ The *-ain* which we have in the present case for *-am* most probably originated in the blunder of a copyist, who interpreted the three strokes, which in mediæval writing made up both *m* and *in*, as meaning the latter.¹² Possible, too, is the outright substitution of a familiar termination (*-ain*) in French proper names for a comparatively rare one (*-am*).

Assuming that the identification¹³ which I have proposed is

¹¹ Cp. OHG. *Berhttramn*, *Baldramn*, etc., with the corresponding OF. *Bertram*, *Baudram*, etc.

The variant *Mordrannus*, would naturally have given *Mordrans* in Old French. Cp. Latin *annum*, *pannum*, with Old French *an*, *pan*, respectively. Through some mistake of hearing or copying, *Mordrans* may then have become *Mordrains*. The form, *Mordrannus*, accordingly, would serve just as well as the starting-point of our romancer's *Mordrains* as the form, *Maurdrannus*.

¹² There was, of course, usually a flourish over the *i*, to distinguish it, but this was sometimes omitted.

¹³ Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 324, endeavors to connect Mordrain with Avallach, his hypothetical Welsh king of the dead. He does this, however, as I have said above, through the character's heathen name, *Evalach*, not through his Christian name. On the other hand, A. N. Wesseloſsky takes as the true form of the name what is really an occasional corrupt variant (e. g. in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, Sommer, VII, 146, 261, viz. *Mogdanis*, and derives this from *Mygdonia*, ancient name for a part of Northern Mesopotamia. It, also, occurs, he observes, as a personal name in the legendary *Acts of Thomas*. See, on the subject of this whole derivation, his article, "Zur Frage über die Heimath der Legende vom heiligen Gral," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, XXIII, 348 ff. This, however, is only one of Wesseloſsky's fantastic attempts in that article to derive the names of the *Estoire* from the Orient. It does not deserve serious consideration. Our MSS. show other corruptions of *Mordrain*, viz. *Mordains*, *Noodrans* (once in Manessier), *Mordrach* (Gerbert), etc.

In the passage of the *Estoire* (Sommer, I, 75) where the name, *Mordrains*, is said to have suddenly appeared on that character's forehead when he was converted to Christianity, this name is interpreted as meaning "tardif en creance," and the name of Clamacides, whose arm was miracu-

correct and remembering what I have stated already—namely, that in the extant documents the name is always that of the above-mentioned abbot of Corbie—it is, I believe, a safe inference for us to draw, that the name which we find in its French form in our Grail romances is, also, derived from this same personage. This derivation, in turn, might explain the singular circumstance that, according to the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, the Saracen king was born at Meaux in France, the son of a cobbler there.¹⁴

The ecclesiastical authorship of both the *Queste del Saint Graal* and *Estoire del Saint Graal* is beyond dispute. Now, what ecclesiastic would have an interest in conferring on the converted heathen king the name of this relatively obscure abbot, who died something upwards of four hundred years before either romance was composed? Obviously, only some monk of this particular abbey. And if this is true, we have established the place of origin of the romance in which Mordrain first makes his appearance in litera-

lously restored to him at the same time, is interpreted as "gonfanouniers nostre signor." Moreover, a MS. quoted by Hucher in his edition of the *Estoire*, in *Le Saint Graal*, II, 293, note 6, (Le Mans, 1874), adds that *Mogdanis* (the variant here used for *Mordrains*) means "en Caldeu" "tardis en creance." The words, "en Caldeu," however, constitute, no doubt, an isolated unauthorized variant of this MS., in imitation of the assertion (Sommer, I, 288) that *Corbenic* (name of the Grail castle) is a Chaldee word. For the rest, these pretended interpretations of the two names are just a part of the author's pious humbuggery.

¹⁴Cp. Sommer, I, 47. According to the tale there told, Mordrain was one of a hundred girls and boys demanded of France by Augustus, emperor of Rome. Augustus's successor, Tiberius, gave him to Felix, governor of Syria. In a quarrel, he slew Felix's son and fled to Tholomer, then king of Babylon. He served Tholomer well and became one of his vassals.

The meagre data concerning Maudramnus that have come down to modern times do not include any information in regard to his antecedents or the place of his birth. Such a tradition, however, as the one mentioned above, may very well have still existed at the time the Grail romances were composed in the abbey of which he was once the head.

Meaux is again mentioned in the Vulgate cycle, viz. in the *Mort Artu* branch, Sommer, VI, 345. Gawain is borne there, after being wounded in his duel with Lancelot. As Sommer, however, *ibid.*, note 9, observes, it may be an accidental coincidence that the name of this place should occur in the two romances (in a single passage in each). There is certainly nothing in either passage to suggest the use of this particular town in the other.

ture.¹⁵ For the moment I will leave aside the question as to whether this romance was the *Queste* or the *Estoire* and take up the next name which I propose to discuss, viz. *Corbenic*,¹⁶ the name of the Grail castle in these two romances.

If a monkish romancer does not hesitate to endue one of the chief characters of the Grail story with the name of a former head of an abbey (doubtless, his own) in Picardy, why should he or a fellow-romancer of the same class shrink from taking the name of the Grail castle from the site of another Benedictine monastery in the same general region—one which was particularly famous on account of its connection with the most remarkable wonder-working

¹⁵It is probably fortuitous that Christ is represented in the *Estoire*, (Sommer, I, 4) as giving this book to the author of its pretended introduction in the same century (it was in the year 717) as that in which Maudramnus lived, and indeed, very likely, during his lifetime—for there would be nothing strange about it, if he were upwards of fifty-two, when elected abbot of Corbie in 769. To be sure, no satisfactory explanation has ever been offered of the author's selection of that date for this fictitious revelation of his book to the world. On the other hand, when the *Queste* (Sommer, VI, 62) speaks of Mordrain's having lived miraculously four hundred years, one cannot help being struck with the coincidence that just about four hundred years had actually elapsed between the death of Maudramnus (in 781, apparently) and the composition of the *Queste* (first decade of the thirteenth century).

One other circumstance is, perhaps, also, worth noting: Mordrain was a king. Now, whilst Maudramnus was abbot of Corbie, a king, who, like Mordrain, had formerly been a warrior, but during the period of his retirement, distinguished himself by his piety and the strictness of his religious observances, was actually in residence there. I refer to Desiderius, king of Lombardy. Charlemagne married Desiderius's daughter, but afterwards put her away. A war ensued, and Charlemagne, having captured his quondam father-in-law and deprived him of his dominions, compelled him to enter the monastery at Corbie, in the year 774. In regard to these events it is recorded in the *Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, under the year, 774 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Tomus I*, p. 75, Hannover, 1826): "Paveia [i. e. Pavia, Desiderius's capital] conquistata, et rex Desiderius et Ansa uxor eius pariter exiliati sunt ad Chorbeiam, et ibi Desiderius in vigiliis et orationibus et ieiuniis et multis bonis operibus permansit usque ad diem obitus sui."

It is possible that this pious king, who must have been in constant association with Maudramnus, after his entrance into the latter's monastery, may have had some share in shaping our romancer's conception of Mordrain.

¹⁶There are, of course, corrupt variants of the name in our MSS., viz., *Corbenync*, *Corberic*, *Corbiere*, etc.

shrine, perhaps, in the whole of Northern France? As a matter of fact, I believe that this is what actually happened: In other words, I identify the name, *Corbenic*, with that of *Corbiniacum*, *Corben(n)acum*, *Corbanacum*, *Carbonacum*¹⁷—or, as it is now called, Corbény, which lies—or did lie before the recent war—some nineteen kilometers southeast of Laon. No valid objection can be urged against this identification, and the derivation, would, no doubt, have been proposed long ago, were it not for the all but ineradicable notion that everything in Arthurian romance must be traced back to some folk-tale.¹⁸

From the eighth to the tenth century, during the reigns of Pepin, Charlemagne and Charles the Simple, there was a royal palace at Corbény which these monarchs often occupied. Moreover, in the year 898, whilst Charles the Simple was king, the monks of Nanteuil, fleeing from the Norman invaders, brought to this place the bones of St. Marculf, the apostle of Jersey. This incident led a few years afterwards to the founding of a monastery there, and the shrine of St. Marculf acquired the reputation for a peculiar sanctity which persisted through many generations thereafter.

Beginning at least as early as the first part of the thirteenth century and down into the seventeenth century, immediately after their coronation at Rheims, the French sovereigns were accustomed to spend nine days at Corbény, to be near the above-mentioned

¹⁷ I have derived these variants from Book IV (*Francorum Regum Palatia*) of Dom J. Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*, I, 288 f. (2 vols., Naples, 1789) and the article on Corbény (Corbéni), entitled "Appendix De Prioratu Corbiniaci seu S. Marculfi," in *Gallia Christiana*, IX, cols. 239 ff. The place is so well-known, however, that all necessary information will be found in the encyclopædias under *Corbény*, e. g. in the *Nouveau Larousse*.

¹⁸ E. Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.* XXVIII, 25 (1905), suggests that it comes from *Caer Berwick* (i. e. Berwick, on the border between England and Scotland). Elsewhere he wishes to connect it with *Coto(v)atre* (Chrétien's *Perceval*, I. 3637), where the marvellous smith, Trebuchet, lived.—I had assembled all the materials for this article when I observed that for a moment the possibility of the identification which I have made suggested itself to Paul Hagen in his treatise, *Der Gral*, p. 6 (Strassburg, 1900), but he makes nothing of it. He first suggests that Corbenic may be identical with the city or palace called *Briebric* in the legend of Prester-John—then adds "Andererseits fiel mir die Namensähnlichkeit auf mit Corbény (Corbiniacum), *depart. Aisne, arrond. Laon*, dem alten fränkischen Königsschloss, das später in den Besitz der Mönche von St. Remy in Rheims überging." With these words he drops the subject.

shrine.¹⁹ It was from St. Marculf, too, that they were supposed to derive the power which was attributed to them of curing the scrofula, or king's evil, by touch. It was only natural, then, that our romancer should have borrowed from this place with its double associations of royal power and miracle-working sanctity the name of the Grail castle, or "palace," as it is, also, often called both in the *Queste* and *Estoire*.²⁰ The author of the latter romance, to be sure, indulges in some of his customary mystical flummery when he declares (Sommer, I, 288) that *Corbenic* is a Chaldee word, meaning "saintisme uaisel" ("most holy vessel"). With an eye to the Grail vessel, itself, he is here really trying to connect the name, *Corbenic*, with the word *Corbona* (*Corbana*)—the term applied in the Middle Ages to the almsbox in which various offerings at church were received.²¹ This word, in turn, came into mediæval usage, of course, from *St. Matthew*, XXVII, 6, where Judas, throwing down the thirty pieces of silver for which he had betrayed Our Lord, says, "Non licet eos mittere in corbonam, quia pretium sanguinis est." The word is really of Hebrew origin, *Corban* in that language meaning "gift," "offering," "oblation." Thus in *St. Mark*, VII, 11, Jesus, contrasting the conduct of the Pharisees with the commandments of Moses, says: "Vos autem

¹⁹ This particular custom and that which is described in the next sentence began after the composition of the Grail romances was completed, but they show how renowned for sanctity the shrine already was.

²⁰ See, for example, "palais," Sommer, II, 288, VI, 13, 179, "palais aventureus," *ibid.*, II, 289, "palais espritel," VI, 194, 197. So, frequently, in the Grail passages of the prose *Lancelot*, where, indeed, it is not unlikely that the term, "aventureus," was first applied to the Grail castle. This term in our MS. of the *Estoire* was very probably introduced by a redactor from that source.

²¹ It had, also, kindred derivative meanings. Cp. Ducange under *Corbona*, *Corbana*, *Corbanum*. He quotes, for example, Papius: "Corbonam, ubi pecunia sacerdotum erat, et interpretatur oblatio, et ut dicitur in historiis super Actus Apostolorum Corbonan erat area in qua reponebantur donaria sacerdotum." He quotes, likewise, from a decree of the Parliament of Paris dated June 1, 1403: "Vas nuncupatur Corbanum in quo pecunie pro missis necessariis fiendis deponi consueverant."

In his treatise, *Ueber die französischen Gralromane*, p. 155, Heinzel, with reference to this passage in the *Estoire*, asks, "Ist Qorban Opfer gemeint wie bei den Mensa die Eucharistie heisst?" But the word, *Corbona*, in its ordinary meaning (as drawn from *St. Matthew*, XXVII, 6) was, no doubt, in the author's mind.

dicitis: Si dixerit homo patri aut matri, Corban (quod est donum), quodcumque ex me, tibi profuerit."

It only remains now to determine the romance, or romances, which first introduced into Arthurian literature these names, *Mordrain* and *Corbenic*. Did the *Queste* introduce one and the *Estoire* the other, or was one of these romances, in the first instance, responsible for both?

There would be no room for this question, if Miss Weston and Brugger²² were right in their opinion that the two romances, just named, had the same author. To my mind, however, the probabilities do not favor this view. It is of no great significance, perhaps, that these romances, as preserved in our MSS., show here and there contradictory conceptions,²³ for, aside from the bare possibility that such contradictions may be explained as mere lapses of memory on the part of the author, there is the still further possibility that they may be due to the blunders of a redactor who was attempting to adjust the one romance to the other. It is rather on differences of style that I would rest the case for separate authorship. In the *Queste* the asceticism is fiercer, the application of the principle of allegorical interpretation more relentless. The author of the *Estoire* dwells on descriptions of battle with a manifest gusto which seems to me inconceivable in the author of the *Queste*.²⁴ Altogether, although both romances are plainly the

²² Cp. Miss J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 139 (London, 1901) and E. Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXIX, 89, note 45 (1905).

²³ For example, in the *Queste*, (Sommer, VI, 25), Mordrain and Nascien are represented as going together to Great Britain, whereas in the *Estoire* (*ibid.*, I, 233) Nascien was already there. Cp. too, the accounts of the Grail Table in the *Queste* (VI, 55) and *Estoire* (I, 247), respectively.

²⁴ Cp., particularly, the narrative of the wars between Evalac and Tholomer, and between Forcaire and Pompey in the *Estoire* (Sommer, I, 46 ff., 89 ff., respectively). The case against single authorship would be still stronger, if we could accept as a genuine episode of the *Estoire* the prose *fabliau* (Sommer, I, 171 ff.) relating how the wise physician, Hippocrates, was beguiled by a woman. But, like the Grimaud episode (Hucher's edition, III, 311 ff.),—which, however, did not get established in the tradition of the text—it is, doubtless, an interpolation. It is manifest that considerable additions were made to the original *Estoire*. Thus the Bron-Alain group, first introduced at I, 247 (Sommer's edition) from Robert de Borron, is irreconcilable with the narrative concerning the Grail up to that point, in which the action had been carried on by an entirely different set of characters—Joseph excepted.

products of ecclesiastical workshops, the *Queste* has the stamp of austerity in a far greater degree than the *Estoire*.

It is generally agreed that the *Queste* antedates the *Estoire*. The author of the latter evidently composed his romance as an early history of the sacred vessel (the Grail) which constituted the object of the quest of Galahad and his companions in the former. Subsequently either the author of the *Estoire*, or, more probably, a redactor of the cycle, adjusted the *Queste* to this new early history of the Grail. It is not obvious, then, at a glance whether such and such a feature which the two romances may have in common originated with the one or the other.

As far, however, as Mordrain is concerned, it is safe to assert that this character was invented by the author of the *Estoire*. There is really no place for him in the scheme of the *Queste*, whereas his story is well suited to form one of the elements in the narrative that is planned to establish the glory of the Grail and its keeper (Joseph), when the sacred vessel, as yet unknown, first started on its wanderings. In a brief passage at the end of the *Queste* ²⁵ he is healed by the arrival of Galahad, the destined Grail Winner, preparation for this having been already made in the *Estoire*. Otherwise, the only passages about the character ²⁶ in this romance are mere summaries of what had been related concerning him in the *Estoire*. They are, to all intents and purposes, on a par with that other passage in the *Queste* ²⁷ which is drawn textually from the *Estoire*, viz. the one concerning the three staves.

With regard to Corbenic; the question is somewhat more difficult to decide. This name for the Grail castle occurs in the *Queste* five times,²⁸ which is a surprisingly small number of occurrences, when one considers the prominence of this castle in the narrative of that romance. As a rule, the Grail castle is left unnamed in the *Queste*, just as in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* and its continuations.²⁹ Nevertheless, the five instances cited occur in widely

²⁵ Sommer, vi. 184 f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff., 60 ff., 96 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 59, 142, 182, 187. It should be noted that Sommer's Index is misleading as to the number of occurrences of names. He cites, without distinction, passages where the place or person is merely alluded to, as if such place or person were there actually named.

²⁹ It is to be observed that the earlier continuations, pseudo-Wauchier and Wauchier,—especially the former—constitute an important source for the

separated passages of the *Queste*. In the *Estoire*, on the other hand, Corbenic is found as the name of the Grail castle only three times,³⁰ and two of these instances are in the same sentence and the third on the following page. The sentence referred to is the one in which it said that just after the building of the Grail castle the name, *Corbenic*, appeared in freshly written letters on one of its doors and the author explains, as stated above, that this name was a Chaldee word, meaning "most holy vessel."

The more frequent occurrences of the name in the *Queste* would seem to tell in favor of the author of this romance as the person who first applied it to the Grail castle. Moreover, I believe that a writer would have been much more likely to perpetrate the fanciful etymology of *Corbenic*, mentioned above, on a name that was already established than on one that he was, himself, proposing for the first time. Altogether, then, it seems natural to conclude that *Corbenic*, as the name of the Grail castle, first appeared in the *Queste*.

What inference in regard to the origin of the *Queste* are we to draw from the application of this name of an actual place in Northern France to the mystic palace of the Grail? I do not think that we should be justified in concluding from this circumstance that the *Queste* was composed at Corbény. An author would hardly have given the mystic, elusive, palace the name of a place where he himself lived.³¹ This would much more probably be the act of

Queste. I note that the *Queste*, as it seems to me, is indebted to these continuations in the following points for which Chrétien furnishes no suggestion: 1. The Fisher King (Pelles) is not maimed. 2. The Grail is brought into the hall supernaturally, and not by attendants. 3. The dolorous stroke which causes the blight of the land. 4. The importance ascribed to the joining of the sword. 5. The chapel and the bodyless hand. 6. Perceval's sister.

³⁰ Sommer, I, 288 (twice), 289.

In the prose *Lancelot Corbenic* is the name given to the Grail castle everywhere, except in the episode of Gawain's visit (Sommer, IV, 339 ff.), where it remains unnamed. This is, doubtless, one of the many signs of the influence of Chrétien's *Perceval* on that episode. See my remarks on the subject, *Romanic Review*, IX, 359 ff. (1918). The *Lancelot*, no doubt, derives the name from the *Queste*.

³¹ Wolfram von Eschenbach, however, appears to have done this. In his *Parzival*, p. 230, ll. 12 f., he speaks of Wildenberc (in Odenwald?) in terms which seem to show that that was his home. Certainly, he was then composing his poem there. On the other hand, he alone among the Grail poets

a man who lived elsewhere, yet had an interest in Corbény, as a fellow-Benedictine.³² Now, inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the other great Grail romance of the Vulgate cycle (the *Estoire*) was composed at Corbie; it is most likely that this was, also, the place of origin of the *Queste*. According, then, to the evidence which I have set forth in this article it would seem that the author of the *Queste*, who was the first to supplant Perceval by Galahad in the Grail tradition, wrote his romance at Corbie, and that a monk of the same abbey followed it up a few years later with the *Estoire*.

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LUCAN'S PHARSALIA AND JONSON'S CATILINE

In his discussion of "Source-Material for Jonson's Plays" (*M. L. N.*, xxxi), Professor Briggs commented upon the poor working up of the sources for *Catiline*. I shall present here the patent borrowings from Lucan's *Pharsalia*. For the text of *Catiline* I follow a copy of the 1616 Folio; for Lucan, the edition of Haskins.

I, 1.

A Senecan prologue is spoken by the ghost of Sulla. The selection of Sulla's ghost is clearly influenced by *Pharsalia*, I, 580:

Et medio visi consurgere Campo
Tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes.¹

calls the Grail castle (251-2) *Munsalvaesche* (= *Mont Salvage*), which is the exact equivalent of *Wildenberg*. Perhaps the identification was a stroke of humor.

³² The similarity of names—*Corbie* and *Corbény*—may have suggested to the author the use of the latter name. It may seem strange that the *Estoire* (I, 244) should make Mordrain found an abbey of White Monks (Cistercians), instead of Benedictines, since Corbie, itself, was a Benedictine monastery. But a writer of romances has freedom in such matters, and, after all, Maurdrumnus was not the founder of Corbie.

¹ The rise of the curtain discovers Catiline in his study. The following echoes Lucan:

I can loose
My pietie; and in her stony entrailes
Dig me a seate.

Phars., I, 2:

Canimus populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra.

The conspirators shortly meet at Catiline's house. The six lines beginning 'It is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!' Briggs has referred to *Phars.*, I, 233-6. The conspirators boast of what they will do when in power:

I would haue seene . . .

The degenerate, talking gowne runne frighted . . .

O, the dayes

Of SYLLA's sway, when the free sword tooke leaue
To act all that it would! . . .

Sonnes kild fathers,

Brothers their brothers

All hate had licence giuen it: all rage raines. . . .

No age was spar'd . . . no degree.

Not infants in the porch of life were free.

The sick, the old, that could but hope a day
Longer, by natures bountie, not let stay. . . .

'Twas crime inough, that they had liues.

To strike but onely those, that could doe hurt,
Was dull, and poore. Some fell to make the number. . . .

The rugged CHARON fainted,²

And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,
To ferry ouer the sad world that came:
The mawes, and dens of beasts could not receiue
The bodies, that those soules were frighted from;
And e'en the graues were fild with men, yet liuing,
Whose flight, and feare had mix'd them, with the dead. . . .

The statues melt againe; and household gods
In grones confesse the trauaile of the citie.

Whalley had referred some of these lines, although not all, to Lucan. The following is complete:

Degenerem patiere togam (I, 365).
Lateque vagatur
Ensis et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum (II, 102).
Nati maduere paterno
Sanguine (II, 149).
In fratrum ceciderunt praeemia fratres (II, 151).
Tum data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum
Frenis ira ruit (II, 145).
Nulli sua profuit aetas (II, 104)
Nobilitas cum plebe perit (II, 101).

² Briggs pointed out another parallel for this passage in Petronius, *Sat.*, 121, 117. As Jonson has been utilizing Lucan so much at this point, however, it would seem rather that the leading idea was from Lucan, and that the hints from Petronius were worked in as an embellishment.

Nec primo in limine vitae
 Infantis miseri nascentia rampere fata (II, 106).
 Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
 Praecipitasse diem (II, 105).
 Sed satis est iam posse mori (II, 109).
 Et visum est lenti quaevisse nocentem,
 In numerum pars magna perit (II, 110).
 Praeparat innumeras puppes Acherontis adusti
 Portitor (III, 16).
 Busta repleta fuga, permixtaque viva sepultis
 Corpora: nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum (II, 152).
 Indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem
 Testatos sudore Lares (I, 556).

Several of the portents occurring during the meeting were suggested by the *Pharsalia*: sudden darkness (VII, 451), extinction of the vestal flame (I, 549), groans (VIII, 760), and a bloody arm waving a torch (I, 572). Cethegus dismisses their fears: 'We feare what our selues faine,' echoing *Phars.*, I, 146: 'Quae finxere timent.' A moment later Cethegus says, 'Differing hurts, where powers are so prepar'd'; *Phars.*, I, 281: 'Semper nocuit differe paratis.'

In the chorus following, the description of Rome's luxury seems largely suggested by the account of Cleopatra's dinner to Caesar, in *Phars.*, x, 104 ff.—silk couches, ivory tables, gold and crystal goblets, and the like.

III, I.

Cethegus again boasts of what the conspirators will do:

Then is't a prey,
 When danger stops, and ruine makes the way.

So *Phars.*, I, 149-50:

Impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
 Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.

III, II.

Fulvia visits Cicero, and acquaints him with the plot. Eight lines of Cicero's speech beginning, 'Is there a heauen?' are imitated from *Phars.*, III, 445 ff.³

³ Compare also Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 671 ff.

A little later Cicero says, 'For unto whom *Rome* is too little, what can be inough?' From *Phars.*, v, 274: 'Quid satis est si Roma parum?'

IV, II.

After Cicero's oration, Catiline rises to answer. He speaks derisively of Cicero:

The gods would rather twentie *Romes* should perish,
Then haue that contumely stuck vpon 'hem,
That he should share with them, in the preseruing
A shed, or signe-post.

On seeing that Cicero is terrified, Catiline exclaims:

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,
Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

Briggs mistakenly connected this passage with a passage in the *Æneid*, XI, 406 ff. For both passages cited, Jonson evidently had in mind the Cæsar-Metellus incident in *Phars.*, III, 138 ff., 134 ff.:

Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
Seruentur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

Vanam spem mortis honestae
Concipis: haud, inquit, ingulo se polluet isto
Nostra, Metelle, manus.

Catiline continues:

Nor honor . . .
Shall make thee worthy CATILINES anger.

Phars., III, 136:

Dignum te Caesaris ira
Nullus honos faciet.

IV, v.

On Catiline's leaving the city, the other conspirators try to tempt the Allobrogian ambassadors. Cethegus breaks out:

Why . . . talke you so long? This time
Had been inough . . .
T'haue . . . made the world
Despaire of day.

Phars., I, 543:

Gentesque coegit
Desperare diem.

V, vi.

The conclusion presents Petreius relating Catiline's end:

For in such warre, the conquest still is black. . . .
And all his hosts had standing in their looks,
The paleness of the death, that was to come. . . .

But himselfe

Strooke the first stroke; and, with it, fled a life.
Which cut, it seem'd, a narrow necke of land,
Had broke between two mightie seas; and either
Flow'd into other; for so did the slaughter:
And whirl'd about, as when two violent tides
Meet, and not yeeld. . . .

They knew not, what a crime their valour was. . . ,

(Catiline) ran in

Into our battaile like a *Lybian* lyon,
Vpon his hunters, scornefull of our weapons,
Careless of wounds, plucking downe liues about him,
Till he had circled in himselfe with death:
Then fell he too, t'embrace it where it lay . . .
And as, in that rebellion 'gainst the gods,
MINERVA holding forth MEDUSA's head,
One of the gyant brethren felt himselfe
Grow marble at the killing sight, and now,
Almost made stone, began t'inquire, what flint,
What rocke it was, that crept through all his limmes,
And, ere he could thinke more, was that he fear'd,
So CATILINE.

Compare with these lines the following passages from the *Pharsalia*:

Omne malum victi, quod sors feret ultima rerum,
Omne nefas victoris erit (VII, 122).

Multorum pallor in ore

Mortis venturae est (VII, 129).

Qualiter undas

Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos

Nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat,

Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeva

Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras,

Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores (I, 100 ff.).

Et qui nesciret in armis
 Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset (VI, 147).
 Sicut squalentibus arvis
 Aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
 Subsedit dubius totam dum collegit iram;
 Tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
 Haereat, aut latum subeant venabula pectus;
 Per ferrum tanti securus vulneris exit (I, 205 ff.).
 Quem, qui recto se lumine vidit
 Passa Medusa mori est? rapuit dubitantia fata
 Pervenitque metus: anima periire retenta
 Membra nec emissae riguere sub ossibus umbrae.
 Coeloque timente
 Olim Phlegraeo stantis serpente gigantes,
 Exerit montes, bellumque inmane deorum
 Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon (IX, 638 ff., 654 ff.).

Another parallel to the last figure, it should be said, even closer in some respects, is to be found in Claudian, *Car.*, 53. An examination will show that the leading ideas of the two poets have been cleverly interwoven.

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ROBERT BARON'S TRAGEDY OF *MIRZA*

That Robert Baron's tragedy of *Mirza* shows imitations of Jonson has already been indicated, but only, so far as I am aware, in general terms. Langbaine, who has put the matter so mildly that his words are almost humorous, says:¹ "The Author seems to have propos'd for his pattern, the famous *Catiline*, writ by Ben. Jonson: and has in several places not only hit the model of his Scenes: but even imitated the Language tolerably, for a young Writer." To show how very "tolerably" Baron had "imitated the language, for a young writer," Langbaine transcribes the first six lines spoken by Sylla's ghost in *Catiline*, and compares with them the first eight lines spoken by Emir-hamze-mirza's ghost in *Mirza*; but he proceeds no further into the matter. Warton tells us that *Mirza* is nothing more or less than a copy of Jonson's *Catiline*.² This, however, is a gross exaggeration. Gifford, who

¹ *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), p. 12.

² *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations*, by John Milton (1791), p. 407.

is more specific than either Langhaine or Warton, states in a note to the first speech of Catiline:³ "Robert Baron, in his tragedy of *Mirza*, not content with borrowing the plan and distribution of Catiline, has taken almost the whole of this and the preceding speech to himself. If we are not more honest than our ancestors, we certainly are at more pains to conceal our thefts; for Baron's plagiarisms are open and undisguised." Gifford fails to tell us that Baron, in one of his notes, confesses his indebtedness to Jonson:⁴ "Emir-hamze-mirza's Ghost, irritating his Brother *Abbas* to revenge him upon himself, bids him act those things upon his Son, which his very enemies shall pity (not without the example of the matchless *Johnson*, who, in his *Catiline* (which miraculous *Poem* I propose as my pattern) makes *Sylla's* Ghost persuade *Catiline* to do what *Hannibal* could not wish)."

Inasmuch as Baron's indebtedness to Jonson has, at best, been vaguely and inaccurately described, I shall attempt to disclose its extent and its precise nature. In the following list of borrowed passages I do not pretend to have gathered all that might be found—doubtless another reader would find more—but I have given, I think, all the important borrowings. And from an examination of these passages the reader will be able to observe the peculiar way in which Baron has adapted Jonson to his own uses.⁵

[*The Ghost of Sylla rises.*]

Behold, I come, sent from the
Stygian sound,
As a dire vapour that had cleft the
ground,
To ingender with the night, and
blast the day;
Or like a pestilence that should dis-
play
Infection through the world: which
thus I do.

[*Emir-hamze-mirza's Ghost.*]

.. behold, I come, from the dark
Lake,
To be thy evill *Genius*, and distill
Into thy darker bosom deeds shall
fill
The measure of thy sins up, and
pull down,
With violent hand, heavens ven-
geance on thy Crown.

³ *The Works of Ben Jonson*, Cunningham-Gifford, three-volume ed., II, 80, n.

⁴ *Mirza* (1647), M.

⁵ In the quotations from Jonson the page numbers refer to the Cunningham-Gifford three-volume edition. The quotations from *Mirza* are from a copy of the original edition in the possession of Professor Joseph Q. Adams.

[*The curtain draws, and Catiline is discovered in his study.*]

Pluto be at thy counsels, and into
Thy darker bosom enter Sylla's
spirit;

All that was mine, and bad, thy
breast inherit.

Alas, how weak is that for Catiline!

Did I but say—vain voice!—all
that was mine?—

All that the Gracchi, Cinna, Marius
would,

What now, had I a body again, I
could,

Coming from hell, what fiends would
wish should be,

And Hannibal could not have wished
to see,

Think thou, and practise.

... fate will have thee pursue
Deeds, after which no mischief can
be new.

[*Catiline rises and comes forward.*]

Cat. It is decreed: nor shall thy
fate, O Rome,

Resist my vow. Though hills were
set on hills,

And seas met seas to guard thee, I
would through;

Ay, plough up rocks, steep as the
Alps, in dust,

And lave the Tyrrhene waters into
clouds,

But I would reach thy head, thy
head, proud city!

The ills that I have done cannot be
safe

But by attempting greater; and I
feel

A spirit within me chides my slug-
gish hands,

And says, they have been innocent
too long.

[*Discovers Abbas in his study.*]

The foul Fiend aid thy counsellors;
and unto

Thee dictate what he would, but
cannot do.

Inherit all my fury, and obey
What jealousy shall prompt; mine
did I say?

Alas! (vain voice!) how weak is
that for thee!

The spirits of all unnaturall
Fathers be

Doubled upon thee. Act what the
Mogull

And *Turk* shall start to hear, what
th' *Tartar* shal

Pitty, what *Bahaman* could not
wish should be,

And the *Arabian* will lament to see.
Faulter not in thy course now, but

pursue
New mischiefs, till no mischief can

be new.

[*Abbas.*]

The vow is made, nor shall thy
flattering Fate

O *Mirza* contradict it; though thy
Troops

Stood like a wall about thee, nay;
though *Iove*

Presse all the Gods to guard thee,
and should arme

Them every one with Thunder, I
would through:

I'll tear the groundsells of thy
Towers up;

And make their nodding spires kisse
the Centre,

But I will reach thy heart, thy
heart, proud Victor.

The power that I have climb'd to
ere my time

Cannot be safe, if any reach too
near it.

Was I a man bred great as Rome
herself,
One formed for all her honours, all
her glories,
Equal to all her titles; that could
stand
Close up with Atlas, and sustain her
name
As strong as he doth heaven! and
was I,
Of all her brood, marked out for the
repulse
By her no-voice, when I stood can-
didate
To be commander in the Pontiac
war!
I will hereafter call her stepdame
ever.
If she can lose her nature, I can
lose
My piety, and in her stony entrails
Dig me a seat.

[Enter Aurelia Orestilla.]

Who's there?

Aur. 'Tis I.

Cat. Aurelia?

Aur. Yes.

Cat. Appear,

And break like day, my beauty, to
this circle;

Upbraid thy Phœbus, that he is so
long

In mounting to that point, which
should give thee

Thy proper splendour. Wherefore
frowns my sweet?

Have I too long been absent from
these lips,

This cheek, these eyes?

[Kisses them.]

Catiline, p. 79.

[Love] made my emergent fortune
once more look

Above the main; which now shall
hit the stars,

I feel my Crowns totter upon my
head,

Methinks, and see him ready stand
to latch them.

Was I a Prince, born to the *Persian*
greatnesse?

Set equall with the Gods? and as
ador'd

As is the Sun our Brother? and
shall I

Be bearded by a Son, a beam of me?
And like a Cypher add but to his
value?

I will, hereafter, call thee viper,
ever.

If thou canst lose thy filiall Duty, I
Can lose my Bowells, and on thy
ruines build

A Pyramid to my revenge and
safety.

.

[Enter Floradella.]

Who's that?

Flo. 'Tis I.

Abb. My *Floradella*?

Flo. Yes.

Abb. Enter my sweet: welcome
as earliest light

To th' infant world; and with thee
ever bring

A thousand Comforts to my thought-
full breast.

But why doth sadnesse invade Beau-
ties Kingdom?

And these faire eyes eclips their
glorious splendour,

With vailles of melancholly? . . .

[He kisseth them.]

Mirza, p. 1.

Till his encomiums hit the starrs,
and stick

And stick my Orestilla there His Idolized name amongst them.
amongst them. *Mirza*, p. 4.

Catiline, p. 81.

Who's that? It is the voice of Who's that? It is the voice of
Lentulus. *Beltazar*.
Or of Cethegus. Or *Mahomet Allybeg*.

Catiline, p. 82.

Mirza, p. 5.

Call at the great, the fair, and In the mean time get thee a party
spirited dames to thee
Of Rome about thee; . . . Of the male-spirited Dames, . . .

Catiline, p. 82.

Mirza, p. 14.

If't please you, madam, If't please your grace, the Lady
The Lady Sempronia is lighted at *Floradella*
the gate Is lighted at the gate, and means a
. visite..

And comes to see you.

Mirza, p. 18.

Catiline, p. 92.

O wretchedness of greatest states, O misery of greatest states!
To be obnoxious to these fates! Obnoxious to unconstant Fates!

Catiline, p. 88.

Mirza, p. 23.

Each petty hand In a dull calm, a child may play
Can steer a ship becalmed but . . . with th' helm,
. . . when her keel ploughs hell, But he's a Pilot can outride a
And deck knocks heaven; then to storm.
manage her, *Mirza*, p. 25..
Becomes the name and office of a
pilot.

Catiline, p. 99.

Is there not something more than Is there not something more for me
to be Cæsar? to do,
Must we rest there? Than to gain *Persia's* Crownes, and
 Asia's too?

Sejanus, p. 314.

Must I end there?

Mirza, p. 42.

What is it, heavens, you prepare? What is it, Heavens, you suffer
 here?

Catiline, p. 113.

Mirza, p. 72.

how much the gods How have we sinn'd! that you up-
Upbraid thy foul neglect of them, braid us thus
by making T' indebt us for our safeties to such
So vile a thing the author of thy low
safety. Vile things!

They help thee by such aids as
geese and harlots.

Catiline, p. 105.

Would you, Curius,
Revenge the contumely stuck upon
you?

now
Now is your time. Would Publius
Lentulus

Strike for the like disgrace? now is
his time.

Would stout Longinus walk the
streets of Rome,

Facing the Prætor? now has he a
time.

Is there a beauty here in Rome you
love?

only spare
Yourselves, and you have all the
earth beside.

Catiline, p. 87.

But *Rome* thrice ow'd her life to as
vile a trash,

Once to a common Harlot, twice to
Geese.

Mirza, p. 125.

Would you my Lord
Elchee, requite your selfe for th'
injury

Late done to you? now, now's the
time to do it.

Would you, *Mozendra*, arrive at th'
hopes

You, I know, have, of things worthy
your merit,

And daring soul? this, this is the
way.

Would you, *Benefian*, render your
self

Worthy
. . . to teach the bravest Lady
Ith' *Persian* Court to give and take
a flame,

. now's the time.

And is there any thing that you,
sweet Ladies,

Can on your Pillows wish for? now
command it.

. Is there ever
A Knight, or smooth chin'd youth
your eye commends

Unto your heart? he is your ready
servant.

This is the way t' atchieve all these,
and more.

Mirza, p. 131.

Besides these instances of plagiarism, we find also a borrowing of quite a different nature. In *Catiline*, each of the first four acts ends with a chorus. The first two choruses consist of iambic tetrameter lines, the third consists of iambic feet which are alternately tetrameter and pentameter, and the fourth of iambic feet which are alternately tetrameter and dimeter. Similarly in *Mirza*,

each of the first four acts ends with a chorus, and the metrical scheme is identical with that in *Catiline*. Moreover, the similarity of theme in the choruses that end the first act of each play is striking.⁶ There is, as usual, some borrowing of phraseology; compare, for example, the opening line of the third chorus in *Mirza* with the opening line of the corresponding chorus in *Catiline*.⁷

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JACQUES DE VITRY AND BOEVE DE HAUMTONE

The difficult problem of the origin and date of *Boeve de Haumtone* is still far from solution, though numerous monographs in the last ten years have served to emphasize its importance and its innumerable literary relationships. Matzke (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, xvii) proved its basic adaptation of the Saint George legend; Böje (*Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, Beihefte, xix) showed its mosaic-like borrowings and adaptations of French romance themes; and others have been concerned with the comparison and classification of the different versions.¹ It is of interest, therefore, to note the absorption into the romance of a story drawn from neither of these sources, a Crusader's tale which may by rare chance have come to the earliest author of the story by oral tradition, but which in much greater probability reached him through the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry. These sermons, with their often vividly interesting and contemporary exempla, have been ascribed by Crane (*Exempla*, p. xl) on the evidence of Jacques' unknown biographer to the years 1226-40, and by Meyer (*Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, p. xii), though on no stated grounds, to 1217, the date of Jacques' election as Bishop of Acre. The tale in question (No. xc

⁶ This similarity of theme is indicated in the sixth example.

⁷ See the ninth example.

¹ Billings, *Guide to Middle English Romance*, p. 36 ff.; Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 1916, p. 765 ff. In addition see Brockstedt, *Floevent Studien*, Kiel, 1907, *Von mittelhochdeut. Volksepen frz. Ursprungs*, Kiel, 1912 (Beves, pp. 60-159); Settegast, *Quellenstudien z. gallo-rom. Epik*, Leipzig, 1904, ch. xvi; Wolf, *Das gegenseitige Verhältnis d. gereimten Fassungen d. festländ. Buere de Hamtone*, Göttingen, 1912; and note 3 here.

of the *Exempla*) shows that it must have been learned in the East, from which Jacques finally returned in 1228.

The exemplum tells of a Templar in that happy time "in principio ordinis, cum adhuc pauperes essent et valde in religionem ferventes," who was bearing alms from Tyre to Acre. Coming to a place "qui Saltus Templarii ex illo tempore nuncupatur" . . . "ubi ab una parte cacumen prerupte rupis habebat, ex alia parte mare profundissimum subjacebat," he was cut off by Saracens "ante et retro." Inspired by faith in God, the Templar put spurs to his horse and leaped "in abissum maris." God granted that the horse carried him to the shore, but "quando ad terram venit, crepuit medius, eo quod undis marinis in saliendo fuisset vehementer allisus, et ita Christi miles cum pecunia pedes reversus est ad Tyrenum civitatem."

This is clearly the same episode as that which appears in the Anglo-Norman version of *Boeve de Haumtone*. Beves is escaping from his long imprisonment in Damascus. He is pursued by the Saracens, one of whom he kills, mounts his adversary's horse, and gallops on.

Venu est a un ewe, dunt il est irré,
demy lue out le ewe de lee. . . . (ll. 1236-7.)

Quant Boefs aveyt dampnedeu priez,
poynt le bon destrer par amedeus les costés,
fert sey en le ewe trente pez mesurez;
e ly bon destrer se est fortment pené,
le ewe fu redde, contre val l'ad porté,
e ly bon destrer est contre mount noé. . . . (ll. 1255-60.)

e par dreyte force sunt utre passez.
Quant il en furent outre, mult fu Boefs lee. (ll. 1263-4.)

The episode appears of course in the derivatives of the Anglo-Norman version,² and among these the Middle-English version (1330) with its specific reference to "ðe cliue / Ðar ðe wilde se

² Stimming, *Der anglonormannische Boere de Haumtone*, 1899, p. clxxvii. The Irish version, which seems a derivative of that in Middle English, curiously elaborates the scene. It tells of the swift tidal stream, of the roaring bay beyond the rock, of the apparent impossibility that it could be crossed by any living creature, and of the fact that Beves and his horse were in the water twenty-four hours. Cf. Robinson, "Celtic Versions of Bevis," *Zts. f. celt. Phil.*, vi, 131 (1907).

was" (l. 1790) is notably close to Jacques' story. It appears also in that which Stimming (*Der festländische Bueve de Hantone*, II, 127) describes as the second Continental French version.

Bueves chevauche, le frain abandonné,
 Vint a une eue dont parfont sont li gué,
 C'est Noire-monde, ensi l'œi nommer;
 L'iuaie descent d'un grant rochier cavé,
 Plus d'une archie ot en travers de le,
 Tant par fu rade, n'i ot barge ne nef. (ll. 3130-5.)

In the so-called first Continental version (Stimming, *ibid.*, I, 90) the horse's leap and swim are omitted, and Beuve eludes his pursuers simply by riding away from the river into a wood. In the Italian version³ the hero, fleeing on an exhausted horse, comes to the sea-shore, and is there saved from the pursuing Saracens by merchants who take him aboard their ship, a device for rescue which had already been used in an earlier part of the story. As the incident is so weakly treated and so lacks its salient features, the rock, the leap, and the prodigious swimming feat, it must be suspected that the Italian version here cannot be considered the oldest original form, although Matzke and Jordan have argued so weightily for giving to the version as a whole this distinction.

Another point of interest in connection with this incident is its popularity. As Böje (*op. cit.*, p. 96) has pointed out, the episode of the Vain Pursuit involving hero and horse and river, is found in *Fierabras* (Kroeber and Servois, 1870, p. 123), in *Ogier* (Barrois, p. 134, 191), in *Renaud de Montauban* and in the Middle English *Guy of Warwick* (EETS., 25, 26, p. 313). Böje comments in general on the probable inter-relation of the story in these romances, but he does not note a perceptible likeness of phrase between *Fierabras* and the Anglo-Norman *Boeve* which in itself offers a curious and as yet altogether unstudied problem in their exact relationship.

³ For special studies of the Italian version see Jordan, "Ueber Boeve de Hanstone," *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, *Beihefte*, XIV (1908); Matzke, "The Oldest Form of the Beves Legend," *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1912-3); Paetz, "Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältnis der . . . Fassungen des Bueve de Hantone," *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, *Beihefte*, I (1913). The horse leap is discussed by Jordan, pp. 17, 59, and by Paetz, pp. 39, 42.

Bradmund fu alé devaunt sur un bon destrer
E Boefs tost ateynt a une tertre mounter. (Boeve, 1184-5.)

Or cevauce Richars, li frans dus, tous iriés
A I tertre monter li avint grans mesciés
Ses boins destriers li est à I fais estanciez. (*Fierabras*, p. 123.)

"A, deus!" fet il, "beau rey de parays, . . .
e en la beneyte croiz mort pur nus suffris . . .
meuz eyme estre nêyé e en ewe mausmys
ke jeo ne seye isci de ceo paens pris." (Boeve, p. 50-1.)

Glorieus sire pere, qui te laisas pener
En la crois benéote pour ton pule sauver, . . .
Et se je entre en l'augue, bien sai g'i noieré
Noier me converra, ce sera grant viuté. (*Fierabras*, pp. 131-2.)

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART II

13. LAKAI

The German dictionaries cite the earliest appearance of *Lakai* from a text of the year 1541, and that in the modern sense of 'footman,' 'servant,' and the like. The word can be traced back much earlier, however, and that, too, in the earlier sense of 'sorte de gens de guerre, arbalétier,' numerous instances of which are given by Godefroy, Du Cange, and Littré. Additional ones, from Jean d'Auton, will be noted below.

The earliest of the following German instances of *Lakai* are from Brennwald's *Schweizerchronik*,¹ the passages in question referring to events of the years 1494-1507. The scene of action is in each instance Northern Italy:

1. Under denen warend 8000 knecht von der Eignoschaft; das überig Francosen, lageien und allerhand welsches volkes, ouch etlich, doch nüt vil lanzknecht (p. 321: event of 1494).

2. also ordnot er alle sachen in dem herzogtüm [*Mailand*], besetzt stet und schloss, versach die passen gar wil mit Franzosen

¹ *Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik*. Zweiter Band, Basel, 1910. [Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte, N. F., I. Abt., Bd. II.]

und laggeien und liess alle Eignossen disen handel wüssen gar mit grossen fröden (p. 461: 1499).

3. Also ward das mer under den 12 orten, das si den zû gewanten uff das mal den vorzug und die er wöltind vergunen, das die (= sie) 600 Gastgunier (= acc.) söltind mit stechlin bogen und etlich geschüz zû inen nemen und den berg stigen . . . (p. 513). Also wurfend si Oswalden von Rotz und lang Felixen von Baden uf für oberst hobtlüt. Die zugend mit den laggeien und dem geschütz in dem namen Goz an den berg und . . . (p. 514: 1507).

The following instance from the *Basler Chroniken* (vi, 30) likewise refers to the Milanese War of 1507:

4. Und wurden yro zusamen mit denen, die der küng von Franckrich hat, lackeyen, Stradioten und Hispanier und anderem volck, ob den 70000, und gewunnen ein schlacht vor Gennow uff dem berg.

The following is from *Heinrich Hugs Villinger Chronik*,² p. 49:

5. Do machten die Frantzosen zû ros ain huffen und die lantz-kneht och ain huffen und die lagegen och ain huffen (1513).

The last instances to be considered are from a *Flugblatt* of the year 1515, published in Weller's *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*:³

6. So sind der Baszgommer (= Gascons) vnd Laggaien ain grosse anzall vber die masz gewesen vnder denen. zusampt allerlay wer. die sy gehabt hand. . . die jnn die schweitzer neben denn Landszknechten wol nach allem vortail getroffen haben (p. 29).

7. sonnst ist von allem volck Lantzknechten. Gaszgomern. Laggaien vnnd wer aüff der walstat geplündert hat. vil guter harnasch . . . gefunden (p. 30).

In the above instances the following juxtapositions will be noted: *Franccosen, laggeien, welsches volk*; *Franzosen und laggeien*; *lackeyen, Stradioten*,⁴ *Hispanier*; *Frantzosen, lantzknecht* (i. e. *Germanen*), *lagegen*; *Gasconier und Laggaien*; *Lantzknecht, Gasconier, Laggaien*. In the remaining instance (No. 3) no other nationalities are juxtaposed, but the same troops that in one sentence are called *Gastgunier mit stechlin bogen* are immediately after mentioned as *laggeien*. The word seems to indicate, in these texts, some nationality, with the secondary meaning of *crossbowman*. The equation

² Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 164. Bd.

³ Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 111. Bd.

⁴ Greek or Albanian light cavalry.

Gastgunier = *laggeien* suggests a neighboring district of Southern France, such as Languedoc, or of Northern Spain.

French texts of the period just preceding show a similar use of the word. Godefroy cites, *e. g.*:

certain nombre de gens arbalestriers apeles *laquaiz* (1470); Sept a huit vingt *lacquetz* arbalestriers aussi gascons (*Chron. scand. de Louis XI*); CX XVI : Picarts, · C · Bas Almans en Guerrande, · XL · *lacays* (1488).

In the contemporary French accounts of the Milanese Wars, however, the word seems to have assumed the meaning of 'foot-soldier.' The following instances are from Jean d'Auton's *Chroniques de Louis XII* (ed. Paris, 1891):

transmist *soixante laquoyz gascons*, soubz la conduyte d'ung nommé Bertrand de Bouchede, et ne leur voulut bailler nulle gent de cheval. . . . Les *soixante coureurs françoys* allerent tant, (II, 265 f.: 1502).

Ung *laquays* françoys, nommé Jehan Loignon, meurtrier et mauvais garson entre tous les autres : . . . (II, 268).

transmyst Jacques d'Allegre, son filz, avecques VI cens *laquays* (IV, 116: 1507).

le lieutenant du Roy . . . appella ung nommé Cossains, capitaine de cinq cens *laquays*, lequel fist monter, avecques ses pietons, droict ou estoient les Genevoys (IV, 206: 1507).

In the hard fighting that follows, mention is twice made of *ledit Cossains et ses pietons*, whereas on p. 207 they are again called *les laquays de Cossains*. On p. 238 there is reference to *grant nombre d'autres Allemans et laquays françoys*, and on p. 245 *troys mille cinq cens laquoyz* are sent with 3000 *Allemans*.

Whatever the ultimate origin of the word, the etymology of Diez and Körting, who would derive it from Germ. *lecken*, with the primitive meaning of 'licker' = 'parasite,' seems quite improbable: the development above indicated, of 1. nationality > 2. special kind of soldier > 3. attendant, body-servant, is exactly paralleled, furthermore, in the case of the German words *Heiduck* and *Schweizer*, whereas the opposite development of parasite > servant > soldier > nationality seems utterly impossible.

. 14. BÄNDIT

Kluge cites this word from Frisius (1541) and Maaler (1561), in the sense of 'exul,' 'Verbannter.' The following instance, with

the same meaning, is from Edlibach's *Chronik*,⁵ in connection with events occurring in Northern Italy in 1513:

den (= *denn*) uor den banditten vnd francosen die noch allenthalb jn schlossen lagend torfte niemen wandlen.

For the meaning of the word, compare the following passage from Jean D'Auton's *Chroniques de Louis XII*, referring to events of the year 1501 in Northern Italy:

Ilz sont de six a sept mille bons conbatans, avecques sept ou huy cens Lombars *bannys* de leur pays, lesquelz, soubz le malheur de necessité urgente, se couvriront des escus de vertueulx courage (II, 128).

15. ATTENTAT

Kluge notes the earliest occurrence of the word in *Zeitungen* of the Thirty Years' War. The following instance goes back to the preceding century, being found in the *Zimmerische Chronik* (1566):⁶

so hette er auch ohne sein, herr Gotfridt Wernhers, rath oder vorwissen diss attentat angefangen.

16. BANKETT

The earliest instance cited by Kluge is from Maaler (1561). The following examples are from *Wilwolt von Schaumburg*⁷ (MS. 1507):

Er bat sein wirt, im ein herlich und guet banket zu besteln. . . . Da nu all sachen des bankets geschickt und die gest komen soln, (p. 150). Darnach wurden gros köstlich banket und tenz gemacht, (p. 158). lies sie mit iren mennern nid ersitzen, gab in ein erlich banket, das si darnach dem spill dest pas zusehen mochten (p. 165).

17. AMBASAT, AMBASIATOR

The first of these forms is quoted by Helbling⁸ from Fronsperger (1555). The earliest of the following instances are from documents dated 1450, and published in the *Fontes rerum austriacarum* (II. Abt., 42. Bd.):

⁵ Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, IV, 249.

⁶ Hrsg. v. K. A. Barack, 2. Aufl., Tübingen, 1881, II, 441.

⁷ Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 50. Bd.

⁸ "Das militärische Fremdwort des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zs. f. deu. Wortf.* XIV, 42.

vnsers gnedigen herrn des Ro. kungs ambaziaten (p. 74). seinen . . . gemelten ambasiatores . . . den gemelten ambasiatores (p. 154).

In *Wilwolt von Schaumburg* (ms. 1507) the word *amasat* occurs several times in the same sense of *ambassador*:

Nu musten die selben geschickten amasatten bischof Wilhalbm . . . von Arres hinziehen (p. 142). den vertrag des kunigs von Frankenreich und der amasatten (*ib.*) auch den amasatten, die mit köniklicher wurde von Frankenreich gehandelt haben (p. 144).

In the following cases however, from the *Basler Chroniken* of the years 1476-77, the word is feminine, with the meaning *embassy*:

da hat er ein ambasiat zu dem kung geschickt . . . und hatt der ambasiat (*dat.*) empfohlen dry gaben an den kung zu begeren . . . hatt der kunig der ambasiat (*dat.*) geantwort (III, 147). hab der obgemelt hertzog von Meylant ein treffenlich ambasiat zu dem kung von Franckenrich geschickt (III, 441).

18. LEGATION

This word appears simultaneously with the preceding, and in the same texts:

herr Procopius yetz in der legacion mit andere . . . räten in vnser stat komen ist (*Fontes*, II. Abt., 42. Bd., p. 153: 1454).

usz gewalt der legacyon von wegen der . . . hertzogin von Burgunn (*Basler Chron.* III, 516: 1477).

19. MUNITION

The earliest instance known to me is from the *Basler Chroniken*, in connection with the Peasants' War of 1525:

. . . ire schlosz besetzt, sich mit proband, municion, und was zu der artallary und kriegszubung not ist . . . versehen (VI, 513).

Weller's *Zeitungen* contain several instances of the year 1535:

Das sy den nächsten auf Palerma in Siciliam faren sollen vmb Profandt vnd Munition zuladen (p. 82).

On p. 84, under the caption MUNITION ODER KRIEGS RÜSTUNG, there are enumerated "Handbüchsen, Hagggenbüchsen, Corsaleti oder Bantzer, Liderin schleüch zum Wasser, Sättel zu pferden, Puluer, Kuglen, Salpeter, vnd anders zum geschosz taugentlich."

20. ARTILLERIE

This word, cited by Helbling from the year 1521, makes its first appearance in contemporary accounts of the siege of Neuss (1475):

ind naemen dem herzogen 10 schif mit sinre artelrien, mit 6 groissen heuffbuessen (*Chron. d. deu. Städte*, XIV, 840).

The following, later instances, are from the same volume:

mit vast schaden van doiden, van buessen ind andere attelrie die sie dair laissen moisten (p. 889: event of 1494). mit groissen heuffbuessen ind ander artelrien (p. 896: year 1495). mit vast heuffbussen ind mit anderen artelrien (p. 902: year 1497):

In *Wilwolt von Schaumburg* (MS. 1507) the word appears as *erkerei*:

In dem wurden auch leut verordent, die sie des künigs erkerei und geschütz sehen lieszen (p. 96). dar in er sich mit leuten geschos seiner erkerei und alles, das in einem velt zu stürmen und streiten gehört . . . rüstet (p. 183).

Another spelling, *artallary*, is cited above, under *Munition*.

21. MUSTER, MUSTERN

The dictionaries give a number of instances of the fifteenth-century neuter noun *Muster*, 'Musterung,' derived, like the English word *muster*, from the late Latin *monstra*, Italian *mostra*, which are feminine, however. Compare, for example, Ducange (v, 512) *s. v. Monstrum* 1:

ut Monstram videat de gente armigera (1314); . . . faciendi fieri Monstram de burgensibus (1331).

One should expect the German noun also to be feminine. The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, *s. v. Muster* (IV, 544), surmises that the word may also be feminine, but is unable to give any examples. The following instances are from G. F. Ochsenbein's *Urkunden der Belagerung und Schlacht von Murten* (Freiburg, 1876); all the documents concerned refer to Charles the Bold of Burgundy and are dated 1476:

dasz der Burgunsch Hertzog uff vergangenem Samstag zu Notzaret sin Muster gehebt (p. 29). vnd hatt gebetten mit grossem usruffen durch das gantz land das menglich hüt da si, ze tund ir

mustre (p. 38). der Burgunsch Hertzog . . . hat Jetz Zinstag vnd Mittwuchen sin Mustre gemacht (p. 195). Der Hertzog hat In sinem here ein nūw Muster getan vnd ist selbs bi der gewesen (p. 237). als er das zū mengem mall an siner Muster gesechen hab (p. 274).

Three of the above instances (pp. 29, 38, 195) could of course be either neuter or feminine, but *bi der* (p. 237) and *an siner* (p. 274) can only be feminine.

The verb *mustern*, in the military sense, is cited by Helbling from Frontinus (1532). This also is found in one of Ochsenbein's documents of the year 1476:

sagt also, der Hertzog hab sin volk gemustert vnd widergemustert vnd ligen vnd warten vsrichtung irs Solds (p. 207).

22. GESCHWADER

Kluge cites an instance of the year 1547, Helbling one of 1534. The following example is from Brennwald's *Schweizerchronik*, written soon after 1507, the event itself being of the year 1444:

Die wil sich nun die obgeschribnen sachen ferlofend, nahet der telphin mit sinem züg der Eignossen lager und schikt ein geschwader, wol 100 pferd, an die Eignossen zū scharmützen (II, 133).

23. FETZEN (= Fahne)

The *DWb.* is able to quote but a single instance of *Fetzen* used in the sense of 'banner,' 'standard.' The following instances, antedating that of the *DWb.*, are from one of Weller's *Zeitungen* of the year 1515, in which the losses of the Swiss in the Milanese War are enumerated (p. 32):

Der fendrich von schweitz mit dem fetzen. Der fendrich vonn Vri mit dem fetzen.

W. KURRELMAYER.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE O' E. ANDREAS

In my note on *Elene* 1272^{b-7a} (*The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus*, p. 100), I pointed out that these lines seem to be adapted or paraphrased from *Aeneid* I, 50 ff. In order clearly to exhibit this, I subjoin the two passages, enclosing in superior letters the corresponding words and phrases, as I conceive them. That from the *Elene* is:

Landes frætwe
gewītaþ under wolcnum ^awinde^a gelīcost
þonne hē for hæleðum ^bhlūd^b āstīgeð,
^cwæðeð be wolcnum, wēdende færeð,^c
ond eft semninga ^dswīge gewyrðeð^d
in ^enēðcleofan^e ^fnearwe geheaðrod,
þrēam forþrycced.^f

The passage from the *Aeneid* (I, 51-62) follows:

Nimborum in patriam, loca feta ^cfurentibus^c ^aAustris,^a
Aeoliam venit. Hic vasto rex Aeolus ^eantro^e
^cLuctantis^c ^aventos^a tempestatesque ^bsonoras^b
Imperio ^fpremit,^f ac ^fvinclis et carcere frenat.^f
Illi indignantes ^bmagno cum murmure^b montis
Circum claustra ^cfremunt;^c celsa sedet Aeolus arce
Sceptra tenens, ^dmollitque animos et temperat iras;^d
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cælumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.
Sed pater omnipotens ^espeluncis^e abdidit atris,
Hoc metuens, ^fmolemque et montis insuper altos
Imposuit.^f

Similarly one might, I believe, establish a relation between certain passages of the *Andreas* and the account of the storm which these Æolian winds aroused. The longest of the passages is as follows (372-8 ff.):

^aWedercandel swearc,^a
^bwīndas wēoxon,^b ^ewāgas grundon,
strēamas styredon,^e ^cstrengas gurron,^c
wæde [ms. wædo] gewætte; ^dwætereḡsa stōd
þrēata þrȳðum.^d Þegnas wurdon
ācolmode; ^eænig ne wēnde
þæt hē lifgende land begēte.^e

Another is (393-4) :

^fGrund is onhræd,
dēope gedrēfed;^f

with which may be compared (1528-9) :

Sund grunde onfēng,
dēope gedrēfed.

And still another ¹ (495-6) :

^gStrēamwelm hwileð,
bēateþ brimstæðo.^g

The *Aeneid* ² has (I. 82 ff.) :

^bVenti, velut agmine facto,
Qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perfiant.^b
Incubuere mari ^ftotumque a sedibus imis^f
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus, et ^gvastos volvunt ad litora fluctus;^g
Insequitur clamorque virum ^cstridorque rudentum.^c
^aEripiunt subito nubes cælumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.^a . . .
^ePræsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.^e

And again (I. 105) :

. . . ^dinsequitur cumulo præruptus aquæ mons.^d

The most doubtful of these equations are perhaps those represented by *d* and *f*; the most striking, that denoted by *c*.

If the view here presented meets with favor, it would seem natural to infer that the author of the *Elene*, who employs the earlier part of Virgil's account of the winds, and the author of the *Andreas*, who employs the later part, were one and the same man; from which it would follow that Cynewulf was the author of the *Andreas*.³

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¹ Cf. 308, *waroða geweorp* (see *ῥηγμίν*, *Od.* 4. 430, etc.), which I translate "the smiting of the shores," "plunging of the breakers"; cf. my *First Book in Old English*, p. 215, note 6.

² Bede, it may be observed, knew Virgil well, and quoted him frequently (*Opera Hist.*, ed. Plummer, l. liii; cf. l. lii, 108, 113, 150, 247, 267, 305), but does not, I believe, refer to these passages. Cynewulf seems to have used Bede in *El.* 1206^b ff.; cf. the note in my edition.

³ Krapp says (*Andreas*, p. liv): "The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 369 ff. is noteworthy." May this be because he had so good an original ready to his hand? In general, cf. my edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. lxi-lxii.

REVIEWS

El Alcalde de Zalamea, por Calderón de la Barca, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by JAMES GEDDES, JR., Ph. D. New York, D. C. Heath & Company, 1918. xxxviii + 198 pp.

While gratitude will not be withheld for this contribution to available text-book literature from Spain's greatest century, the work leaves much to be desired. It is not the inaccessibility of the German edition which furnishes the *raison d'être* for an edition of this kind, but the need of intelligently interpreted texts. The editor suffers from an altogether too high opinion of Krenkel and Hartzenbusch as final authorities: Krenkel's understanding of Calderón's textual difficulties was far from uncanny; as for Hartzenbusch, the student may disabuse his mind from the start of any notion that he furnishes any improvement.

The introduction has devoted too much attention to the question of historical authenticity—Calderón was nothing, if not uncritical, at the worst, *se non è vero, è ben trovato!* As for the intrinsic value of the imposing historical apparatus offered, Sebastián, who died in 1578, suffered defeat in 1580 (p. iv); the House of Austria ended under the Philips (p. ix); the play is laid in 1581 according to p. 122, but in 1580 according to p. 128.

As the indebtedness of the play to the *Novellino* through Lope is somewhat problematical, the value of paragraphs xvi-xvii is questionable. As to the choice, by Calderón, of Crespo for the mayor's name, the question cannot be settled without a study of the relation between Lope's play and the *Pedro de Urdemalas* of Cervantes, in which the election of a Crespo is hailed as a return of the Golden Age.

As a soldier, Calderón was not especially fortunate (Rivad., VIII, xxx); in the treatment of the author as a man of letters, we miss a comprehensive study of his work. Calderón's originality in the invention of Mendo has been overestimated, although the "frequency" of such characters in the fifteenth (sic) century needs scrutiny. The fountain-head for this conception of the *hidalgo* is *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which has been adduced in second place as if an afterthought (Introd., p. xviii).

The editor has been misinformed concerning the details of similarity between Mendo and Rosado : the latter loves not only Isabel, but every woman—even to *negras* and *triperas*; contrary to the attitude of Mendo, he wishes to marry her, and far from receiving “the same drastic treatment,” Isabel tells her mother, in answer to the latter’s reproaches: *Pois si, eu o fui chamar!*

Not every one would agree with the statement that Mendo is intended as a “contemptible caricature”; humorous, there is no doubt, but perhaps with something of the pathetic (not to say grandiose) in his faithfulness to his mistaken ideal, to that pride—*roto, sí, mas no remendado!*

For the curious—Rebolledo and his consort in military setting were on earth before in the persons of Estebanillo González and his *fregonil alcaida* (Rivad., xxxiii, 323 ff.).

The treatment of versification is valueless. The statement that the *romance* verse “ordinarily counts eight” syllables would justify almost anything. The information on p. xxxvi that II, 612-893, is a romance structure is confusing in view of the statement on p. xxxvii that II, 557-680, furnishes examples of the *quintilla*.

Lack of space forbids the enumeration of the typographical errors in the text, of which there are some thirty without counting the haphazard punctuation and accentuation.

The vocabulary will probably serve a purpose, although a close study will reveal how little of the play has been understood: *hubiera* (I, 642) and *habiendo* (II, 19) misunderstood as equivalents of the corresponding forms of *tener*, and “frequently used”! *bien hallado*, as ‘content with my coming’! *casa (el defeto ha de dejarme en)*, as ‘leave me by myself’! to say nothing of ‘fire from the hall-way’ for *echar por un corredor!*

There is no justification for the inclusion of variant readings from Krenkel or Hartzenbusch, nor for discarded orthographies, nor for Krenkel’s notes. Least of all should any credit be given Krenkel for the definition of *lugar*, which was copied bodily from the Academy.

The following will give some idea of the shortcomings:

asegundar, III, 241, not ‘repeat an action,’ but ‘hit (a person) again’; *aún*, unknown to the play; *aun bien que*, not as given, but ‘luckily,’ ‘anyway,’—a ready-made phrase of facile documentation; *barato*, II, 162, not ‘winnings,’ but ‘table-fee’; *blanco*, III, 222,

not 'white,' but 'sharp'; *cabildo*, not 'cathedral chapter'; *cargar con*, not *tomar*; *casa* (*el defeto*, etc.), as 'leave me by myself' is an uncatalogued vision from the cave of Montesinos; *corredor*, not as rendered, but 'balcony,' 'window,' for I, 788; *día* should be entirely rewritten; *estancia*, not as rendered for II, 190, but 'garden,' as in *Mágico prodigioso*, I, 2, and *Gustos y Disgustos son no más*, etc., I, 1; *familia*, II, 33, not 'family'; (*sin*) *fulminar el proceso*, not as rendered, but 'without formality of trial'; *haber* contains too many errors to be retained; *jacarandina*, not 'assembly of ruffians,' III, 610, but *jácara*. To say that it is an alternative of *jacarandaina* is to put the cart before the horse, as is also the treatment of *taina* as a jingle to rhyme with *jacarandaina*, which latter was coined to match *titiritaina*. For the curious, the *jácara* was an invention of the devil Asmodeus, Guevara, *Diable cojuelo*, I; *jurador*, I, 55, 'profane,' adjective, not noun; *par*, masculine, has nothing in common with *a la par*; *preciso*, -a (*ocasión*), I, 704, not 'case like this,' but 'in my helpless situation'; *que*, as a 'preposition,' is open to question; *real*, rather 'dime,' 'bit,' 'sixpence'; *saber*, II, 186, is not active; *sino es hoy*, not as rendered, but 'except now that'; *taina*, not merely a 'jingle,' but the second part of the authentic *titiritaina*; *tratar*, III, 704, not 'try,' but 'go about (doing something),' not a synonym of *tratar de*; *vida* (*en mi*), may take *no* in either position as negative; *zozobrar*, I, 709, 'be of no avail,' also misunderstood by the corresponding note.

Attention may be called to certain needs which have not been filled. We miss *ante*, 'beginning,' for I, 284, in allusion to Hebrews, vii, 3; 'touch,' 'be bold enough to touch,' for *atreverse*, I, 865; 'house,' not 'houses,' for *casas*, III, 576; 'appreciate,' for *celebrar*, I, 600—a passage misunderstood by the corresponding note; 'count,' for the word-play on *contar*, III, 105; *cuando*, 'since,' for II, 843; *después*, 'in the second place,' 'also,' for I, 167; 'to woo,' 'make love to,' regular, though rarely listed, for *enamorar*, II, 7; *inorme* in alphabetical order for III, 23; *sí hará*, 'all right,' for II, 426—it stands for *sí irá* in answer to the mandatory *va* of v. 425; *incitar* as *procurar* for III, 250, if the text be correct; *lo* (*que*), 'as much as,' for I, 743; 'half-seas over,' for *entre dos luces*, without which the pleasantries of II, 456, will be unintelligible to the reader as it was to the editor; treatment of the expletive *otro* of II, 67; 'and' 'but,' for the *que* (*no*) of I,

735; *quién*, 'if one only,' for I, 313 *et passim*; *reformar*, 'discharge,' 'dismiss,' for II, 33; *tratarse* 'be treated,' for III, 426.

The weakest part of the text, however, is the commentary. By far the great majority of the notes are uncalled for, erroneous, written for the Hartzbusch instead of the text used, or built on no other material than the passage to be elucidated, rather than on contributory information.

PERSONAS. *La Chispa*: Masculine common nouns thus used have the same treatment; the whole note is valueless; Calderón was but sixteen when Shakespeare died.

Any attempt to seek relationship between *Rebolledo* and *rebollecer*, *rehecho* y *doble* is absurd, and as for *bullá, mi padre!* (1) *Rebolledo* is a name which has been borne by many persons of note and dignity; (2) there is no necessary connection between dramatic persons and their names. The name was chosen as an appropriate name for a soldier, and had been used before by Lope and Cervantes. The former uses the good old name Saavedra for a *rufián*.

I, 20. *Pues es cierto*: *Pues* is illative, not ordinal; render: 'For the mayors will be sure to come . . . and say.'

I, 25-29. *Responder . . . Decir*: Historical infinitives are past, not future. The infinitive which the editor has in mind takes *a* before it.

I, 32-33. *Y nosotros . . . A obedecer*: This infinitive is not historical, and is to be explained by ellipsis of *nos ponemos* or similar.

I, 64. *tras la persona*: Not picaresque, but dignified or, as here, bombastic; cf. *D. Q.*, II, 3; *mire . . . cómo escribe de las presonas* (sic); I, 20: *ten cuenta con tu persona y con lo que debes a la mía*.

I, 76. *regidor*: *alcalde* and *regidor* may both hold office at the same time; municipal government differed so in different regions that the note is valueless.

I, 80. *Mesa franca*: The note is wholly erroneous; a *regidor* held no exalted position (cf. *D. Q.*, II, 25; Lope, *San Diego de Alcalá*), the point being that with a mere *regidor* she was better off. *Mesa franca* does not mean 'free lunch' for sycophants, but 'board included' for servants and dependents. *Menos regla* would not mean 'irregularly,' but 'more irregularly'—than what? Render: 'If I had wanted an easy life I would not have left the *regidor*,

with whom everything is in abundance—a thousand gifts, and all that—for there are *regidores* who pay with less stint (than here). For *regla* as stint, see the Academy; for the way pay was doled out in the army see Lope, *Las dos Bandoleras*, *Milagro del Desprecio*; *D. Q.*, I, 38, etc.

I, 105. *Alférez*, neither ensign nor recruiting office, but lieutenant.

I, 106. *embárguese*: The period of the play is 1580, not 1581, and military operations of this latter date have no pertinency. The allusion, as *mate Moros* shows, is to expeditions to Africa.

I, 159. *máteme una gallina*: The chicken's death is the only catastrophe foreshadowed. *Gallina* was not esteemed by soldiers more than by any one else, cf. *D. Q.*, II, 59; the statement that "mutton was too commonplace" is pure fiction—*De las carnes, el carnero*, . . . *De las mujeres Beatriz*; freshly killed chicken was far from being the delicacy indicated by the note, cf. *No siempre lo peor es cierto*, II, 13.

I, 187. *más bien gastado rato*: The construction is not loose, although the annotation is; render: 'Is there any better fun than a peasant girl and to see, . . .' the *de* being indicative of genitive of source and governing both *una villana* and *ver*.

I, 214. *floco* (sic!) *rocinante*: The passage cited contains no description of this worthy beast, *prenda tan mala para empeñada como para vendida*, *D. Q.*, I, 23. Calderón had a fondness for the steed, and rides him as an adjective in *Niña de Gómez Arias*, II, 1, *en rocinantes palabras*.

I, 217. *Parece*, etc.: The passage is a pure anachronism, and the note is wholly impertinent; see *Mágico prod.*, II, 1, for a mention of *D. Q.*, I, 33, in the early years of the Christian era.

I, 236. *Cálzome palillo y guantes*: The editor has erred with Krenkel in thinking that *calzar palillo* means, 'to put a toothpick in one's hat,' or even on one's ear, as in *Guzman de Alfarache*, II, ii, 1; and the *Century Dictionary* has nothing to do with the case. We are dealing with the traditional *hidalgo* (*de comedias*, as Toribio, *Guárdate del Agua mansa*, I, 15, puts it), whose toothpick subterfuge goes back to the straw of the *hidalgo* of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, III, through the *mondadientes en ristre* of Quevedo's *Figura de Guedejas se motila* and the *palillos . . . falsos* of *Roman-cero General*, II, no. 1773. *Calzar*, which is proper enough with

quantas, is used here by jocose zeugma with *palillo*, to which it does not apply; the expression hardly means any more than 'I'll get my gloves and toothpick!'

I, 300. *la hambre*: *La hambre* is not confined to Calderón; *este ayuda*, I, 654, is typographical; *justicia* as masculine for III, 405, arises from ignorance that an appositive does not agree in gender; *figura*, *gallina*, as masculines are of an entirely different order; so also, *fantasma*, *color*, *tema*, as feminines; more unfortunate still is *justicia* as masculine (vocab., *lo*) for III, 394, in ignorance of the pron. pred. nom. *lo* for all genders and numbers. As an example which by no stretch of the imagination can be made "masculine by all it represents," the following will suffice: *Mujer que ha de serlo mía (Agradecer y no amar, II, 1)*. Lest it be inferred that the *la* article with *hambre* be due to the aspiration of the *h* cf. *Saber del Mal y del Bien, II, 14: Pero la hambre, no me espanto*.

I, 305-306. *greda*: A burlesque characterization of hunger, not an allusion to the miraculous power of spittle free from food; a jocose commonplace, of which a hundred examples could be adduced.

I, 312. *hidalgo*: *hidalgo* and *caballero* have nothing in common, and the former had not eaten since the day of Lazarillo, but for more material reasons than those adduced by the note.

I, 337. *Huelgas en Burgos*: There is no evidence for the pun mentioned; *enfade* does not mean 'get angry' here; the defeat of Miramolín has no bearing on the difficulty.

I, 344. *no he de sentarme*: The note misses the point: 'I'll do as you ask, but the second part of the proverb will not come true in *your* house.'

I, 345-346. *Es propio*: Not understood by the editor, as the punctuation and the vocabulary (*refrán*) show. *Refranes* is the subject of *es*; render: 'Proverbs are a characteristic, etc.' (*encomisados era, D. Q., I, 19*). No pun is to be assumed.

I, 349. *por el bello oriente*: neither obviously ridiculous nor satirical as an hour's reading of Calderón or Lope would show.

I, 394. *Caballero andante*, etc.: *aventurero* means neither 'champion' nor 'social climber'; nor *mantenedor*, 'challenger.' The *aventurero* was the visiting knight; the *mantenedor*, the resident where the jousts were held. The note has missed the point.

Isabel is sure Mendo must always be an *aventurero*, since he is too poor to be a *mantenedor* (i. e., a supporter of anybody). The same play may be found in Calderón, *Casa con dos Puertas mala es de Guardar*, I.

I, 412. *Calzado de frente y guantes*: (1) Calderón, although abounding in the mannerisms of the *estilo culto*, is comparatively lucid; the inability of Krenkel or Maccoll to cope with a passage is no guarantee that it contains an insoluble difficulty. (2) Krenkel's 'leather hat' may be put with the 'real mask' of the editor. (3) There is no difficulty whatever in the passage, which means, not that Mendo was a 'lowbrow,' but that he needed his hair cut—one more trait of his poverty. See Quevedo, *Un Figura de Guedejas se motila*, where the curious will find Mendo in his previous incarnation—toothpick rampant, *saliva sacamanchas* of I, 305-306, *perdriz* (for the *faisán* of I, 239), *pelambre de guedejas* . . . for *calzado de frente, aventurero* of I, 395, *un figura* of II, 528, and all.

I, 423. *De dónde*: This note was written for the Hartzenbusch version. The text reads *de adónde*.

I, 442. *O algún viento me las tale*: The fact that 'lo, the grain seems more natural' is sufficient reason for keeping the text, which means: 'May God grant that I get my grain under cover before some squall blows it away, or before some wind lays low the unthreshed piles (*parvas*).'

I, 445. *A la pelota he jugado*: The editor should not have relied on Krenkel, whose statement, that *pelota* was frowned upon by the nobility, is entirely gratuitous; contemporaneous literature fairly teems with evidence to the contrary.

I, 456. *lo que está delante*: The note may be disregarded; the expression means 'your limit,' 'play for cash'; see Covarrubias, *s. v. resto*; Quevedo, *La Hora de todos*, xxvii.

I, 479. *Y id*: Not confined to Calderón nor verse, although it is difficult to know whether the *y* was a conventional graph for both forms; it should not be forgotten that, conversely, the *y*-sign is used for *e*, *he*, *habeo* in the *Poema del Cid*, 225.

I, 597. *Aunque no sea*: The note is entirely wrong; render: 'Although the girl is likely to be stupid, the difficulty in attaining her will add zest to the chase, make her more appreciated,' or similar.

I, 624. *boliche*: In the absence of corroborative evidence, the

note may be disregarded. References to *boliche* are extremely rare; it is very doubtful whether such official existed and, if so, whether his duties were confined to a regiment or limited to a company; the only thing in the note which may be taken at its face value is that the keeper of a *boliche* table was called a *bolichero*.

I, 657. *Ya empieza*, etc.: *tronera* has no reference to 'port-hole,' but bears the meanings: (1) 'hole in a gaming table,' (2) 'noisy rattle.' Render: 'His *boliche* hole (also "noise," "jabber") is already in action.'

I, 673. *Acudid todos*: Krenkel's justification for a text emendation by his knowledge of Juan's psychology needs no comment.

I, 684. *Pues es templo del amor*: Both readings would make satisfactory meter, and the editor has drawn on his imagination for Morel-Fatio's treatment of hiatus. Worse still, III, 549; I, 776; and III, 775, are correct, and the statement that *donde* is needed in this latter case must have had its conception in the Cave of Montesinos.

I, 705. *Hacer . . . homicidio*: Tragic prophecy does not enter, and the interpretation has been left in the dark. Render: 'It is not right of you to commit murder (by making me die of love), a crime which you ask me not to commit (on this soldier with my sword).' No one should be misled by the annotation on II, 537, into taking *homicidio* as the masculine of *homicida*.

I, 707-710. *Caballero . . . cortés*: Render: 'Sir, since you so greatly favor us (by your flattering compliment), let not my intercession (in behalf of the soldier) so quickly prove of no avail (by your pardoning him merely for my beauty); I beg you to let the soldier go, but not to exact payment from me (by expecting me to listen to your attentions), etc.' *La intercesión* as 'your guarantee for his safety,' *en obligaciones nuestras vidas* as 'life obligation' need no comment.

I, 726. *Muy noble sin duda sois*: As the note lacks substantiation, the following will be pertinent: *en los nobles no duró Nunca el enojo* (*Mágico prod.*, III).

I, 735. *Aparte*: Krenkel's suggestion should be disregarded; the son was equally responsible with the father for the household honor. Calderón makes a quip at his own expense on the opportune arrival of father or brother in cases of this kind in *Desdicha de la Voz*, II, 16.

I, 762. *Como quisiere, y vos*: The text is better as it stands, as a half-hour's reading would show; e. g., *Dicha y Desdicha del Nombre*, II, 16: *Sí . . . Sí*; *Señora y Criada*, III, 12: *ella . . . ella*.

I, 776. *Ojo avizor*: The meaning is undebatable; if *avizor* modified *Chispa* it would read *avizora*; the suggestion that the comma be used for the meter is unacceptable; the verse is correct, as an elementary knowledge of versification would have shown.

I, 788. *por un corredor*: The subjunctive after an asseverative oath needs to supply nothing; *matara* of II, 36-37, is an independent for conditional; worse still, the editor had no idea of the meaning of the passage (as the vocab. *corredor* shows): 'I'll throw you all out of the window.'

I, 789. *¿No me basta*: Granting the authenticity of the gout of the four famous generals, one would be grateful for comment on the verse length of 792, and as to whether *sino* is really synonymous with *sin*; see also note to III, 484-485, which makes *sino* equivalent to *sin que*.

I, 816. *Tra-que*: The correct rendering is: 'Give me—what?' This substitution of *qué* for the last part of a word is somewhat of a hobby with Calderón. There is, however, no pun here, but merely an interrogation of incredulous surprise.

I, 834. *echa un bando*: 'Sound off,' while possessed of excellent technical flavor and sonority, is no rendering for the expression, as may be seen from any dictionary.

I, 841. *Y vos*: not the captain, but Crespo.

I, 894. *No haremos migas*: It is not so clear that this figure owes its origin to the culinary habits "of the lower classes." According to Cejador, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, s. v. *miga*, the expression comes from shepherd life. It is even possible that the present meaning comes through 'mix,' 'get on together,' rather than 'break the bread of peace.'

(To be continued)

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Kampf und Krieg im deutschen Drama von Gottsched bis Kleist. Zur Form- und Sachgeschichte der dramatischen Dichtung von Dr. MAX SCHERRER. Rascher & Cie, Verlag, Zürich 1919. 428 pp.

Der Gegenstand der vorliegenden Arbeit ist zeitgemäss und ohne Anflug von Propaganda. Leider ist das Buch mit beinahe eintausend Anmerkungen unter dem Text keine einladende Lektüre. Selbst der fachliche Besprecher wünschte sich eine Behandlung des Gegenstandes im halben Umfang des Textes. Weniger wäre auch hier mehr gewesen. Der anscheinend deutschschweizerische Verfasser nennt Muncker, Erich Schmidt und Wölfflin als seine Lehrer, was die bei seinem Erstling auffallende geschichtliche Grosszügigkeit in der Stoffbehandlung erklären hilft, aber auch die eine oder andere Einseitigkeit in der Auffassung und den oft präziösen Ausdruck. Im ganzen gibt er ein ungemein reichhaltiges und gewichtiges Buch, dem auf knappem Raum nicht leicht gerecht zu werden ist, weil es ausser seinen eigentlichen Ergebnissen viele fruchtbare Anregungen und zahllose interessante Kleinigkeiten enthält. Sicher wären die Hauptsachen noch stärker herausgekommen, wenn das Nebensächliche an Belegen, Parallelen und Literaturnotizen nicht zuviel des Raumes einnähme.

Die Untersuchung unternimmt es, "aus der wechselnden Verfassung der dramatischen Heere und der dramatischen Kriegsführung Einblicke in den Wandel der dramatischen Form zu gewinnen." Es "sollte an den Sonderaufgaben, die der Kampf, in seinen Abstufungen vom Einzelgefecht bis zur offenen Feldschlacht, dem Drama stellt, ein Jahrhundert seiner formal-technischen Entwicklung aufgezeigt werden." Und zwar sollen "die Darlegungen über die dramatische Kampfform mit der Untersuchung des kriegserischen Gehalts Hand in Hand gehen." Zur dramatischen Form kommen "die kriegserischen Sachprobleme, die Fragen der Kampfauffassung, des dichterischen Erlebens des Krieges bis herunter zu der Stellung der Dramatiker zum historischen und zeitgenössischen Heerwesen und seiner Spiegelung in der Dichtung."

Die Einleitung behandelt hauptsächlich Wilhelm Schlegels Ausführungen über den Krieg als Vorwurf der Tragödie. Schlegels feinsinnigen Erörterungen hätten sich hier am besten gleich die seiner Nachfolger angefügt. Scherrer erwähnt allerlei, z. B. Mendelssohn (S. 23), Gerstenberg (S. 57 ff.), Tiecks Ansicht vom

Götz (S. 80), aber es hat keinen inneren Zusammenhang. Wo Lessings 17. Literaturbrief behandelt wurde (Scherrer, S. 46 f.), durfte Herders wichtige Erwiderung darauf, *Werke*, Suphan, Bd. II, S. 230 f., nicht fehlen. Klarstellung der theoretischen Forderungen hätte die dramatische Behandlung des Kriegs, die Stellung der Schlacht innerhalb des Dramas, der Episode innerhalb der Schlacht, die Verknüpfung von Krieg und Charakter usw. ideen- und formgeschichtlich klargemacht.

Die eigentliche Untersuchung hat vier Abschnitte: I. Von der französischen Form zum nationalen Schlachtfestspiel, II. Shakespeare und das Kampfstück des Sturms und Drangs, III. Die Verfestigung der Form, Stildrama, Kampftheatralik und Theatralisatire, IV. Das deutsche Kriegsdrama in seiner Blüte. Der I. Abschnitt umfasst die Entwicklung von Gottsched bis zu Klopstocks *Hermanns Schlacht*, II. hauptsächlich *Götz von Berlichingen*, den jungen Klinger und den jungen Schiller, III. behandelt Klingers Reife, Goethe in den achtziger Jahren, die theatralische Ausmünzung der Kampfmotive, das spätere Ritterstück, Kotzebue und den Theatergötz, dazu Tiecks Satire, IV. die Klassik Schillers, Kleists Kriegsdramatik, *Faust II. Teil*. Im Anhang werden noch 1. Die Waffe, 2. Die Wunde, 3. Das Pferd betrachtet. Wie der Verfasser etwas geheimnisvoll sagt: "Neue Gesinnung erweist sich sprechend am Kleinwerk." Das Buch schliesst mit einem brauchbaren Register von Personen und Sachen.

Im allgemeinen will uns die Untersuchung vom französischen Vorbild fort und hin zum englischen führen, von Corneille und Racine zu Shakespeare. Die klassische französische Tragödie gibt das Kampfgeschehnis hauptsächlich als Vergangenheitsbericht, Shakespeare als "Lokal" und als Aktion. Goethes *Götz* bezeichnet hier die Wegscheide. Schon Gottsched will mehr geben als die Franzosen, aber erst Elias Schlegel wählt die Schlacht selbst zum Vorwurf, und zwar in einem vaterländischen Schlachtstoff; er bleibt dabei allerdings in Gottscheds Technik. Die seelischen Wirkungen des Siebenjährigen Krieges sind nicht gering anzuschlagen, wie Klopstock in diesem Zusammenhang bezeugt. Scherrer, S. 49, nennt die unmittelbare Wirkung des Krieges gering, S. 74 (auch 393) wandelt nach ihm derselbe Krieg die scharfe Trennung von Leier und Schwert. Das ist ein Widerspruch, der sich aus dem allgemeinen Fehler erklärt, geistige und literarische Wirkungen nur dann anzunehmen, wenn eine grosse Persönlichkeit, ein grosser

Dichter zu sehen und mit Händen zu greifen ist. Hier täte eine neue Seelenkunde not, eine wahre Demokratisierung des Geisteslebens, die unhaltbare Auffassungen vom Genie und Helden, überhaupt vom Einzelnen in seinem Verhältnis zum Geistesleben und zum Volksgeist erledigte und gleicherweise berühmte Redensarten wie die vom "Fluch der Uebergangszeiten" und "Mangel an Selbstzucht," wovon Scherrer S. 23; 259 hinsichtlich Elias Schlegels und Tiecks redet. Dramatische Gestaltungsgabe hat man oder man hat sie nicht; man kann sie sich hemmen, vielleicht sogar wie jede Gabe zugrunde richten, aber man kann sie sich nicht willkürlich geben, und damit endet die persönliche Verantwortlichkeit vorm hohen Stuhl der Kritik. Würde andererseits die Kritik mit mehr geistiger Zucht und mit wahrer Ehrfurcht vor allem Geistigen betrieben, so würde sich literarische Nachfrage und literarisches Angebot viel besser ordnen.

Klopstock fühlte sich seiner Zeit innerlich stark gepackt vom Krieg, und nach seiner Gabe zum poetischen, d. h. zum lyrischen Ausdruck gezwungen (Scherrer, S. 56). Seine *Hermanns Schlacht* stellt einen "überraschend neuartigen und fördernden Versuch zur Lösung des Schlachtproblems" dar, indem sie zwei neue technische Mittel einführt: die Beobachtung der Schlacht von der Bühne her und "das Lokal," eine Raumvorstellung, die nichts mehr mit dem althergebrachten Geviert der Schaubühne zu tun hat. Klopstock wird im Laufe der Entwicklung noch mehrmals erwähnt: bei Schillers und Kleists reifer Kriegsdramatik (S. 323; 366.) In der *Jungfrau von Orleans* wird geleistet, was Klopstock anstrebte, nämlich "die blutige, schöne Todesschlacht in geschlossener Form zu triumphaler Geltung gebracht; allerdings als Schlussstein eines reichen Dramas, nicht—dies war der unheilbare Irrtum des Bardiets—als sein alleiniger Inhalt." Und Kleist in seiner *Hermannschlacht* vollendet die Stimmungstendenzen des Lyrikers Klopstock.

Die nächsten Schritte nach Klopstock heissen *Götz* und *Die Räuber*. Jener gewinnt dem Kampfdrama die Welt des Kriegerischen, und darin ausschlaggebend, den kriegerischen Geist; diese vollenden *Götz*, indem sie Goethes kühne Einseitigkeit überwinden und der Dichtung und dem Theater zugleich ihr Recht geben. Denn ohne Frage hatte Goethe im *Götz* eine Trennung von Literatur und Bühne verursacht. Wo hernach das ritterliche Kampfstück der Jakob Maier, Babo, u. a. weiterschreitet, gewinnt nur

das Theater und nicht die Dichtung; hingegen die dichterisch bedeutsamen Dramatiker, die auch im Kriegerischen Eigenes zu geben hatten, wie Klinger und Maler Müller, finden den Weg nicht zum Theater. Schiller nun auf dem Wege von den *Räubern* zu *Wallenstein* erfasst das Kriegerische sowohl poetisch als auch bühnentechnisch immer mächtiger. Rollten *Die Räuber* nebenbei auch noch "die grosse soldatische Frage der Zeit" auf, so gab Schiller im *Wallenstein* nicht nur "der deutschen Literatur das beste Kriegsdrama, das sich im universalen Erfassen der kriegerischen Welt neben Shakespeare stellen kann," sondern auch eins der grossen heroischen Feldherrndramen der Weltliteratur. Das Formproblem beherrscht im *Wallenstein* alle stofflichen Interessen, deshalb nimmt es nicht Wunder, wenn darin vom Dreissigjährigen Krieg verhältnismässig wenig zu sehen ist, keine Soldateska und keine kriegerische Kraftentfaltung. Nur in *Wallensteins Lager* erscheint der Fürst des Krieges, wie das schon Kühnemann im *Wallenstein*-Kapitel seines Schillerbuches ausgeführt hat. Immerhin ist in der Trilogie eine reiche kriegerische Welt von soldatischen Charakteren und Problemen, nur im Unterschied zu den Jugendstücken Schillers "in der Weite der Geschichte behandelt." Neben *Wallenstein* als "dem Kanon der Heeresdarstellung" steht die *Jungfrau von Orleans* als "das beherrschende Schlachtstück der ganzen Epoche." Neu ist hieran die symbolische Ausgestaltung der Schlachtbeobachtung, der Teichoskopie, womit eine Entwicklung seit Klopstock abgeschlossen ist. Mit Scherrer S. 313: "Die gesamte Entwicklung der dramatischen Schlachttechnik ist nichts anderes, als ein Ringen der beschränkten, allseitig eingegengten Darstellungsmittel der Bühne mit dem unbegrenzten Vorwurf, tiefer gefasst ein Bemühen, den auseinanderstrebenden, uferlosen Schlachtstoff in einen dramatischen Brennpunkt zu sammeln, ihn künstlerisch zu organisieren." Naturwahre Schlachten haben mit der Kunst nichts zu tun, wie Schikaneder und Grabbe zeigen. Die *Jungfrau* bietet so eine Synthese der strengen und der freien Schlachtform. "Sie vermeidet das shakespearisierende Getümmel auf der einen, die klassizistische Verflüchtigung der Vorgänge auf der andern Seite."

Goethes hier zu betrachtende Entwicklung geht vom *Götz* über *Egmont* zum *Faust*. Nach *Götz*, dem "mächtigsten Antrieb" für das Kampfdrama, kommt *Egmont* zwar nicht kampftechnisch inbetracht, wohl aber durch seine geistige Bedeutung. "Er begründet

das Kriegerische tief als das Urbedürfnis der Mannesnatur, die ihr Leben erst genießt, wenn sie es einsetzt (S. 183). Ich möchte eher dafür "das Heldische" setzen, Egmont ist m. E. ebenso viel oder wenig "kriegerisch" wie Valentin. "Leb ich nur, um aufs Leben zu denken?" Der Satz verträgt sich mit einem Wertherdasein ebenso gut wie mit einem Faustschicksal; so leuchtet es mir nicht ein, wie Egmont "das soldatische Ideal des Sturmes und Dranges" darstellen soll. *Egmont* liegt noch auf der Grenze, mit *Iphigenie* vollzieht sich Goethes Abkehr von der Kampfgestaltung der Geniezeit und die Hinwendung zur Kampfform der französischen Klassik. Im zweiten Teil des *Faust* wird der Krieg und der Krieger allegorisiert, während der *Götz* samt Sturm und Drang sie individualisierte und Schiller im *Wallenstein* sie typisierte. Ja, der kriegjauchzende Stürmer und Dränger Goethe endet als Pazifist, darin Lessing ähnlich. Wie Scherrer S. 384 schreibt: "Er spricht zu Eckermann berühmte Worte gegen den Nationalhass. Der Gedanke des Weltfriedens ist aus der Klassik, aus dem Weltreich der Humanität nicht wegzudenken. Man braucht auf Kant nur hinzuweisen. Goethes Werk umspannt auch darin die ganze weitverästete Entwicklung und schöpft sie voll aus, dass es von frühem kriegerischem Drang in die leidenschaftslose Höhe befriedeter Kulturgeltung aufsteigt." "But the world has not developed as Goethe believed it would develop," so konnte der Engländer J. G. Robertson in seinem wertvollen Büchlein *Goethe and the Twentieth Century* schon 1912 darlegen. Mit dem Gedanken der Weltkultur und Weltliteratur ist es Goethe ebenso wie Kant mit dem Weltfrieden ergangen. Goethe nun gar zum Zeugen für das kriegführende Frankreich von heute anzurufen, wie das F. Baldensperger in einem Aufsatz *Goethe et la guerre actuelle* tut,¹ ist unmöglich, weil es weder mit Goethes klarem Selbstzeugnis, z. B. zu Eckermann am 14. März 1830, noch mit den Ergebnissen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung übereinstimmt.

Die Klassik ist von der Romantik überholt worden, im Gedanklichen wie im Poetischen, und natürlich zeigt sich das auch im Problem des Krieges. Das 19. Jahrhundert hat sich im Sinne der nationalen Romantik entwickelt, fort von Goethe und selbst von Schiller, wie das nunmehr Kleist verrät. Es führen einige starke Linien von Schiller zu Kleist, aber beider Kriegsauffassung und

¹ *Edda*, VII. 1917, S. 173-187.

entsprechende Kriegsschilderung zeigt den entscheidenden Gegensatz (Scherrer, S. 349 ff.). Schillers moralisches Denken fordert eine Begründung des Krieges, Kleist ist er elementar, in der menschlichen Anlage begründet, der grausame Vernichtungswille, zwecklos und schrankenlos. Schiller ist human und optimistisch, Kleist pessimistisch und dämonisch. Das lässt sich in beider Werk vergleichend verfolgen. Für Scherrers Untersuchung sind nur noch Kleists *Hermannsschlacht* und *Der Prinz von Homburg* besonders zu erwähnen. Neu an jener ist, "dass nirgends so entschlossen wie hier das Schlachtstück selbst als kriegführende Macht eingesetzt wird. Keine stärkere Verankerung in der Zeitgeschichte lässt sich denken." Keine Siegesfeier eines Klopstock oder Aeschylus, sondern "Anruf künftigen Krieges, ein Sturmzeichen des aufziehenden Gewitters: agitatorische Kriegsdichtung." Und im *Homburg* wird aus dem Soldatenstück des 18. Jahrhunderts ein Kriegs drama grossen Stils, indem sich die Enge des bürgerlichen Schauspiels, z. B. in *Minna von Barnhelm* zum historischen Drama weitet, vom neuen geistigen Gehalt gar nicht zu reden; denn damit reicht Kleist nicht zu Lessing zurück, sondern an Hebbel und Ibsen heran. Von seiner meisterhaften soldatischen Charakteristik zeugt die Gestalt des Kottwitz, und die soldatische Frage wird national romantisch und märkisch-norddeutsch gelöst, jedoch immer im Kreise des berufsmässigen Soldatentums altpreussischer Tradition.

Scherrer nennt nun (S. 394) Kleist im Unterschied zu Schiller und Goethe den Sohn einer neuen Generation in seiner Anschauung vom Kriege, ohne das zeitgeschichtlich klarzumachen. Mir scheint, dieser Mangel erklärt sich aus des Verfassers Behandlung der Romantik im allgemeinen. Schon Wilhelm Dilthey² kennzeichnete die auf Goethe folgende dichterische Generation, von der er die wieder unterschied, in welcher Kleist und Arnim hervortraten. Klarheit in diesem Punkt konnte Scherrer dazu führen, mit Kleist zusammen Achim von Arnim und Fouqué zu nennen, was wiederum Kleists Stellung zum Kriegsproblem deutlicher gemacht hätte; denn Kleist gehört innerlich in diesem Punkt sicherlich zu den märkischen Romantikern. Die Geschichte der Berliner christlich-deutschen Tischgesellschaft etwa aus Reinhold Steigs Buch *H. v. Kleists Berliner Kämpfe*, 1901, wäre von grossem Wert gewesen. Auch in meiner eigenen Arbeit über Arnims geistige Entwicklung,

² *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 2. Auflage, Leipzig 1907, S. 312 f.

Leipzig 1912, finden sich Beziehungen von Kleist und Arnim verzeichnet. Arnim verdient ausserdem eigene Beachtung seiner Auffassung und Darstellung des Kriegsproblems. Reintechnisch dürfte nichts Neues herauskommen, wenn sich auch z. B. in *Halle und Jerusalem* (1811) ein regelrechter englisch-französischer Krieg abspielt; aber seine Stellungnahme zur Not der Zeit und zum Krieg gegen Frankreich, zum Staat und zur Soldatenfrage verdient mehr Raum als z. B. das Ritterstück des 18. Jahrhunderts. Arnim schwärmt nicht für den Krieg, aber er nimmt einen gewissen volkerzieherischen Wert an—hierin von Kleist verschieden, und ebenso grundverschieden ist seine Haltung Napoleon gegenüber. Der romantische Patriot Arnim hat ebenso wenig wie Kleist das geringste mit der unnationalen Klassik eines Schiller und Goethe zu tun, aber Nationalhass predigte er trotzdem nicht. Wie es in *Halle und Jerusalem* (S. 299) heisst: "Leichtsinnig sucht sich der gemeine Mensch des Feindes Kraft mit Lügen zu verkleinern. . . ." Man muss an die Kriegssyrik vor und in den Befreiungskriegen und die märkisch-preussische Heimatkunst der Kleist und Arnim u. a. anknüpfen, wenn man dem Kampf- und Kriegsproblem im Drama des 19. Jahrhunderts nachgeht. Man muss aber vorher auch die starken Zusammenhänge sehen, die zwischen dem Sturm und Drang und der Romantik bestehen, d. h. beide Bewegungen geistig schärfer erfassen. An Scherrers Arbeit lässt sich erläutern, was Oskar Walzel mit der analytischen und synthetischen Literaturforschung meint, warum er seit einem Jahrzehnt gegen die einseitige stoffgeschichtliche und auch bloss zeitgeschichtliche, biographische Forschung eintritt und die Synthese einer höheren literarischen Kritik fordert. Die synthetische Literaturforschung verfolgt nach ihm Gedanken, Lebensprobleme und Formen auf dem Wege von Individuum zu Individuum, Ketten von Beziehungen, "innerhalb derer das künstlerische Erlebnis, das tiefste Geheimnis dichterischen Schaffens, innerhalb derer die spontane Leistung der Phantasie zu keiner Beeinträchtigung kommen soll."³ Scherrer gibt keineswegs nur Stoffsammlungen, aber was darüber hinausgeht, entbehrt der klaren geistigen Durchdringung. Was hat Tieck in einem Kapitel mit Kotzebue und dem Theatergötze zu schaffen,

³ "Analytische und synthetische Literaturforschung," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, II. Jahrgang, Heft 6, Juni 1910, S. 333. Vgl. dazu Léon Polak, "Stoff, Gehalt und Form," *Neophilologus*, vol. IV, No. 1, S. 33 ff.

und Kleist zwischen *Jungfrau von Orleans* und *Faust II. Teil*? Tiecks ernste Kriegsdramatik, die Scherrer S. 245; 308 u. a. verständnisvoll betrachtet, steht unbegründet da, wenn man sein Verhältnis zum Sturm und Drang und innerhalb der Romantik zu den Schlegels und zu Kleist und Arnim nicht begreift. Vieles der Stoffanalyse erschiene bei Scherrer berechtigt, wenn es zum nötigen Verständnis des Erlebnisses und des geistigen Gehaltes leitete. Statt dessen muss man sich aus den verschiedenen Kapiteln einzelne an sich gute, aber innerlich zusammenhanglose Bemerkungen zusammensuchen. Es genügt z. B. nicht, dass nach Scherrer, S. 56, Klopstocks Schlachtpoesien "aus einem tiefen Verhältnis zu Kampf und Waffentat" erwachsen, oder dass in *Götz* "das Erlebnis der neuen Generation seine höchste Gestaltung gefunden" (S. 86). Das innere und äussere Wie ist hier von Bedeutung, die Frage, wo der Dichter in der Tradition steht, wo nicht, und wie weit er die Stimmung der Zeit mitschafft oder ausdrückt. Die Erklärung (S. 76 ff.), die Helden des Sturmes und Dranges dürsteten nach kriegerischen Taten, "trotzdem, oder besser, weil die Zeit friedlich ist" klingt nichtssagend. Hier liegt ein wichtiges Seelenproblem vor und ein literarisches Problem, dessen Lösung interessante Lichter auf Empfindsamkeit, Sturm und Drang und Romantik wirft. Die gelegentliche Sentimentalisierung des Soldatentums andererseits, z. B. bei Kotzebue, Schiller und Kleist wird von einer gewissen Seite des deutschen Charakters her zu erklären sein, ähnlich wie der historische Illusionismus, der so eigentümlich deutsche Werke schafft wie *Egmont*, *Jungfrau von Orleans* und *Prinz von Homburg*. Otto Ludwig hat eben diese Frage bei Schillers *Wallenstein* (Scherrer, S. 290 ff.) zur Kernfrage der Tragödie erhoben. Was Kuno Fischer in seinem Aufsatz über *Die Selbstkenntnisse Schillers* als die Lebensfrage des Dichters hinstellt, ob er seine ideale Weltanschauung mit der geschichtlichen wird versöhnen können, gilt für jeden Dichter historischer Gestalten und Zeiten. Auch hier täte noch Klarheit not; Wort und Begriff der sogenannten poetischen Lizenz bedürfen der geistigen Durchleuchtung. Nebenbei bemerkt, die Sentimentalität wäre eine dankbare Aufgabe für die vergleichende Literaturforschung, sie findet sich in allen Literaturen gleich und doch so verschieden. Und ähnlich national und zeitlich bedingt ist die kritische Haltung dem Problem des Kriegs und der Wehrmacht oder Problemen wie der Subordination (S. 233 u. a.) gegenüber; interessant ist hier das

Verhalten der "Soldatenkinder" Schiller und Kleist (S. 260 f.; 327), verschieden nach Temperament und politischem Verständnis, nach Weltanschauung und Erlebnis. Einen anderen Gegensatz bilden Lenz und Schiller (S. 138 ff.; 272), und wieder geht hier eine Linie vom Stürmer und Dränger zu Romantikern wie Tieck, Kleist und Arnim. Einige hierhergehörende Bemerkungen Scherrers über die verschiedenen Philosophien des Krieges bleiben leider in Anmerkungen vergraben.

Wertvolle Einzelergebnisse für die Theatergeschichte hätten bei Scherrer auch durch einige grundsätzliche Erörterungen verbunden werden können. Wieweit darf die Schaulust im Punkte Kriegsdrama befriedigt werden? Technische Ziele, Mittel und Grenzen; der Unterschied von theatergemäss oder bühnenrecht und theatralisch usw. Ein Wort über das Festspiel und den Einfluss der Oper auf die technische Entwicklung des Kriegsdramas wäre gleichfalls am Platz gewesen. Und eine Korrektur: S. 211, Anm. 47, erwähnt Scherrer das Programm eines "Instrumental-Tonstücks, eine Bataille vorstellend" zum Beweis, was auf musikalischem Gebiet in jener Zeit möglich war. Der Verfasser scheint die volkstümliche sogen. Schlachtmusik in deutschen Gartenkonzerten nicht zu kennen. Das melodramatische Element beim Schlachtdrama hat eine innere Begründung.

Und wie der Krieg als Vorwurf der Tragödie ganz natürlich zum Anfang der Untersuchung betrachtet wurde, so hätte sich als Schlusskapitel wie von selbst die Kritik am Theaterkrieg ergeben. Die Parodie von der *Prinzessin Pumphia*, Wien, 1756, bis zu W. Schlegels *Ehrenpforte* und Tieck, Brentano und Immermann gehörte hierher, und zwar zusammengefasst anstatt wieder übers ganze Buch zerstreut (S. 34 ff.; 47, 154, 223 ff. u. a.). Und als Einzelheit sei Kotzebues *Cleopatra* (1803) als erwähnenswerter Vorläufer von Bernard Shaws *Caesar and Cleopatra* vermerkt.

bleibt die letzte Frage, nämlich nach der deutschen Form. Scherrers "Ergebnisse," S. 392 ff., wollen darauf bestimmt antworten. Es handle sich innerhalb der Entwicklung des Dramas um eine Auseinandersetzung des shakespearischen mit dem französischen Tragödienideal, und es sei zu zeigen, "wie sich aus weltliterarischen Polaritäten die deutsche Form langsam herانبildet. . . . In der Antike noch nicht gegeben und zugleich der shakespearischen Ungebundenheit fremd, der neuen angestraften Form vorbehalten ist die spezifisch dramatische Organisierung des

Krieges." Das ist im Laufe der Untersuchung bereits weiter ausgeführt worden, immer im Vergleich mit dem nichtdeutschen Drama. Insbesondere Shakespeare wird als ausschlaggebend für "die kriegesischen Sachmotive" bezeichnet, während seine formale Wirkung nur streckenweise anerkannt wird. Im Tieck-Kapitel (S. 251) wird "die Tendenz zur Stimmung" oder die lyrische Absicht im Drama als "das entscheidende Shakespeare-Erlebnis des Romantikers" gekennzeichnet. Ob zu Recht, bleibe dahingestellt. Aber wenn S. 79 ff. und 250 ff. das Abrücken des jungen Goethe und Tiecks von Shakespeare besprochen wird, handelt es sich um mehr als die reine Frage der Bühnenmässigkeit, ich meine vielmehr tiefe wesentliche nationale Unterschiede in Charakter und Kunst, wovon man bisher in den landläufigen Forschungen noch nicht viel weiss. Das erklärt sich wohl aus dem Mangel an Auslandkenntnis und an der Einsicht, dass man ohne jahrelangen lebendigen Umgang mit dem Ausland nicht vergleichende Literaturgeschichte treiben kann. Auch die schöpferische literarische Kritik will erlebt sein. Um nun den deutschen Formwillen zu verstehen, braucht man m. E. nicht erst die verschiedenen Künste wechselseitig zu studieren, wenn das auch wie alles fruchtbar zu machen ist, wie Oskar Walzel in seinem neuesten Aufsatz über die künstlerische Form der deutschen Romantik zeigt.⁴ Schon mit dem reinliterarischen Stoff—z. B. in Scherrers Sammlung—, etwa der Entwicklungslinie Götzdichter, Maler Müller, Friedrich Schlegel, Tieck, Arnim kann man zur Erkenntnis der reindeutschen Form geführt werden, als der Form, die den Reichtum des Lebens ausdrücken will ohne vorbedachte und sogen. allgemeingültige Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten. Mit Recht sieht Walzel (a. a. o. S. 138) diesen deutschen Formwillen in einunddemselben Streben des Sturmes und Dranges und der Romantik; jener versucht es im Sinn der Eindruckskunst, diese auf idealistischer Grundlage. Von hier aus ergäbe sich das Problem des Undeutschen in Kleist, an der Auffassung und Darstellung des Krieges zu erläutern, undeutsch hier in dem Sinne gebraucht, in dem man z. B. Byron, Browning oder Shaw unenglisch nennt.

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⁴ *Neophilologus*, 1919, vol. iv, No. 2, S. 115 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE

ROSSETTI AND MAETERLINCK

In the formation of the art and philosophy of Maurice Maeterlinck one perceives various influences, which he has skilfully woven into mystical tapestries of quaint shades that bear his own mark. Marcus Aurelius, Shakespeare, Jan van Ruysbroeck, Novalis and the German mystics, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Carlyle, Emerson, Browning, Paul Heyse, and others have left traces in his work,¹ and yet it awakens in us an elusive mystical feeling of the great Unknown, which we do not find, in the same degree of subtlety, in the writings of any of his spiritual ancestors. Even in imitating, Maeterlinck introduces or increases that atmosphere of enigmatical vagueness wherein, dimly relieved upon the black background of his dreams, move the spirit-like, symbolic characters of his songs and of his plays. And the value of Maeterlinck's work lies more in the evocation of this atmosphere than in the invention of new situations. He holds the opinion that "the greatest writers of all countries have written for the world, and that their works belong to their readers as the Bible does."² Without destroying the fundamental unity of his work, "il prend son bien où il le trouve." In this way he imitated and—in my opinion—improved a poem of Dante Gabriel Rossetti which has not yet been pointed out as having influenced Maeterlinck: *An Old Song Ended*.³ It was the source of one of Maeterlinck's best-known poems: *Et s'il revenait un jour*.⁴

The subject of Rossetti's poem is of a nature that would appeal to the mystical leanings of Maeterlinck: A maiden is lying on her death-bed, waiting in vain for her lover, who has departed to some unknown country, from where, perhaps, he will never return. A companion asks her what she is to do and say if the long-expected traveler should come back after her death. The answers suggest the survival of her love beyond the grave. Rossetti starts with a citation from an old song:

How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle-hat and staff
And his sandal-shoon.

¹ See Macdonald Clark, *Maurice Maeterlinck*, pp. 222 sqq.

² M. Clark, *l. c.*, p. 26.

³ *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, London, 1887, i, 300.

⁴ M. Maeterlinck, *Serres chaudes, suivies de Quinze Chansons*, Bruxelles, Lacomblez, 1912, p. 97.—The poem was first published in *Douze Chansons*, 1896.

and completes it as follows:

And what signs have told you now
That he hastens home?
Lo! the spring is nearly gone,
He is nearly come.
For a token is there nought,
Say that he should bring?
He will bear a ring I gave
And another ring.
How may I, when he shall ask,
Tell him who lies there?
Nay; but leave my face unveiled
And unbound my hair.
Can you say to me some word
I shall say to him?
Say I'm looking in his eyes
Though my eyes are dim.

Maeterlinck's song treats the same subject, in the same dialogue form, and follows closely the quaint folk-song melody of Rossetti's verses. The atmosphere in both is identical: the rhythm is sad and mysterious as the faint sound of far-off funeral bells from some incalculable distance, wailing over those who died before the dawn of life and happiness. In both we find the delicate feelings of the dying maiden and the suggestion that her love lives eternally. In the third strophe of both poems reference is made to a token, a ring, given, in the first case; to be given, in the second. Here follows Maeterlinck's poem:

Et s'il revenait un jour,
Que faut-il lui dire?
Dites-lui qu'on l'attendit
Jusqu'à s'en mourir . . .
Et s'il m'interroge alors encore
Sans me reconnaître?
Parlez-lui comme une sœur,
Il souffre peut-être . . .
Et s'il me demande où vous êtes,
Que faut-il répondre?
Donnez-lui mon anneau d'or
Sans rien lui répondre . . .
Et s'il veut savoir pourquoi
La salle est déserte?
Montrez-lui la lampe éteinte
Et la porte ouverte . . .
Et s'il m'interroge alors
Sur la dernière heure?
Dites-lui que j'ai souri
De peur qu'il ne pleure . . .

Although Maeterlinck was inspired by Rossetti for the subject and, partly, for the treatment of his poem, he has shown himself,

in this case, the greater artist. In his exquisite little song he has etherealized the more legendary ballad-like poem of Rossetti and has added to it a more mystical touch: *la lampe éteinte, la porte ouverte*, etc., symbols of death which we find also in his later works.

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"NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE"

I add a few ancient and medieval instances of the "Never less alone than when alone" conceit, brought up by Professor Cook and others (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 54, 123, 226; XXXIV, 122). St. Ambrose uses the passage, without referring to its source, in a letter to Sabrinus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XVI, col. 1203); again, avowedly quoting it from Cicero, but applying it to Moses and others, in a work written under the influence of the *De Officiis*, his *De Officiis Ministrorum*, III, 1 (*ib.*, coll. 153-4). Petrarch quotes the passage as in both Cicero and St. Ambrose in his *De Vita Solitaria* (II, iii, 2; II, ix, 5; in the latter case with amusing irritation at St. Ambrose's application): He also quotes (*ib.*, II, iii, 7) a very similar passage from St. Jerome's work *Adversus Jovinianum*. He uses the Ciceronian passage again in the last chapter of the work (II, x, 9).

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SPANISH BALLADS TRANSLATED BY SOUTHEY

To the list of Southey's translations of Spanish ballads provided in Mr. E. Buceta's article in the June number of the *Modern Language Notes* (pp. 328-336), should be added a rendering of *Ocho a ocho, diez a diez*, contained in his *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, Bristol, 1797, pp. 377-387. The translation is prefaced by the following informative remarks:

"From the polished trifles of Villegas (said apropos of a rendering of *A un Arroyuelo*) to the rough strains of the ballad is a wide but agreeable transition, for the man of undebauched taste will prefer rude strength to elegant imbecility. You are well acquainted with the ballad of *Rio verde, rio verde*, in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, and with that of *Alcanzor and Zaydo* (*sic*), which follows it, of which last the original simplicity is lost. The following ballad is taken from the same work (*Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada*. Paris 1660), and attempted in the metre of the original the lines ending in a trochee (*sic*), but occasionally relieved by a monosyllable termination."

Then follows a reprint of the original ballad and Southey's translation, of which a few lines may be quoted here:

Eight to eight and ten to ten,
 Will the gallant Moorish chieftains,
 Sarrazinos, Aliatares,
 At the turney in Toledo,
 Run the ring against their rivals
 Alarifes and Azarques. . . .

In a bibliography of English translations from the *Guerras Civiles*, mention ought to be made of John Bowring's *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, London, 1824.

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TWO ROMANCE ETYMOLOGIES

The early history of cards and card-games in South Europe offers two enigmatical words. One is Italian *tarocco*, with derivatives or rather borrowings in French territory in the form *tarot*, and on Teutonic soil *Tarok*, the name of a game and a pack of cards in Vienna and farther north. The other word is *naibi* in Italian and *naype*, now *naïpe*, in Spanish and Portuguese. For this word Diez suggested Arabic *naibi*, "Stellvertreter," a derivation rejected by Körting and Meyer-Lübke while the two former authorities do not even list *tarocco*, and the dictionary of this last scholar does not reach that far, as least in the portion in the hands of the present writer. What is the probable origin of these terms?

It seems that the oldest use that cards served is one to which they are still put, that of fortune-telling; they are prophetic, a mode of divination. The earliest deck consisted of twenty-two *tarocchi* plus four suits of fourteen cards each, one suit bearing, in Italian, the name of *bastoni* or "rods," surviving in our name of "clubs." The present writer while casting about for an etymology and believing that these words must surely be of Arabic origin, applied to Professor Julian Morgenstern, of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and to Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, for assistance, asking among other questions, what connection there might be between *tarocco* and the Arabic name *tarak*, and whether *naype* might be derived from Hebrew and Arabic *nâbî*, "prophet."

Dr. Morgenstern says "there is a fairly common stem in Arabic . . . *ṭrq*, the fundamental meaning of which is 'to knock' or 'to strike'; a rather uncommon meaning is 'to prophesy, to divine' (usually by means of casting stones or lots)." These statements are confirmed by Dr. Torrey. As regards *tarocco*, need we inquire further?

The answers of these two scholars regarding the other guess are entirely unfavorable, both holding the length of the final vowel to be a fatal objection. However, Dr. Torrey has a good deal to offer on his own account. He says among other things:

"The verb *nāba* means 'come around in turn'; for example, if you are playing a game in which the 'turn' comes to one player after another, your 'turn' is called *nauba*. Any thing that passes around from one to another is naturally termed a *nā'iba*, ordinarily pronounced *naibē*. . . . Again, this same word *nā'ibe*, *nāibe*, *naibe* is very common in all varieties of Arabic with the meaning 'turn of fortune,' and especially an *ill* turn of luck. Possibly the use of cards in divination might have given rise to such a designation. The cards might easily have been termed the 'fates' or 'turn of fortune' (*nawā'ib*, plural number), in which case each one of them would have been termed a '*naype*.'"

JOHN M. BURNAM.

LATIN *olios*

In Ewald and Loewe's well-known *Exempla scripturae visigothicae*, pl. II, from a codex of St. Augustine preserved at the Escorial in the "camarín de las reliquias," is in a cursive hand very hard to decipher as well as much abraded and damaged by the lapse of time, and the reading is sometimes uncertain. For instance, l. 20, after *aperiat* the editors suggest *tibi os tuum* for what they print in the text: *viz., bios* (following the verb *aperiat*). Now, if one will examine the facsimile very carefully, he will notice that elsewhere *b* has a loop twice as large as in this case, and that further along in the same line, there occurs *inter lineas* a circle just like the bottom of this supposed *b*; but in both cases we are in the presence of a blot. If we do away with it, there remains *olios*, which we offer as the earliest occurrence of the Romance word still *olho* in Portuguese, dating back into the seventh century.

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BRIEF MENTION

Lewis Theobald, his Contribution to English Scholarship, with some Unpublished Letters, by Richard Foster Jones (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919). In a commendably business-like preface the author answers the question that inquires into the purpose of his book. This purpose is a two-fold one. It relates both to the biography of Theobald and to his work and merit as a scholar. After Collins in the *D. N. B.* and Lounsbury in *The Text of Shakespeare*, Dr. Jones has discovered a contribution to biographical details in "a number of unpublished letters, written to Warburton, which throw some light on the period following the great satire, and make clearer the later relations of the two men." These letters, found in Brit. Mus. Egerton Ms. 1956, "supplement those given

by Nichols in *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 189-656, beginning with December, 1729, and extending to the fall of 1736"; they are now published by Dr. Jones in an Appendix C (pp. 258-346), and duly considered in the main body of his book. The other and more important division of the author's purpose is to uphold the thesis "that the basic principles of critical editing in English were derived directly from the method employed by Bentley in the classics. In his work on Shakespeare Theobald adapted this method to a new field, and in turn was followed by scholars who did not confine their labors to the great dramatist."

The "Early Life" of Theobald is here begun with his removal to London at the age of twenty (1708) to practice the profession of his father, that of an attorney. Having been trained in a notably sound and inspiring knowledge of the classics at a school in Middlesex, he was also equipped with inclinations that were dominantly favorable to literary activity. There is accordingly a first chapter on literary pursuits, which preceded his *Shakespeare Restored* (1726). This was the period of Theobald's extraordinary activity in translating classic authors and contracting for translations that were never fully executed. The story is somewhat complicated, but Dr. Jones makes it all clear enough, and puts a just estimate on Theobald's scholarship and purpose and on such a detail as his dependence on Madame Dacier. Among the original compositions that fall in this period, *The Cave of Poverty* is sustained in its special significance, and Bodmer's letter of commendation is given in Appendix C. As to Theobald's relation to the key to *What D'ye Call It*, Dr. Jones puts an emphasis on the internal evidence of Theobald's manner and knowledge. Coming to the discussion of Parnell's *Zoilus*, nothing is found in it "satirically appropriate to Theobald at that time" when it is probable also that "Pope had never heard of him." Dr. Jones views the matter as follows: "If Pope had any particular critic in mind when he urged Parnell to write the treatise, I would hazard the guess that it was Bentley," to whom the name Zoilus had for a long time been frequently applied. "Furthermore, Parnell's description of Zoilus tallies so closely with that of Bentley given by the Christ Church Wits that it is difficult not to think the great critic was in Parnell's mind." The varied literary work of his early period is all carefully surveyed and also helpfully arranged in a chronological Appendix. Diversified as this literary work was, it proved to be the best preparation for subsequent preëminence in the textual and appreciative criticism of Shakespeare. This is well analyzed by Dr. Jones (pp. 66 ff.). Theobald was just enough of a poet to avoid the pitfalls of a purely logical mind. He understood better than did Bentley that "logic and poetry do not always agree so well as logic and fact" (p. 37). His occupation with the Greek dramatists, his experience as "the author himself of several dramas and various operas and pantomimes," and associations with the theater are to be reckoned as formative factors of a definite character, to which

is to be added an "intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's thought and diction," made indubitable in his writings of this period.

Theobald's qualifications for the achievement of his special eminence in textual criticism were stimulated to fruition by the particular movements in the literary and linguistic scholarship and culture of his day. The mind that was at all concerned with polite learning was then more or less occupied with contrasted propositions. Under the rubric of 'the ancients and the moderns' a process of eliciting contrasts became habitual. The story is well known, but it is gratifying to find that Dr. Jones has reviewed those aspects of it that are pertinent to his thesis with a fresh enthusiasm and in the candor of the unbiased investigator, to whom a prejudiced view is as distasteful as an overt untruth. The spirit of fairness, which "doth not vaunt itself," and a thoroness—the true attribute of fairness—which pursues truth industriously, characterizes this treatise so consistently as give it an important place among trustworthy books. It makes clear the scholarly merits and personal disposition of Theobald, turning many a traditional judgment into testimony favorable to him and of no slight disadvantage to the reputation of Pope. In all this there is again the old material to put to the test the author's ability to rehandle a subject in an organic manner so as to make it yield definite results.

Bentley's method of textual criticism and his influence in establishing an almost exclusive meaning for criticism is discussed in a chapter entitled "The Rage for Emending"; and it is shown how this was met by the opposing party of polite scholars and literati. It is the opposition that is yet kept alive in some form by superficial advocates on both sides of the controversy.

The history of the study of English authors contains no more fundamentally important chapter than that in which it is shown how Theobald was brought to apply the classical scholar's principles of textual criticism—made conspicuous by the genius of Bentley—to the text of Shakespeare. The care for significant details and for the exhibition of underlying principles with which Dr. Jones has composed his form of this chapter gives an indisputable value to his treatise. His exposition of Theobald's method in *Shakespeare Restored* cannot, without a loss, be neglected by the incipient scholar in English. At this point the discussion, in a later chapter, of the preface to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare is of special importance. "The need of research in editing an English text" is there emphasized for the first time, in what "may be justly considered the first expression of the modern method employed in critical editions." Opposition to the method mounted to a warfare; this high point of interest is well handled in the chapter entitled "The Period of *The Dunciad*." Here the spotlight is turned on the personal character of both Pope and Theobald. The disadvantage that falls to Pope's share is in strong contrast to the rescued merits of Theobald. The variorum edition of *The Dunciad* "was largely responsible for the character of Theobald that has come down to recent times."

This report can be corrected, but how can Pope be excused for petty resentment and deliberate misrepresentations? A quarrel was inevitable, for Theobald would not lay down the weapon of his superior scholarship. Pope's party grew apace and defined with increasing precision that its cause was the repudiation of critical scholarship, especially in verbal details—"the trivial pursuit of wrong-headed industry"—and ultimately levelled its aim also at Bentley, who was recognized as "the creator of the critical method."

To have Bentley drawn into close relationship with him was a compliment that proved to be somewhat embarrassing to Theobald, because of Bentley's unfortunate application of his method to the text of Milton. Theobald had to declare that his master had "out-done his own Outdoings." Theobald's edition of Shakespeare at last appeared and completed his vindication. Warburton's relation to the "Preface," foreshadowing unhappy consequences, is a prominent feature of the chapter in which the edition of Shakespeare is examined—a chapter that is important also for the biographical details that bring the story down to "Theobald's Later Life." To the end Theobald was an industrious scholar, always projecting more than came to fulfillment. He finally won acknowledged eminence; but the joy of triumph must have been grievously marred by the loss of Warburton's friendship, if indeed it was friendship on the part of the arrogant divine, against whose character as a background the final sketch of Theobald's character gains heightened effects of contrasts.

In the final chapter, "The Progress of the Method," the editors of English authors are shown to have followed Theobald's method in its essential accuracy and breadth and with acknowledgment of his leadership until "their work in turn became new centers of influence, so that by the last quarter of the century the later tribe of critics considered the method anybody's." Theobald became the subject of a twofold and inherently contradictory tradition, for "Pope's characterization of him was complacently accepted," while on the other hand he was acknowledged to have set up the true pattern for the editing of an English author. As time went on, however, Theobald the scholarly editor faded from the general as well as from the critical mind, and "Theobald the dunce survived." In this chapter it is first shown that Theobald's method of investigating the cultural circumstances and experience of an English author and of controlling the critical apparatus of his text with the thoroness of a classical scholar had to displace the method of the poet-editor, who had found it easy enough to execute the trade-projects of a publisher. However, the author of this treatise is chiefly concerned to report with all necessary detail the work of the editors who may be called the immediate disciples of Theobald. This he has done with the judgment, industry, and taste required for a valuable contribution to the history of literary scholarship. Like all trustworthy history, this chapter is significant in its organic connections with the past and the future. In the future

here pointed out, no detail in connection with the influence of Theobald's method has a more peculiar significance than the 'Romantic' turning back to the literature of the nation's early and neglected periods.

J. W. B.

The Influence of French Literature on Europe. By Emeline M. Jensen, Ph. D. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1919, 132 pp.) Dr. Jensen has attacked in the brief space of her book a vast subject with a courage which cannot fail to win our admiration. This "little work of historical literary research" manifests an enthusiasm for France and her literature which disarms a critic, while an air of informality pervades the whole book and removes any suspicion of pedantry. A quotation from Dr. Henry Van Dyke begins the study, which is brought to a graceful close by another quotation from the author of the *Spoon River Anthology*.

Altho "ever since the early dawn of civilization, the French people have led the literary world," Dr. Jensen limits herself to the few centuries embraced by the *Chanson de Roland* and the philosophy of Bergson. With bold, rapid strokes she sketches for us the development of French literature, and reveals to us many new points of view. For example: "the Academy advanced scholasticism"; "Mme de Sévigné created a new kind of literature in the form of letters"; "he (Chateaubriand) wielded an immeasurably great influence in England which cannot be over-estimated"; "the French influence may have been very helpful to Spain, as there was but little of old literature there to build on." Similar striking statements, to be found on almost every page, show that the book has been written with a genuine independence of thought and a freedom from tradition.

"Ample references to larger and more complete works have been given." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Nelson's *Encyclopaedia*, as well as other works of general reference, are frequently cited, but one misses any notice whatsoever to less complete works such as those of Lanson, Brunetière, or Petit de Julleville. In the field of comparative literature, or the study of literary influences in general, Dr. Jensen would seem, at least for herself, to have discovered America.

The spelling bears the same stamp of originality. Would either the Marquise or Julie recognize the *Hotel Rambuild*? The author of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* is persistently referred to as *Boyle*. The distinguished Spanish scholar has lost half his name, as well as his hyphen, and becomes plain Kelly. Similar instances are too numerous to mention. As for the accents on the French words and quotations, Dr. Jensen is a law unto herself, altho she consistently omits the majority of them.

To appreciate fully the present work it must be read in its entirety. France will undoubtedly, as our authoress maintains, "continue to be in the future, the reigning queen of polite litera-

ture, quietly, yet in a thousand ways, exerting her influence for refinement and culture," but what in the mean while will happen if our young doctors of philosophy continue to write such works and our publishers run the risk of publishing them? J. F. M.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918). This report is of great interest to all those interested in the question of Modern Language instruction in the United States, as well as in Great Britain, especially at this time, when the whole question has been re-opened in many places as a result of the experiences of the last few years. Much of it, of course, is not applicable to conditions in this country, for it is largely taken up with a presentation of the claim of *Modern Studies* as against too great emphasis on the Classics, and, with us, Modern Languages have not only long since won their place in the sun, but too often crowded the older instruction into the background, without always furnishing as full a measure of solid training, or the anticipated utility, in its stead.

For this reason, the term *Modern Studies* is of interest, for it is the desire of the British committee to bring about as thorough instruction in Modern Languages as is offered by the Classics in England, and this includes not only a mastery of the languages, but also careful study of the history, society, and institutions of the people in question, about whom less is generally known than about ancient Greece and Rome.

The report is a fine example of British thoroughness and scholarly system in such matters. It discusses, among other things, the history of Modern Language instruction in Great Britain, without concealing any of the deficiencies, past or present; the present needs as a result of the war and for future relations; Modern Languages from a cultural as well as from a practical point of view; training of teachers (who should all spend at least one year in the country whose language they are to teach), with suggestions as to scholarships and studentships to enable them to do this, and exchange of students and professors, recommending native British teachers instead of foreign for the higher posts, as being better able to recognize and meet the requirements of British students; honor examinations and other means of encouraging students to recognize the value of Modern Languages and put them on a par with the Classics. It recommends that only one foreign language be required, and even takes up the question of an international language such as Esperanto, advising a further study of its practicability, especially for those students who have not the time for thorough mastery of some other idiom. In short, many important questions are presented and discussed with impartiality and competence, and the work contains a large amount of suggestive materials for any one interested in the matter. C. D. Z.

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THE BATTLE OF THE PLAYERS AND POETS, 1761-1766

The middle of the eighteenth century was a period of successful adaptations and few original plays, of mediocre playwrights and brilliant actors. We have forgotten the words of Arthur Murphy and George Colman the elder, but Mrs. Cibber, Macklin, and Garrick still live in the traditions of the English stage. Yet it was a time of very close connection between the people on the boards and those in the audience—a time of strong personal antagonisms that, fostered on the stage and in pamphlets, grew frequently to unwarranted proportions. The interest in the players was absorbing; the rivalry among the theatres was intense.

In 1760, only two regular play-houses were open in London: Drury Lane and Covent Garden. There were also the unlicensed theatre in Goodman's Fields, and the Little Theatre in the Haymarket,¹ where Samuel Foote, in order to evade the Licensing Act, advertised his plays by announcements like the following:

"Mr. Foote presents his compliments to his friends and the public, and desires them to drink tea at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket every morning, at playhouse prices." (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 247, note.)

Much of the interest in the stage was due probably to the rise of mimicry and caricature in the theatre, fostered to a great degree by Foote. In 1760, in *The Minor*, he made sport of the Methodists; in 1762, he ridiculed the Cock Lane Ghost affair, but omitted the satire on Doctor Johnson, when that great man threatened to cudgel anyone who made fun of him on the stage.

The history of the London stage in this period centers, however, in David Garrick. His first piece, a sketch called *Lethe*, was pro-

¹ Wright, T., *Caricature History of the Georges, or Annals of the House of Hanover*, London, 1868, pp. 236-7.

duced at Drury Lane, in 1740. In March, 1741, he took the place of Yates as Harlequin at Goodman's Fields, and in the following October wrote to his brother, "Last night I played Richard ye Third to ye Surprise of Everybody."² His success was immediate; carriages thronged from St. James's and Grosvenor Square to the unlicensed theatre at Goodman's Fields where Garrick was playing. He joined the Drury Lane Company, and Quin, his great rival, opposed him at Covent Garden. Charles Fleetwood, who, at that time, held the patent of Drury Lane Theatre, alienated many of the players by introducing tumblers and rope-dancers on its stage. At last his company revolted under the leadership of Garrick and Macklin. On account of the Lord Chamberlain's refusal to give them a new patent, they were forced, however, to come to an agreement with Fleetwood. In 1746, Garrick joined Rich in the Covent Garden Company. Fleetwood, in the meantime, had sold his interest in Drury Lane, which then came under Lacy's management. Rich had the better company, with Garrick, Quin, Woodward, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Pritchard. He treated Garrick, however, with such indifference that in the summer of 1747 the great actor left, to become joint owner and stage-manager of Drury Lane. Some of the best actors from Covent Garden, including Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard, followed him to his new theatre. On account of various quarrels, Barry and Mrs. Cibber left his company in 1749. This made Covent Garden again a dangerous rival.

The rivalry between the theatres was embittered by attacks upon Garrick. As manager of Drury Lane, he was censured by some of the critics because he was slow in producing new plays. Excitement rose to a high pitch in 1755, when he brought out "The Chinese Festival," a great spectacle, for which, unfortunately, it was necessary to employ a number of French dancers. Feeling against the French, always strong, ran especially high at that time, when, both in America and Europe, there was open hostility between the two peoples. A mob tried to break up the performance on the first night, but, with the aid of the aristocracy, Garrick was able to check them. The conflict between the two parties lasted for five nights; on the sixth, the rioters, carrying all before them, destroyed everything on which they could lay their hands.

² Hedgecock, F. A. *A Cosmopolitan Actor, David Garrick and his French Friends*. New York, 1912, p. 35.

Nor was the attack limited to mob violence. In 1755, in reference to Garrick's introduction of French actors, there appeared, for instance, "*The Nowiad: An Heroic Poem*. Humbly inscribed to the most renowned *Tom Thumb* the Great, Patentee and grand Manager of the *Old-New English-French Theatre*: With Notes historical and critical. By a Spectator."³ Two years later *The Monthly Review* (vol. 16, p. 183) mentions *The Age of Dulness: A Satire*, which commented upon the middle-rank actors and poets of the time. For a number of years, both Garrick and his fellow-players were the prey of satirists in prose and verse.

Of all the attacks upon the actors, the most noteworthy was *The Rosciad*, by Charles Churchill, which, published in 1761, brought in its wake a flood of inferior critical and satirical verse. It was preceded by *The Actor*, written by one of Churchill's friends, Robert Lloyd; but was much more personal in its application.

In brief, the plan of the work is as follows: The London actors are all aspirants for the chair of Roscius, the great Roman actor. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson are appointed judges to decide among them as they pass in review. As the actors appear, Churchill characterizes them, points out their defects, and, if possible, praises their merits. Last of all, Garrick comes, and the judges are unanimous in awarding to him the coveted place.

The objects of Churchill's criticism may, in general, be grouped under three heads: bearing, feeling, and enunciation. He sympathized strongly with Garrick's efforts to develop naturalness of acting, and was particularly severe in his denunciation of those who were artificial in their manner. Davies, for example, an inferior actor,

mouths a sentence as curs mouth a bone.⁴

When a certain Jackson appeared, Churchill exclaimed contemptuously,

List to that voice—did ever Discord hear
Sounds so well fitted to her untuned ear?

(*The Rosciad*, ll. 429-430.)

The actresses, in most instances, met with Churchill's approval:

³ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 13, p. 459.

⁴ *The Rosciad*, l. 322. (In the Aldine Edition of the Poetical Works of Charles Churchill, edited by W. Tooke. In three volumes, London, 1844.)

Miss Pope, one of the great stage heroines of the day, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Pritchard, all received unqualified praise. Mrs. Pritchard's acting of Lady Macbeth was especially noteworthy:

When she to murder whets the tim'rous thane
I feel ambition rush through every vein;
Persuasion hangs upon her daring tongue,
My heart grows flint, and every nerve's new strung.
(*The Rosciad*, 815-818.)

Garrick, as the hero of the poem, deserves the choice of the judges, for

. . . when, from Nature's pure and genuine source,
These strokes of acting flow with generous force,
When in the features all the soul's portray'd
And passions, such as Garrick's, are display'd,
To me they seem from quickest feelings caught,
Each start is nature, and each pause is thought.
(*The Rosciad*, 1049-1054.)

The publication of *The Rosciad* took the actors by surprise. It did not need any advertisement, for the players themselves spread the news. Davies, the author of the *Life of Garrick*, gives an account of the satire upon them. Barry, Woodward, and Mossop were in Ireland at the time, and first learned of the attack through a Dublin edition of *The Rosciad*. "Havard was more offended than became a man so calm and dispassionate. Rose pleaded guilty, and laughed at his punishment over a glass with his friend Bonnel Thornton. Sparks was too much a man of the world to be hurt by a poetical arrow. King was displeased, but King kept his temper. Shuter, out of revenge, got very merry with the poet. Foote, who lived by degrading all characters, was outrageously offended. Whether there was a particular stroke, which he felt more than was known to others, I cannot tell; but he was extremely violent in his anger. He wrote a prose dialogue, wherein he lampooned Churchill and Lloyd; I believe he was too wise to publish it. I remember that, with his usual alliteration of which he was uncommonly fond, he called Churchill the *Clumsy curate of Clapham*."⁵

The public rather enjoyed the fun. The actors, for so long a

⁵ Davies, T. *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.*; in two volumes. London, 1784. Fourth Edition, vol. I, pp. 329-330.

time, had used their privilege of caricaturing prominent people upon the stage, that the whole town was glad to see the tables turned, and the players running around "like so many stricken deer." (Davies, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321.)

Oliver Goldsmith, in his *Citizen of the World*, gives an interesting satirical account of the literary warfare that ensued. He says, in part:

An important literary debate at present engrosses the attention of the town. It is carried on with sharpness, and a proper share of this epigrammatical fury. An author, it seems, has taken an aversion to the faces of several players, and has written verses to prove his dislike: the players fall upon the author, and assure the town he must be dull, and their faces must be good, because he wants a dinner; a critic comes to the poet's assistance, asserting that the verses were perfectly original, and so smart that he could never have written them without the assistance of friends; the friends, upon this, arraign the critic, and plainly prove the verses to be all the author's own. . . . The town, without siding with any, views the combat in suspense.*

Since the first edition of *The Rosciad* was anonymous, the reviewers were uncertain to whom to ascribe the authorship. *The Critical Review* suggested that it might be the product of Colman, Thornton, or Lloyd, or to any one of them (vol. II, p. 212). Lloyd immediately denied that he was the author, and in an evening paper published a fable against the Critical Reviewers, who had been very severe in their account of the work (*The Critical Review*, vol. II, pp. 339 and 209-210). This fable proved to be the forerunner of many other works of a more or less abusive nature—many of them due, no doubt, to the outraged feelings of the lesser actors and their friends.

Goldsmith notes that the epigram was one of the keenest weapons employed in the controversy. As an illustration he gives the following:

An Epigram

Addressed to the Gentlemen reflected on in the 'Rosciad,' a Poem, by the Author.

Worry'd by debts and past all hopes of bail
His pen he prostitutes, t'avoid a goal.—Roscom.

* Goldsmith, O. *Miscellaneous Works*. Including a Variety of Pieces now first collected by James Prior. Four volumes. New York, 1850, vol. XI, pp. 445-446.

Let not the hungry Bavius' angry stroke
 Awake resentment, or your age provoke;
 But, pitying his distress, let virtue* shine,
 And, giving each your bounty,† let him dine:
 For, thus retain'd, as learned counsel can,
 Each case, however bad, he'll new japan:
 And, by a quick transition, plainly show
 'Twas no defect of yours, but pockets low,
 That caus'd his putrid kennel to o'erflow.

* Charity. † Settled at one shilling, the price of the poem.

(Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 448).

Goldsmith quotes a second epigram which refers to the doubts of the reviewers in regard to the authorship of *The Rosciad*:

To G. C. and R. L. [George Colman the elder, and Robert Lloyd.]

'Twas you, or I, or he, or all together,
 'Twas one, both, three of them, they know not whether;
 This I believe, between us great or small,
 You, I, he, wrote it not—'twas Churchill's all.

(Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, p. 449.)

From every side epistles, odes, and satires kept flowing in: Lloyd, in addition to the Advertisement in the papers, printed *An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad*, in which he complained of the decay of criticism, lashed the truculent character of the age, and praised his friend. One D. Hayes published an attack upon Churchill and Lloyd, entitled *An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad*. Still another poem was *The Retort*, which *The Monthly Review* praises as better than many of the others (vol. 25, p. 477).

The London Magazine, in March, 1761, printed the following satiric epigram:

I hear the r——d Ch——ll's praise,
 Fam'd for the ivy and the bays;
 I read his heav'n inspired rhymes,
 That might adorn th' Apostles times;
 Where, meek and with a Christian spirit,
 He justly weighs each player's factors,
 Corrects the actresses—and actors.
 Oh! to reform this wicked age,
 Make him a—b—p of the stage,
 That none presume to act again,
 But those his grace is pleas'd t'ordain;
 So shall the church in all excell,
 And triumph o'er the gates of hell.

(*The London Magazine for 1761*, p. 163.)

The Anti-Rosciad. By the Author. *Poenum habet in cornu longe fuge.* Hor., appeared in April, 1761, written probably by Thomas Morell. In ten pages the author replied to Churchill's attack on the players, and attempted to answer his criticism. He hinted that the author of *The Rosciad* was actuated by motives of spite and self-interest, which led him to attack the players simply to win favors from the manager.

Arthur Murphy, the playwright and actor, in his nauseous *Ode to the Naiads of Fleet-Ditch*, compares Churchill to a pickpocket:

This last person's [i. e., Churchill's] hand has felt in his pocket twice in a very short time; in the *Rosciad* it was but a dip, and away; but as if this astonishing genius, who has lately amazed mankind, had improved in his trade, in his *Apology* he has attempted to make an entire rummage. (*An Ode to the Naiads of Fleet-Ditch.* Advertisement, p. 11. Churchill had written a second poem called *The Apology*, for which see below.)

The poem itself is a disgusting emanation from the sewers with which it deals. Later in the year, however, Murphy published *The Examiner*,⁷ a satire that contains a further, but more sane discussion of the war of the poets. He is severe, but not scurrilous in his treatment of Churchill, Lloyd, and Colman, and has risen far above his level in the earlier work.

A large part of Murphy's *Ode* is unquotable, as is also Edward Thompson's *Meretriciad*, which appeared in September, 1761, a catalogue of the frail beauties of London. Incidentally, it praises Churchill in extravagant terms:

Ch——'s the muse, who dare aspire to rise,
And pluck the di'monds from the starry skies.

(*The Meretriciad*, p. 2.)

In a long prose tract, *The Churchilliad: or a Few Modest Questions Proposed to the Reverend Author of the Rosciad*, 1761, we have an overdrawn but not impossible picture of the satirist:

I have often look'd upon those shoulders, and the pedestals you wear for legs, with an eye of envy, and as for that little natural imperfection in your face, which the faculty call a convulsion of the part, proceeding from some irregularity in muscles, I have observed with the greatest pity. (*The Churchilliad*, pp. 29-30.)

⁷ At the head of the poem is the title, *The Expostulation*. The title was changed to *The Examiner* to avoid confusion with another *Expostulation* written by Murphy's enemies.

The author suggests that hunger prompted *The Rosciad*, and tells a story of Churchill's keeping two bodies waiting in the church for burial while he was watching a play from the orchestra of the Drury Lane Theatre. It would seem that a French Protestant read the burial service:

And what could it signify to the dead to be buried by a French protestant, who could not read a word of English? Was not he [i.e., Churchill] lowering the insolent pride of a set of people, who had the impudence to dine upon *fish* and *fowls* in a superb *apartment*, while he was forced to dart into a cellar in St. Giles's where the knives and forks are chained to the table, for fear the company should steal them, and there dine voluptuously upon ox cheek? (*The Churchilliad*, p. 12.)

Churchill, in the meantime, had not been entirely silent. In *The Apology*, a poem published in April, 1761, he assailed *The Critical Review* for its harsh reception of his earlier poem, and dashed Garrick from the pedestal on which he had placed him the month before. He sneered at the strolling player who had become the haughty monarch of the London stage; he mocked those petty satellites who trembled at the tyrant's frown. Whether a quarrel had arisen between the two, or whether Churchill wrote this poem merely to gain more money, we cannot tell, but his attack must have been very disconcerting to Garrick, who was being assailed from another quarter at the same time.

A certain Fitzpatrick, the leader of some of the mob opposition to Garrick, had been attacking him in a series of letters first published in *The Craftsman* and then as *An Inquiry into the real Merit of a certain popular Performer* . . . "the overflowings of spleen, ignorance, conceit, and disappointment" (*The Critical Review*, vol. 11, p. 80). Garrick replied in June, 1761, with *The Fribbleriad*, a satirical poem, in which Fitzpatrick appears as Figzig, the chairman of the Panfribblerium, where all the Fribbles are plotting the manager's destruction. Among the Fribbles, but more open than they in his attack, is Churchill, whose one hand holds a pen, the other, a club (*The Fribbleriad*, p. 16).

An Epistle to the Author of the Rosciad and the Apology, 1761, a poem published in answer to Churchill's first two works, is a meek exhortation to the satirist, advising him to sing the "Moral song," and leave lampoon to snarling Critics.

In June, 1761, was published another satire, *The Scrubs of Parnassus: or All in the Wrong*, of which the Critical Reviewers

give a brief account, again expressing their utter weariness of the warfare that had already continued several months and was showing no signs of coming to an end (*The Critical Review*, vol. 11, p. 495).

On November 24, 1761, appeared in *The London Chronicle*, a poem called 'All in the Wrong.' *A Poetical Essay Humbly addressed to the literary game-cocks of the present Age*, taking its title, perhaps, from Murphy's play, *All in the Wrong*, which was being performed in November, 1761.⁸ It censures the disputants on both sides, and urges them to follow Horace, rather than Juvenal:

All in the wrong the bick'ring bards I deem,
Who quick, and quarrelsome, and choak'd with phlegm,
Against their rival-brethren of the quill,
With mean, illib'ral taunts, their poems fill;
And much good verse throw foolishly away,
A temper touch'd with malice to display.
Ye Murphys, Churchills, Lloyds, for shame agree.
(*The London Chronicle*, vol. x, pp. 508-509.)

It is interesting to note that the reviewers, after reading such works as those I have mentioned, were quite ready to acknowledge Churchill as the master, and the other poets as imitators. They had criticized him harshly, and they would do so again in the latter part of his career, but, for instance, in its account of *The Four Farthing-Candles, A Satire*. Inscribed to A. D., Esq., *The Monthly Review* comments:

There are some smart things in his Poem; but his denying the applauded Author of the Rosciad any share of genius, is enough to make every discerning Reader question that of our Satirist himself, or, at least to pronounce him utterly destitute of candor. Can anything be more absurd than the following lines, applied to Mr. Churchill?

When a rough unwieldy wight
Turns Bard—inspir'd—by nought but spite,
Tho' here and there a *stolen* thought
May prove the Blockhead not untaught,
Yet, by his aukward hobling gait
We easily discern the cheat;
And in each spleen-fraught line can trace
His want of Genius, as of Grace.

(*The Monthly Review*, vol. 62, p. 231.)

⁸ *The London Chronicle*, vol. x, pp. 508-509.

Even from the brief extracts that I have quoted, it is possible to get a fairly good idea of the general quality of these polemics. In most cases they are simply rhymed and abusive prose lampoon. They lack all pretense to humor or to imagination. Had a great poet consented to enter the conflict, either on the side of actors or of Churchill, it might have been possible to have a revival of meritorious satire. As it was, the stream of abuse became thinner and more worthless until at last it vanished in the underground channels of Grub Street. As it flowed, it divided into two branches, one of which continued the quarrel of the poets, and the other led into imitations of *The Rosciad*.

Of the first group I shall mention only four, (1) *The Triumvirate: a poetical Portrait, Taken from the Life, and Finished after the Manner of Swift*, was the cause of a lament by *The Monthly Review* over the pernicious war of the bards:

We are sorry to find that the literary heats which so much interested the attention of the public last winter, are likely to be revived in this, and that the improvement of real and useful knowledge must again give way to private animosities; which, as they have been hitherto managed, are not less prejudicial to the interest and characters of the parties concerned, than troublesome and unprofitable to the public.

(*The Monthly Review*, vol. 25, p. 319.)

(2) An Epistle to * * * *. *A. M. Student of Christ Church*, written in November, 1761, by a certain Mr. Woodhull. This, according to *The Monthly Review*, was considered influenced by *The Rosciad* and *The Apology*, but not so "nervously expressed" (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 25, p. 330).

(3) *The Muse's Advice. Addressed to the Poets of the Age*, by Mr. Woty, who tries to mediate between the opposing camps of angry poets. *The Monthly Review* is apprehensive "lest the simple youth be rewarded with a broken head for his officiousness" (vol. 25, p. 479).

(4) *Day: An Epistle to C. Churchill*; By G. Freeman, Esq., of the Inner Temple. This is perhaps as far as we should trace this phase of the quarrel, since *Day* has been rightly called "a maggot bred in the corruption of those wounds occasioned by a late literary skirmish" (*The Critical Review*, vol. 13, p. 362).

Shortly after the publication of *The Rosciad*, it was rumored that Churchill was about to publish a *Smithfield Rosciad*, directed

against the minor actors. This rumor spread consternation among those of little reputation, for, although Macklin could laugh at any attacks that might be made upon him, the lesser men felt that another attack might ruin their chances of success. One Davis, an inferior player, wrote Churchill a long letter, couched in terms of the greatest humility, asking to be spared from the satiric pen. Churchill's reply was brief and contemptuous:

Sir,

From whom you have obtained your information concerning my next publication I know not, nor indeed am solicitous to know, neither can I think you intitled, as you express it, to an exemption from any severity, as you express it, which gentlemen of your profession, as you express it, are subject to.

I am your humble Servant,

Charles Churchill.

P. S. Defects (perhaps natural as you express it) are secure from my own feelings without any application.

Friday 9.

(*The London Magazine* for 1763, p. 500.)

The Smithfield Rosciad, which Davis feared, did appear, but was not written by Churchill. It is dull in spite of frequent borrowings from *The Rosciad*, and its attempt to parody it. It

is as inferior to Churchill's *Rosciad*, as a play at Bartholomew Fair is to a play at Drury-Lane. (*The Critical Review*, vol. 17, pp. 75-76.)

Among the other immediate imitations were *The Rosciad of Covent Garden* and *The Battle of the Players*. *The Monthly Review* notes that the former of these works was decidedly inferior to *The Rosciad*:

This unequal imitator of a late celebrated piece, abuses the *lower* actors of Covent-Garden Theatre, with more than Churchill's ill-nature; and praises the better sort with less, far less, than Churchill's Poetry.

(Vol. 26, p. 231.)

The author of *The Battle of the Players* was more ambitious. Not content with lampooning the players in one theatre, he tells us in his title that he introduces "*the Characters of all the Actors and Actresses on the English Stage: With an impartial Estimate of their respective Merits.*" Although it professes to be an imitation of Swift's prose, it shows a clear influence of the general

method of *The Rosciad*. (Noted in *The Critical Review*, vol. 13, p. 268.)

Long after the storm of lampoon aroused by the publication of *The Rosciad* had died away, various poets of third or fourth rank, taking Churchill's work as their model, tried their hand at dramatic criticism. In July, 1766, Churchill and others were interviewed in the Elysian Fields by the Shade of Quin, which later appears to Roscius and recounts its adventures in *The Interview; or Jack Falstaff's Ghost, a Poem*. Inscribed to David Garrick, Esq. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 35, p. 79.)

In the following year, there was a revival of the criticism of the players. This petty quarrel centered in a poem called *Thespis: or a Critical Examination into the Merits of all the principal Performers belonging to Drury-Lane Theatre*. The reviewer remarks:

. . . The Author of *Thespis*, which may be considered as a supplement to Churchill's poem, is still more ill-natured. He has all the scurrility of his predecessor, without his fire and force: his virulence, without his poetry. Not that we think him inferior to the writer of the *Rosciad*, in point of harmony; for, in this respect, scarce any mere rhimester of his day was his inferior; but we have not here the concise, nervous expression; the bold, energetic thought; the elevated, manly genius; the natural, and even the becoming complexion for satire, from whence the late celebrated bard has been justly stiled [sic] the Juvenal of the present times. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 35, p. 388.)

This was followed by a series of similar pamphlets, which, in general, I shall list without comment. They are all about equally insignificant as literature, but have some interest as indicative of the spirit of the times:

1. *Anti-Thespis: or a Vindication of the principal Performers at Drury-Lane Theatre, from the false Criticisms, illiberal Abuse, and Gross Misrepresentation, of the Author of a Poem, lately published, entitled Thespis*. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 36, p. 79.)

2. *Thespis: or a Critical Examination into the Merits of all the principal Performers belonging to Covent-Garden Theatre. Book the Second*. By Hugh Kelly, Author of the *First*. (*Ibid.*, p. 162.)

3. *The Rescue: or Thespian Scourge, Being a critical Enquiry into the Merit of a Poem entitled Thespis*. (*Ibid.*)

4. *The Rational Rosciad. In Two Parts. I On the Stage in general and particularly, and on the Merits of the most celebrated Dramatic Writers. II On the Merits of the principal Performers of both Theatres*. By F—B—L—. (*Ibid.*, p. 163.)

5. *The Impartialist. A Poem.* The author, T. Underwood, follows Churchill, but, as the reviewer remarks, *non passibus aequis*. (*Ibid.*, p. 239.)

6. *Momus, a critical Examination into the Merits of the Performers, and Comic Pieces, at the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket.* (*Ibid.*, vol. 37, p. 75.)

7. *Atys: or a Letter to Momus, on his late Descent among Mortals;—or, rather, to the mistaken illiberal Mortal whose lucrative Views have engaged him to wear that Mask, to cover Falshood [sic], Ingratitude, Malevolence, etc., etc.* (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)

8. *The Theatres: a poetical Dissection.* By Sir Nicholas Nipclose, Bart. (*Ibid.*, vol. 45, p. 508.)

This is one of the last of the direct descendants of *The Rosciad*, but the fashion of examining the merits of various persons spread from an examination of the stage to an examination of almost everything under heaven. The Aldermen, the Court, Parliament, and even the Church, came beneath the lash of the satirist. During the period of the American Revolution, the satirists found a more fertile field in the political affairs of the kingdom, and the players were unmolested. The *Parody on the Rosciad of Churchill* that appeared in 1781 resembled the earlier poem only in name. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 64, p. 232.)

Such was the "Calmuc-tribe of authors who are to be regarded as the brood of Churchill's poem, and the heirs of his Billingsgate fortunes."⁹ Churchill did not create the fashion of attacking the players, but he made his criticism of them so keen and forceful that he kept the style alive some twenty years after it would normally have ceased to exist. Unfortunately for the literature of the period, only the lesser poets entered the controversy—many of them doubtless the very actors he had flayed. In consequence, we have a great mass of verse that apparently aroused a vast deal of contemporary interest, but that is practically void of all literary merit.

Formal satire in the manner of Pope was dying; Churchill could only delay the end. His followers, imitating him poorly, carried on the warfare for which he was so largely responsible. The new school of Post-Revolutionary satirists, however, turned to different metres and a lighter touch. The words of Peter Pindar, describing his own work indicate the change:

⁹ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 49, p. 230.

To mine, Charles Churchill's rage was downright rancour:
 He was a first-rate man-of-war to *me*,
 Thund'ring amidst a high tempestuous sea;
 I'm a small cockboat bobbing at an anchor;
 Playing with patereroes that *alarm*,
 Yet scorn to do a bit of harm.

My satire's blunt—his boasted a keen edge;
 A sugar-hammer mine—but his a blacksmith's sledge.

(*The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq.* In three volumes. London, 1794, vol. II, pp. 346-347).

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THE FABLE OF BELLING THE CAT

The B and C texts of *Piers Plowman* contain the well-known fable of bellling the cat with an obvious application to the political situation in England at the close of Edward III.'s reign.¹ For the earlier history of this fable Professor Skeat's note is inadequate: he merely quotes from Wright's edition that it appeared in the French *Ysopet*. But the story is very much older than the *Ysopet* (which itself, moreover, can hardly be considered a "source" until it is established that the English poet could read French), and it may therefore be of value to have the scattered data brought together.

The earliest known version of the fable is found in the Old Syriac *Kalilah and Dimnah*, which is dated about the close of the sixth century; and runs as follows:

The king of the mice consults with his ministers as to the possibility of freeing themselves from the cats. He himself thinks there must be some means of doing so. Two of his ministers agree with him and are subservient to his wishes, but the third and wiser one gives it as his opinion that an evil of long standing cannot be so easily abolished, and that any attempt to cure it may easily cause a great calamity. This view he confirms by a story. But since the king adheres to his resolution, he yields, and his colleagues bring forward proposals. The proposal of the first one, to hang a bell on every cat as a danger signal, is pronounced by the second to be not feasible. The proposal of the second, to go into the wilderness for a year that people may do away with the cats thus rendered

¹ *Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1886, B-text, Prol. 146 ff.; C-text, Pass. I, 165 ff.

superfluous, is declared by the third to involve great hardships and to be an uncertain method. The third minister then makes a proposal himself, which is to act in such a manner as to induce men to ascribe to the cats the harm done by the mice, and to exterminate them, not as being merely superfluous but as evil doers. This plan succeeds, the cats are exterminated, and men of a later generation relate extraordinary stories of the harmfulness of cats.²

That this story was not properly a part of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* may be assumed from its absence from Ibn al-Mukaffa's translation (750 A. D.) of the Pehlevi original. Moreover, it is in none of the later versions, from the tenth century onwards, except the Greek of Simeon son of Seth (ca. 1080), where it appears in fragmentary form, and whence it passed into the Italian translation of Simeon made in 1583. But it does occur, however, in several Arabic manuscripts, of the twelfth century or earlier, of Ibn al-Mukaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah*,³ though apparently as an addition.⁴ While in the Syriac and Arabic the fable is only a part of the much longer story, it appears by itself—as regularly in the western versions—in the collection of Arabic proverbs of Maïdâni.

Negotii bravior pars restat.—Fabulam proverbii hujus explicandi causa adtulerunt. Mures, quum e fele vehementer afflicti essent, ut tintinnabulum ad felis collum appenderent, consilium ceperunt. Quum autem unus quis nostrum id appenderet interrogasset alter proverbii verbis respondit.⁵

The earliest appearance of this fable in the West seems to be in Odo of Cheriton's collection:—

² I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge, 1885, p. xxxv. A summary from the Arabic version was given by Silvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bilpai en Arabe*, Paris, 1816, pp. 61-3 of the *Mémoire historique*. The Arabic and Syriac texts were printed by Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern. Ein Abschnitt der Pehlewî-Bearbeitung des altindischen Fürstenspiegels* (in *Ahd. d. K. Ges. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxv, 1879), with translations (Syriac, pp. 16, 18, 20 ff.; Arabic, pp. 17, 19, 21 ff.). Nöldeke believes the story is of Persian origin. A French translation is given by J. Derenbourg, *Johannis de Capua, Directorium Vitae Humanae*, Paris, 1889, App. III. On the various redactions of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* cf. Keith-Falconer's Introduction, and V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, II, Liège, 1897.

³ De Sacy, *op. cit.*, *Mémoire historique*, pp. 33, 61.

⁴ It stands *last* in the old Syriac version.

⁵ G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, Bonn, 1838, p. 169, no. 63; cf. also vol. III, p. 548, no. 473. On Maïdâni see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, I, Liège, 1892, pp. 12 ff.

Mures habuerunt semel consilium qualiter se a Cato possent premunire. Et ait quidam Mus sapiens: *Ligetur campanella in collo Cati, et tunc poterimus ipsum quocumque perrex[er]it audire et insidias eius precavere. Placuit omnibus hoc consilium. Et ait Mus unus: Quis ligabit campanellum in collo Cati? Respondit alius: Nec ego pro toto mundo ei uellem tantum appropinquare.*⁶

Odo's fables were written about 1220. That his work was very popular hardly needs to be said. There are still extant two thirteenth-century manuscripts which contain this particular fable, one of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and three of the fourteenth century. An Old French translation is found in ms. Phillipps-Cheltenham 16230 of the end of the thirteenth century. The English Franciscan, Nicole Bozon, probably got his version of the fable from Odo.⁷ There was a Latin translation of Bozon, which is preserved in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century. Moreover, Odo's fables were translated into Spanish under the title of *El Libro de los Gatos*.⁸

Besides those of *Piers Plowman*, Bozon and the *Libro de los Gatos* there are at least six other fourteenth-century versions of this tale known: (1) that of Ps.-Gualterus Anglicus in Latin couplets;⁹ (2) a translation (ca. 1330-35) of this into Old French octosyllabics, known as *Ysopet I*;¹⁰ (3) that of Ulrich Boner, of

⁶ L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, iv, Paris, 1896, p. 225 (Odonis de Ceritona Fabulæ, LIV^a, "De Muribus et Catto et cetera"). Cf. Hervieux, II, Paris, 1884, p. 633, fab. LXXXII.

⁷ *Contes Moralisés*, ed. L. T. Smith et Paul Meyer (Soc. des anc. textes fran.), Paris, 1889, p. 144; the note, p. 281, says: "La source directe, comme le prouve le nom de *Sire Badde* donné au chat, semble être une fable anglaise." Cf. Hervieux, iv, p. 98; and for Bozon's sources in general see P. Harry, *Comparative Study of the Æsopic Fable in Nicole Bozon in University Studies of the University of Cincinnati*, March-April, 1905.

⁸ Ed. G. T. Northup, in *Mod. Phil.*, v (1908), 477 ff. The fable of belling the cat is no. LVI, p. 522 [76].

⁹ Preserved in three manuscripts written apparently by the same scribe: Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1594 (olim 7616), ms. XIII of the Grenville Library, and ms. 11193 of the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels; cf. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* I (1893), pp. 516, 571, 582, respectively. This fable was printed from B. N. fr. 1594 by C. M. Robert, *Fables Inédites des XIIIe, XIIIe et XIVe Siècles et Fables de La Fontaine*, Paris, 1825, I, 99-100; and by Hervieux, with partial collation of the three manuscripts, in *Fabulistes Latins* II (1894), pp. 368-9.

¹⁰ Printed by Robert, I. c.

the second quarter of the century;¹¹ (4) that of John Bromyard, about the middle of the century;¹² (5) that of Eustache Deschamps' ballade with the refrain "Qui pendra la sonnette au chat";¹³ and (6) that of the *Dialogus Creaturarum* LXXX.¹⁴ Since the first of these, at least, may have been known to the *Piers Plowman* poet, I transcribe it here (from Hervieux):

DE MURIBUS CONCILIUM CONTRA CATUM

Concilium fecere diu Mures animati;
 Peruenit rapido magna querela Cato.
 Murilegus nos sæpe legit comeditque legendo;
 Cum nostris natis sic sumus esca sibi.
 Omnes conveniunt detur campanula furi;
 Sic improuisus non erit interitus.
 Concio tota probat sanctum, laudabile dictum;
 Nil fit, et abscedit garrula tota cohors.
 Ecce uetusta, sagax, uenit obuia claudica consors,
 Que cito non potuit accelerare pedem.
 Dicite, felices, que sit concordia uestra?
 Inserit ex gestis omnia silus acus.
 Arguit hos ueterana loquax quis forte ligabit
 Sedulitate sua tympana dicta Cato.
 Querunt qua faciant concepta medullitus arte;
 Non est qui faciat premeditata sagax.
 Nil prodesset enim sensato condere iura,
 Constanti vultu ni tueretur ea.
 Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus;
 Nil prodest abs re magna futura loqui.

¹¹ *Edelstein*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1844, Fab. 70; also in J. J. Bodmer und J. J. Breitinger, *Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger*, Zürich, 1757, LXX, p. 167-9.

¹² *Summa Praedicatorum* O, 6, 71 (Ed. Nürnberg, 1518, fol. cclxii; ed. Venice, 1586, II, fol. 155).

¹³ *Oeuvres* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), I, 151, Ballade 58. Deschamps refers to the same fable in another ballade, *Oeuvres* v, 389.

¹⁴ Ed. J. G. Th. Grässe, *Die beiden ältesten Lateinischen Fabelbücher des Mittelalters*, Tübingen, 1880, Dial. 80, pp. 225-6. This work, with which is usually associated the name of Nicolaus Pergamenus, is found in manuscripts of the fourteenth century; it was printed first in 1480, and frequently thereafter. On the early editions and translations cf. Chauvin I, nos. 69, 70; II, no. 133 A. H. Régnier, in his edition of *La Fontaine* refers to a "Manuscrit de Sainte-Genève" containing *Le Conseil tenu par les Rats* (printed in *Recueil de poésies chrétiennes et diverses*, III, 369).

The fable in the *Dialogus* is as follows:

Non credas omni verbo, sed in omni facto intuendum est de possibilitate et de fine, prout in fabula quadam refertur, quod mures fecerunt consilium, ut facerent campanam et ponerent eam ad collum catti, ut quando iret cattus, audirent campanam mures et absconderent se. Affuit etiam inter eos aliis sapientior, qui dixit: esto, quod campana sit facta, quia vestrum ponet eam ad collum ejus? Et cum non inveniretur, quis vellet eam ponere ad collum catti, destiterunt ab inceptis.

It is of course futile to attempt to discover the immediate source used by the author of the B-text of *Piers Plowman*. There are, however, two obvious possibilities: either the fable was circulating orally and the poet learned it as he learned so much of the 'real life' of the Fair Field Full of Folk, from mingling with his fellow-men; or he found it in a manuscript of, say, Odo's *Fabulæ*, or some other of the various collections which contained it. But there is no evidence on which to base even a good conjecture. If the poet had a literary source, the most likely one *a priori* is Odo of Cheriton; but that is as much as can be said.¹⁵ To the further question, how the Oriental fable got to England by 1220 there are likewise two answers: oral transmission and literary borrowing. Something may be said for each. The former is a Protean sort of evidence,—if it may be called evidence at all; but in view of the known intercourse between the Arabs and the people of western Europe, both through Italy and through Spain, and of the demonstrated rapidity with which tales travel by word of mouth, oral transmission is always to be reckoned a strong probability. It can never be proved, but it cannot on that account be disregarded. Literary borrowing is also, in this case, not susceptible of proof; but a certain plausibility may be suggested. In the twelfth century the fable was very popular in England. The works of Gualterus Anglicus, Alexander Neckam and Marie de France are alone sufficient testimony of this. Moreover, Odo of Cheriton is not the only writer some of whose fables reached England from the Orient. "Considering the evidence I have produced," says Joseph Jacobs, "of a larger Arabic *Æsop* into which these stories could easily

¹⁵ The "mus sapiens" of Odo suggests the "mous ba moche good couthe," but the latter plays a different rôle. There is a close, but hardly significant, parallel between the statement of the mouse in Odo which would not even approach the cat "pro toto mundo" and the similar expression in *Piers Plowman* B, Prol. 177, 179; C, Pass. I, 192, 194.

creep in from Al Mokaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, we are justified in looking out for an Alfred who knew Arabic in searching for the original of Marie's Fables."¹⁶ This man Jacobs takes to be a certain *Alfred the Englishman* who flourished about 1170 or a little later. And it is by no means impossible that a manuscript of Ibn al-Mukaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah* which contained the tale of the belling of the cat found its way to England, and so this particular fable, translated perhaps by Alfred himself, got into circulation.¹⁷ I do not adduce this as an hypothesis; I suggest it merely as one of the many ways in which the Arabic table might have become known in England.

Since the fourteenth century this fable has had a long and varied career. I shall not attempt, however, to follow its history among the later fabulists; it will be enough here to add a list (incomplete, of course) of such versions as I have noted.¹⁸

ORIENTAL

1. Old Syriac *Kalilah and Dimnah* (ca. 570); see above.
2. Greek translation of *Kalilah and Dimnah* (ca. 1080), by Simeon son of Seth: Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, ed. V. Puntoni, Firenze, 1889, p. 295; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 21 ff.
3. Arab. MSS. of Ibn al-Mukaffa's translation; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 11 ff.
4. Proverbs of Maïdāni; see above.
5. Attai et Riābnin, *Kniga Kalilah i Dimnah*, p. 266 [Russian?] (R. Basset, *Recherches sur Si Djoha*, in Mouliéras, *Fourberies de Si Djoha*, Paris, 1892, p. 49, n. 1. Cf. also Chauvin II, p. 24.
6. Decourdemanche, *Sottigier de Nasreddin Hodja*, no. 148 (Basset).

¹⁶ *Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889, I, Introd., p. 167.

¹⁷ There is a striking resemblance (which is probably fortuitous) between the advice of the wise mouse who pointed out (B-text, Prol. 185 ff.) the uselessness of trying to circumvent the cat and the trouble likely to ensue if he were killed, and that of the wise counsellor who held that "an evil of long standing cannot be so easily abolished, and that any attempt to cure it may easily cause a great calamity."

¹⁸ This list is made up from various sources (e. g., Chauvin, Wesselski, Oesterley, and Robert), and many of the books are, I regret to say, "non vidimus." Where I have not been able to verify the reference I have indicated its source. After nearly completing my collection I found that Wesselski, in his excellent edition and translation of Arlotto (Berlin, 1910), had already outlined the history of the fable, though very briefly. Grösse's reference (p. 305) to Straparola I, 3, appears to be an error.

7. Albert Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Weimar, 1911, I, 120, no. 213.

8. *Abuschalem und sein Hofphilosoph*, Leipzig, 1778, p. 167 (Leipzig, 1868, p. 107.—Basset). A translation of *Specimen sapientiae Indorum veterum, id est, liber ethico-politicus peruetustus, dictus arabice Kelilah va Dimnah, graece Στεφανιτης και Ιχνηλατης*; ed. S. B. Stark, Berlin, 1697.

(9. Cf. *Inatula* 2, 111-160 (Chauvin II, p. 110). Cf. Benfey *Pantschatantra* I, p. 605.)

WESTERN

10. Odo of Cheriton, ca. 1220; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 131 f.

11. Ps. Gualterus; see above. Some times called *Anonymus Neveleti*, *Appendix*.

12. *Ysopet I*; see above.

13. Bozon; see above; cf. Chauvin II, p. 132.

14. Boner; see above; cf. Chr. Waas, *Quellen der Beispiele Boners*, Giessen diss., Dortmund, 1897, pp. 19-21, 52.

15. Bromyard; see above.

16. Deschamps; see above.

17. *Libro de los Gatos*; see above.

18. *Dialogus Creaturarum*; see above.

19. *Piers Plowman*; see above.

20. Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories* (Percy Soc.), London, 1842, no. XCII, p. 80.

21. Arlotto, *Facezie*, 1568, p. 106 (Robert); ed. Wesselski II, p. 64. On life and editions of Arlotto Mainardi (1396-1484) see Wesselski's *Eingleitung*; on this fable cf. II, pp. 226 ff.

22. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 1522, cap. 634; ed. Oesterley, Stuttgart, 1866.

23. Laur. Abstemius, *Hecatomythion Secundum*, in *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae* etc., Venice 1519, Fab. xcv; ed. Venice 1539, Fab. xcvi.

24. Domenichi, *Facecies, et motz subtilz*, 1548, fol. D^a; 1562, p. 154; 1581, p. 191; etc. (Wesselski, Arlotto).

25. Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, 1563, VII, 105; ed. Oesterley, Tübingen, 1869, v, p. 170.

26. Gabriello Faerno, *Fabulae centum ex antiquis auctoribus delectae et carminibus explicatae*, 1564, p. 47.

27. Nath. Chrythraeus, *Hundert Fabeln Aesopi*, 1571, 72 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).

28. Ces. Pavesio, *Il Targa che contiene 150 favole*, Ven. 1576, Fab. 1 (Robert, and others).

29. Verdizzotti, *Cento favole*, Ven. 1577, p. 33 (Robert).

30. *Facetie e motti dei secoli XV e XVI*, p. 123, no. 223 (Wesselski, Arlotto).

31. Italian translation of Simeon's Greek, 1583; see above.

32. Seb. Mey, *Fabulario*, Valencia, 1613, Fáb. 24; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la Novela*, II, Madrid, 1907, pp. xcix ff. (Wesselski, Arlotto).

33. Caspar Barthius, *Fabular. aesopicar. libri V*, Francof., 1623, 5, 19 (Oosterley, Kirchhof).
34. Daum, 238 (Oosterley, Kirchhof).
35. J. Regnier, *Apologi Phædri etc.*, Dijon, 1643, Part. I, fab. I.
36. La Fontaine, *Fables*, 1668, II, ii.
37. Is. Benserade, *Fables d'Esop en quatrains*, Paris, 1678, Fab. CIII.
38. Francis Barlow, *Æsop's Fables . . . in English, French and Latin*, London, 1687, Fable XXI, pp. 42, 43.
39. Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables, of Æsop and other Eminent Mythologists*, London, 1692, Fab. CCCXCI, p. 364.
40. Balth. Schupp, *Schriften*, Frank. 1701, I, 781 (Oosterley, Kirchhof).
41. F. J. Desbillons, *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Mannheim, 1768, I, p. 163, Lib. VI, Fab. VII. Basset refers to this and adds: "Cf. aussi Guillaume, *Recherches*, p. 13."
42. C. Simrock, *Deutsche Märchen*, Stuttgart, 1864, no. 69.
43. J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, London, 1894, no. lxvii.
44. Luigi Grillo, fav. 45 (N. S. Guillon, *La Fontaine et tous les Fabulistes*, Paris, 1803, I, p. 80).
45. *Fables en chansons* L. I, fab. 19. (Guillon).
46. *Fables en action*, p. 24 (Guillon).
47. Guillaume le Noble, *Contes et Fables*, t. I, f. 23 (Basset in *Revue des Traditions Populaires* VIII (1893), 292-3).
48. *Mosen. Palaestr. orator*, p. 324 (Oosterley, Kirchhof).
49. *Convival. sermon*. I, 312 (Oosterley, Kirchhof).
50. *Revue des Traditions Populaires* IX (1894), 646, the following story taken down at Villefranche-de-Rouergue: Once the rats succeeded in making a cat swallow a bell concealed in a bit of food; and thereafter they were warned by the sound of the bell whenever the cat came near. The other cats, enraged at this, put their strangely belled companion to death, and ever since this the cats have shaken their food before eating it.
51. F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, Leipzig, 1883 I, 55, no. 19.

The fable early gave rise to the expression "to bell the cat," which became proverbial. I have noted the following examples:

1. Skelton, *Colin Clout*, vv. 162-5; ed. W. H. Williams, London, 1902, p. 106.
2. In 1482 Lord Gray told the fable to an assembly of the nobles of James III. of Scotland, and on this occasion Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, gained the name of Bell-the-Cat. Cf. Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, I, xxii; and Scott's notes to *Marmion*, Canto v, 14, with a long quotation from Lindsay of Pitcottie.
3. Seb. Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 1494; ed. Fr. Zarneke, Leipzig, 1854, Cap. 110, p. 108.
4. Seb. Franck, *Sprichwörter*, 1545, II, 123^a (Zarneke).
5. Rosenplüt in dem Klugen Narren (Zarneke).
6. Murner, *Schelmensunft*, ed. 1516, a^r (Zarneke).

7. Hans Sachs, ed. Göz, III, 22 (Zarneke); cf. ed. Goetze-Drescher, IV, 30 (Wesselski, Arlotto).
8. Geiler, *Narrenschiff*, Strassburg, 1520, 88 Schar, 7 Schel, sign fii^b (Oesterley, Pauli).
9. Egenolf, *Sprichwörter*, Franckf. 1555, 340 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
10. Euch. Eyring, *Proverbiorum Copia*, Eisleb, 1604, 3,546 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
11. Basile, *Pentamerone* (trans. Liebrecht, 2, 111); cf. Ebert's *Jahrbuch* III (1861), 161-2.
12. Ign. Guidi, *Nuovi proverbi, strofe e raconti Abissini*, Rome, 1892, I (Basset, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VIII (1893), 292).
13. G. Pitre, *Proverbi siciliani*, Palermo, 1880, vol. III, p. 326 (*Zs. f. rom. Ph.*, V (1881), 407-8).
14. *Zimmersche Chronik*, ed. K. A. Barnack², IV, p. 46, Freiburg I/B. und Tübingen, 1882.
15. Johannes Mathesius, *Die siebende predig*, 1563, in *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. G. Loesche, III, 144, Prag. 1906.

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THE TWO FALSTAFFS

Most critics have maintained that the Falstaff of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* is inconsistent with the Falstaff of *Henry IV*; that the latter is at all times master of the situation, the former a mere butt of practical jokes. Sidney Lee, for example, says: "Although Falstaff is the central figure, he is a mere caricature of his former self. His power of retort has decayed, and the laugh invariably turns against him. In name only is he identical with the potent humorist of *Henry IV*." And it has commonly been assumed that this is the result of Shakespeare's writing the *Merry Wives* hastily, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, who desired to see the fat knight in love.

Shakespeare, however, was at this time (1599) at the height of his comic powers. On *a priori* evidence it is unlikely that he would have written a poor play around his greatest comic character. And there is much more specific evidence that he has not done so. Hazlitt, as frequently, has an illuminating suggestion—although he is disappointed in the Falstaff of the *Merry Wives*. He says: "We could have been contented if Shakespeare had not been 'commanded to show the knight in love.' Wits and philosophers, for the most part, do not shine in that character." There is

amusing autobiography in Hazlitt's confession; but there is likewise penetrating criticism. And Shakespeare defends his own dramatic purpose by making Falstaff state that he realizes his helplessness: "Have I lived to be carried in a basket, like a barrow of butcher's offal, and to be thrown into the Thames? Well, if I be served such another trick, I'll have my brains ta'en out, and buttered, and give them to a dog for a new-year's gift." Again: "Have I laid my brain in the sun and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent such gross o'erreaching as this? . . . Have I lived to stand at the taunt of one that makes fritters of English?" And, finally: "See now how wit may be made a Jack-a-Lent, when 'tis upon ill employment! . . . This is enough to be the decay of lust and late-walking through the realm." Plainly an indication that the *Merry Wives* is, especially at its close, much more didactic than Shakespeare commonly permitted himself to be. Plainly, also, a proof that, in this play, he knew what he was doing and did it of malice aforethought. There is an adequate reason. Although, as the critics declare, Falstaff is not himself, this is due to the situation, not to inconsistency of character portrayal. Professor F. P. Emery, in his edition of the *Wives*, recognizes this: "It is apparent that he is the same man, simply placed in another situation." Shakespeare knew what he was about. In reality, it was stupid for critics and playgoers to expect Falstaff, in these new circumstances, to retain his old intellectual ascendancy.

For consider the Falstaff of *Henry IV*. He is in a certain sense an unreal, though a wholly convincing figure—for the reason that he refuses to take anything in life seriously. War is as much of a joke to him as a drinking bout at the Boar's Head; and he angers the Prince at a critical moment of the battle by proffering a bottle of sack for the pistol that had been requested. His presence of mind and quickness of retort are always superb; his impudence is almost sublime. "Hostess, I forgive thee," he exclaims, after he has abused her verbally *ad infinitum*. And, open-mouthed, she leaves the room to "make ready breakfast." What wonder that even hard-headed old Samuel Johnson should have said: "But Falstaff, unimitated, unimitable Falstaff, how shall I describe thee? Thou compound of sense and vice; of sense which may be admired but not esteemed, of vice which may be despised, but hardly detested. . . . Yet the man thus corrupt, thus despicable, makes himself necessary to the prince that despises him, by the most

pleasing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety." Falstaff creates around his capacious bulk a sort of Utopia which frees us temporarily from the worries and troubles of the actual world. It is only the critic without a sense of humor that ever regards the Falstaff of *Henry IV* from a serious standpoint and gravely debates whether he was a coward! What does it matter that Falstaff ridicules chivalry, honor, truth-telling, and bravery in battle? He is not to be taken seriously. As Professor Bradley has pointed out, he is not a subject for moral judgments, for he is a wholly comic character.

The fact is that the fat knight really belongs in a kind of *Midsummer Night's Dream*—in a play of fairyland. And at the close of the *Wives* Shakespeare introduces a midnight scene in Windsor Park, in which Falstaff is tormented by supposed fairies—an obvious reminiscence of the early play. In a drama of amorous intrigue Sir John is perforce entangled in the realities of life. In that character he cannot shine. He meets these realities again, at the coronation of Hal, his former boon companion; and the result is tragedy that wrings our hearts, and that almost enrages us against the creator, Shakespeare. A wholly romantic character is helpless in a wholly realistic situation. Even Falstaff is helpless. He is the most romantic figure in Shakespeare; but his romanticism is entirely the romanticism of humor. Romeo pales beside him. Falstaff was Shakespeare himself in his Mermaid Tavern humor, just as Hamlet was Shakespeare himself in his philosophical humor. In both these characters there is much of autobiography; we come very near to the heart of William Shakespeare. The dramatist himself was not fortunate in love—or at least in marriage. And Falstaff was not built for amorous intrigue. At the close of the *Wives*, he must needs be a sacrifice, even a burnt sacrifice—for the fairies touch him with their tapers—to a sermonizing song:

Fie on sinful fantasy!
Fie on lust and luxury!
Lust is but a bloody fire,
Kindled with unchaste desire,
Fed in heart, whose flames aspire,
As thoughts do blow them, higher and higher.
Pinch him, fairies, mutually;
Pinch him for his villainy.

A sermon on Falstaff! In *Henry IV*, it would be like introducing a Puritan as chief clown. But in the *Wives* it is fitting; for

Falstaff deliberately descends from his throne of wit, his Utopia of nonsense, and sets himself a definite, practical task, that of overcoming the virtue of two bourgeois wives of Windsor—although he confines his exertions chiefly to Mistress Ford. Now, if there is one thing that Falstaff is not, it is a romantic lover. Besides, the virtue of married middle-class respectability must not be impeached! Fittingly, then, we are reminded in the fifth act that Sir John is “old, cold, withered, and of intolerable entrails.” The only addendum is that the brain of anyone who expected him to succeed in his intrigue is more intolerable than the entrails of the fat knight. Shall Ariel be set to digging ditches? And shall true Jack Falstaff bend the amorous knee—a knee which, when he is standing, he has not been able to see for many a year—to Mistress Ford, who may be “merry” but who is certainly not a mistress of wit? The only female character in Shakespeare who could have played opposite Falstaff is Beatrice, in *Much Ado*. She would have understood him and appreciated him; but he would not have made love to her nor attempted to storm the citadel of her virtue. As for Doll Tearsheet, she is purely a comic figure, like Falstaff himself.

Did Queen Elizabeth, then, if she asked Shakespeare to show the knight in love, expect Falstaff to triumph in this rôle? I cannot believe that she was so unintelligent. Doubtless she expected an inglorious farce comedy; and this is precisely what she got. Shakespeare could give her nothing else. Falstaff is simply not at home in an atmosphere of amorous intrigue. Of his task in *Merry Wives*, Sir John could not have said, “’Tis my vocation, Hal.” Falstaff’s true vocation was that of freeing his hearers from the bondage of practical life, from the bondage of time, space, and Puritans.

A good deal might profitably be said of the relation of Shakespeare’s humor to his romanticism. Rosalind’s merry denial that anyone ever died of love springs instantly to mind; and Beatrice’s wit combats with Benedick. But Falstaff is undisputed lord of romanticism on its humorous side. His encomium on the operation of sack, which “ascends me into the brain, dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapors which environ it, makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes,” is the most damaging essay against total abstinence ever written! Lamb’s burlesque *Confessions of a Drunkard*, good as it is, has nothing to compare with such a passage. No, Falstaff has

no peers in his own kingdom of Utopia. It is only when he leaves his specialty, his vocation, that he becomes a butt for middle-class virtue. We may all cry, after seeing the *Merry Wives*, "Ah, no more of that, Hal, an thou lovest me!" For how can Falstaff remain a supremely humorous character if he seriously assails the bourgeois virtue of Windsor? If he had only pretended to assail it, he could have remained himself; he could have continued to be unapproachable in wit and humor. But he takes his employment seriously. He steps out of his fourth-dimensional world into the real world. And the result is the opposite of the romantic humor of *Henry IV*. It is intensely realistic humor of a farcical trend, in which, however, witty dialogue is not entirely quenched "hissing hot" (like the hero in the Thames) in ludicrous action and situation. Falstaff is still Falstaff; there are no two Falstaffs. But he has changed his mind. He has been so foolish as to attempt to compete with people who take life seriously. And the fat knight now reminds us only of Thackeray's Jos Sedley—an awful reminiscence! It was cruel to Shakespeare to put Falstaff into Vanity Fair, into the real world but at any rate there is no inconsistency in the portrayal of the two Falstaffs. Old Jack may "divide himself and go to buffets," but he is still Jack to his friends and Sir John to all the world. Shakespeare has merely exhibited the dark side of his moon of jesters.

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AN EARLY SPANISH BOOK-LIST

Códex Escorialensis R-II-7 is a miscellaneous ms., containing some patristic writings, chiefly from John Cassian and Isidore, but particularly on fol. 113 r^o a catalog of books, in all probability from the monastery of Oña. This catalog is repeated on fol. 147 r^o, with some additions, in a mixture of Latin and archaic Spanish. This last fact is what induces the writer to offer it with some comments to the attention of Hispanists, though the book-list has been published by W. von Hartel in *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, Wien, 1887, I, 125-126; by R. Beer, *Die Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*, Wien, 1894, p. 369-370, after Hartel and with references to the older literature; and by P. Guillermo Anto-

lín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la real Biblioteca del Escorial*, III, 467-468.

These authorities differ somewhat in their estimates of the age of our MS., the two German scholars assigning it to the twelfth century, while the learned and accomplished Augustinian who heads the Escorial Library, and is very conservative in his datings, says, "principios del sigl. XIII 155 fols: 310 X 225 mm." It seems that Fr. Guillermo did not sufficiently appreciate the testimony of the word *seruatis* in the entry done by the 6a manus, for *u* and *t* are thoroughly Visigothic, while the remainder of his script is in French minuscules. Now, since the MS. must have been at Oña by the early fourteenth century, and we have no reason to suppose our codex was done anywhere else, we would have to believe that some monk was still living at a rather late moment who used the Visigothic hand for *book-writing*. However, to be absolutely fair, the scribe of the 6a manus uses a script of a decidedly archaic type; it actually looks older than the catalog text. Finally, in these prefatory remarks, we should add that Beer believes the spellings *nueuu*, etc., are symptoms of a Western Spanish origin for the list; why not simply recognize here some very archaic forms?

(Col. I.) 1. Dos bibliotecas. 2. Vna omelia. 3. Decada / salmorum. 4. Los canones nuevos. 5. Los. / <cano>nes uieios. 6. Moralia iob. 7. Job. 8. Las / diriuaciones nuevas. 9. Las ystorias. 10. Liber orationum. 11. Thimologia. 12. Dos libros / super iohannem. 13. Paulus orosius. 14. Liber omelia / gregorij. 15. Quatuor libros passionarios. 16. Liber augustinus de ciuitate dei. 17. Liber / augustinus de doctrina xpiana. 18. Liber / ambrosius de questionibus euangeliorum. 19. Liber decreta romanorum. 20. Virginitas / sancte marie. 21. Psalterium cantoris pa-/ri-siensis. quod iussit fieri dompnus / abbas. 22. Vita sancti onne-nonis. 23. Quadra / ginta omeliarum. 24. Ezechiel. 25. Liber cintillarij. 26. Vita sancti martini. 27. Quatuor / libri dialogorum. 28. ystoria ecclesiastica. 29. Jerenticon. 30. Vita sancti ildefonsi. 31. Apo-/calipsin. dos libros. 32. Institutiones / patrum. 33. Collationes patrum. 34. Pronos-/ticum dos libros. 35. Ad dominum cum tri/bularer. dos libros. 36. Vita sancti gregorij. 37. Vitas patrum dos libros. 38. Zmarag / du. 39. Prosper. 40. Sumum bonum tres / libros. 41. Super ysayam.

42. *Quam bonus*. 43. *Liber duodecim prophetarum*. 44. *Flores psal-/morum*. 45. *Liber pastoralis*. 46. *Liber iohan / belet*. 47. *Liber allegorias de ezechiel /* 48. *Dos regulas*. 49. *Dos missales*. 50. *Dos / domingales. unu nueúu y /*

(*Col. II.*) *otru uieiu*. 51. *Dos santorales nue / uos en dos cuerpos. y unu uie / iu*. 52. *Dos collectarios de coru. unu / nueúu y*

^{os}
otru uieiu. 53. *Tres offi/ceros*. 7. *ij proseros*. 54. *vij. libros po-
ra dezir missas*. 55. *iiij. antiphana-/rios*. 56. *.xv. psalterios*.

^{os}
¶ *Estos son / libros de gramatiga*. 57. *ij. libros / de decretos*. 58. *Priscianus*. 59. *Arator*. 60. *Pa/pia*. 61. *Sinónimus*. 62. *Terentius*. 63. *Júuena/lis*. 64. *Virgilius*. 65. *Ouidius maior*. 66. *Luca/nus*. 67. *Salustius*. 68. *Aurea gemma*. 69. *Duo paria partium*. 70. *Suma de pris-/cián*. 71. *Liber*. (2a manus).
¶ 72. *La biblia glósada / in xii (spt. 4 litt.) libris diuisa singulatim per/ ordinem. per corporum distinciones*. (3a manus). Don Domjngo/

(4a manus)

clesmes episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis filiis/ abbas oniensis 7 couentuj eius jn ecclesia /

(5a manus)

<c>*clesmes episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis / fillis abbas oniensis 7 conuentuj eius jn ecclesia / sancti saluatoris.*

(6a manus)

Tu lauasti pedes discipulorum tuorum opere manuum tuarum / ne despicias. Dominus uobiscum oratio. Adesto nobis officio nostre domine / seruatis 7 quia tu pedes lauare dignatus es tuis / discipulis. presta ut sicut hic a nobis exteriora abluuntur corporum / inquinamenta. sic a te om<n>ium nostrorum interiora lauentur peccata.

tqe

(7a manus)

laus tibi xpiste quoniam able.

(8a manus)

ae mar. (One or two more illegible pen scratchings, all *probationes pennae.*)

Comment.—Medieval catalogs are never very complete or accurate, for the cataloguer often contented himself with noting the first treatise of a miscellaneous codex, neglecting the remainder.

1. The two *bibliotecas* are two copies of the Bible, regularly called

by this name in the medieval period. 2. This was probably a whole collection of sermons, perhaps by St. Augustine. 3. One cannot guess the exact content of this entry or of 4 and 5. 6. The famous treatise in thirty-five books of Gregory the Great on the Book of Job; and in a reduced form by Tajon. After this comes very naturally 7. Job himself. 8. While we may well question as to what is meant by the term, a similar work is mentioned in a catalog of Santo Domingo de Silos (like Oña, in the diocese of Burgos); see Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, p. 107, Beer, p. 457. Etymological dictionaries, see Traube, in *Archiv für lat. Lexikog.*, vi, 264-5. 9. These histories were probably by Isidore; see Manitius, p. 59. Number 10 is not distinctive. 11. This, of course, means the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, the great encyclopedia of the Middle Ages. The spelling as we find it here is not accidental, for it occurs again, cf. Delisle, *l. c.*, p. 105, reading *cimologia*; Beer, p. 455. For the loss of the initial *e*, cf. Ital. *vescovo*, Ptg. *bispo*, early English name (s. VII) *Benedict Biscop*. Hence this is to be set down as a Romance form. 12. The choice lies between treatises by, or ascribed to Jerome and Augustine for the earlier period, and Alcuin for the later (barring a possible Sp.-Latin version of Chrysostom, of whose works there is a copy, s. X, in the Academy of History's Library from N. Spain, and therefore accessible to our scribe). Since Alcuin's Commentaries were not a favorite in Spain, our choice seems narrowed down to those two Western doctors. *Libër* and *libro* are used in this text and in other Spanish mss., now for a division of a work, its Latin sense, now meaning a volume or a copy. 13. By another celebrated Spaniard. 14. Needs no comment. 15. Four volumes containing the passions, *i. e.*, the martyrdoms of various saints. 16. This, the most famous of St. Augustine's works, was in twenty-two books. 17. In four books. 18. Not traceable in the Benedictine edition. 19. Gratian? 20. By Ildephonsus Toletanus. 21. A strong symptom of the French influence. 22. San Iñigo was abbot of Oña from 1057 to 1068, when he died on June 1. This ancient and contemporary life has not yet been found. 23. By Augustine? 24. Comment unnecessary. 25. While a work entitled *Scintillarius* was attributed to Bede, always a favorite in Spain, we more probably have here to do with a native product, assigned in the mss. to Albarus. See Manitius, p. 42. 26. Of course by Sulpicius. 27. By Gregory the

Great, in four books. 28. Probably Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. 29. Should be a collection of lives, sayings, etc., of saints of long ago, but it is also used as a synonym for *regula*, a monastic rule. Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, I, 20, after mentioning a *Regula puellarum* in the Escorial, continues: "En la misma Libreria alcancè (*sic*) à ver parte de vna Regla, llamada Geronticon. Esta misma hallè en la Libreria del Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos la qual està dividida en dos libros." With this compare Antolín, *Catálogo*, II, 463 ff., on I. III. 13: "Cód. en perg. de letra minúsc. visigót. sigl. X 225 fols.;" its contents are *Calendarium*, *S. Benedicti Abbatis Regula*, *Liber geronticon*, *Vitae Patrum*, *S. Gregorii Papae homiliae*. Probably the ms. mentioned in our list. 30. By Cixila. 31. Seems to mean two copies of Revelations. 32 and 33. By Cassian. 34. Attributed to Julianus. 35. Psalm 119. 1. May mean a series of sermons in two vols. or two copies, beginning at that point. 36. By whom? 37. Any one of a number of MSS. such as have survived in the libraries of Spain. 38. A well-known ninth-century Benedictine abbot who wrote a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*. 39. Doubtless his *Chronicon*. 40. The opening words of the first of the three books of Isidore's *Sententiae*. 41. By Jerome, in eighteen books. 42. Psalm 72, 1, begins "Quam bonus Israel Deus." 43. Speaks for itself. 44. Selections. 45. By Gregory; translated into English by no less a man than King Alfred. 46. Celebrated twelfth-century symbolist. 47. Jerome's, in sixteen books. 48. Doubtless Benedictine. 49. This and the following numbers, including 56, are in Latin. They are the usual service-books needed in a medieval church; they contained the anthems, collects, sequences, etc. 54. Hartel, followed by Beer, prints *dezia*; must be a typographical error. 57. More law-books. 58-71. We are not surprised to find in a Classical teacher's library a Vergil, a Terence, a Juvenal, an Ovid, a Lucan, or a Priscian, but Sallust is a rarity. 59. Arator was a sixth-century Christian writer, whose works were much read in this epoch; cf. Manitius, pp. 162-67. 60. An eleventh-century lexicographer. 67. Must mean the *Metamorphoses*. 68. May have been a book of "elegant extracts." 69. Beer hesitatingly suggests "partes orationis," but cf. Ducange, s. v. *Pars* (p. 107, col. 2, of the Didot ed.): "pro lege," and "Pars Decisa, Decretalium pars ex earundem collectione detracta atque in Glossas inserta."

It is the mention of the abbas oniensis by hands fourth and fifth that fixes the provenance of the codex.

This text is a very early testimony to the effort to differentiate *u* vowel from *u* consonant, a single accent being set over the former, a double one over the latter, in the presence of the other character. The occurrence of tonic accents need cause no remark, the practice having been in vogue since the ninth century, though it would not have many opportunities to show itself in a work in the vulgar tongue.

When we direct our attention to the *libros de gramatiga*, we see that this monastery maintained a classical school, with the regulation grammar and the usual authors, and some patristic or devotional texts always current in the monastic and ecclesiastical schools of the Middle Ages. But when we read the name of Sallust, we surely have cause to be surprised. And after finding a classical school there, does not the list of church and law-books suggest that Oña had also a school of theology and canon law?

On Oña, see Florez, *España sagrada*, xxvii, 125-176 (not 249-352, as stated by Chevalier, *Répertoire, Topo-Bibliographie*); this discussion is badly in need of an overhauling. Besides the authorities already cited, we used Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, München, 1911; M. Vattasso, *Initia patrum*, 2 vols., Romae, 1906, 1908; and to some extent Migne's *Patrologia latina*. But the text is edited from a facsimile (to appear in a future number of *Palaeographia iberica*, if the fates permit), and from a personal contact with the codex.

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THE TALISMAN IN BALZAC'S *LA PEAU DE CHAGRIN*

The plot of this novel is to a large extent based upon the mysterious inscription on a piece of *peau de chagrin*,¹ which shrinks at

¹ *Chagrin*, derived from the Turkish *saghri*, meaning the back of the horse or donkey, from which the skin was made into this particular kind of leather. Balzac mentions this etymology further on in the novel (cf. Michel Lévy ed., xv, 188). Cf. also Buffon: "C'est avec le cuir de l'âne que les Orientaux font le sagri que nous appelons chagrin." Also Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclop.*, LIX-LX, 329: "Es wird von den Tartaren und

every wish of its possessor, and at the same time causes his life to shrink. Balzac, in order to be realistic to the last detail, secured and reproduced in the original writing the fateful text of the talisman as a *pièce justificative*. However, despite this apparent exactitude, he had drifted, knowingly or unknowingly, into several inaccuracies.

Raphael de Valentin, when the old owner of the curio shop calls his attention to the miraculous piece of skin, turns out to be a very skillful Orientalist. He examines the text of the "forme mystique et les caractères mensongers de cet emblème qui représente une puissance fabuleuse" with a certain anxiety, and remarks that "l'industrie du Levant a des secrets qui lui sont réellement particuliers." Then he proceeds to read it, and is complimented by the old man on his fluency in reading *Sanscrit*, which the latter surmises Raphael had acquired on his travels in *Persia* and in *Bengal*. Later the old man confides that he had secured the talisman from a *Brahmin*.

This alone is sufficient to show Balzac's hazy notions about the geography and the languages of the East. *Levant* is a name given exclusively to countries lying on the East Coast of the Mediterranean, where *Sanscrit* is practically unknown. It is likewise very little known in *Persia*. Moreover, the text of the magic formula is not *Sanscrit* at all, but *Arabic*, and for this very reason could not have been acquired from a *Brahmin*, because to this day the *Brahmins* dislike anything connected with the Mohammedan religion.

It would almost seem that Balzac deliberately falsifies the facts in the belief that the reader will not know the difference. There are reasons to assume that he knew in what language the text was written. The novel is dedicated to M. Savary,² brother of the well-known Orientalist,³ who might have furnished Balzac with the text possibly from his brother's notes. M. Savary—or any other scholar for that matter—could hardly have told Balzac that the inscription

Armeniern aus der dicht über dem Schwanze befindlichen Rückenseite von Pferde- und Eselshäuten bereitet."

²Jean-Julien-Marie Savary, 1753-1839, author of *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans contre la République française*, Paris, 1824-5, 6 vols., 8vo., from which Balzac may have drawn a number of data for *Les Chouans*.

³Claude Étienne Savary, 1730-1788, author of a translation of the *Koran*, and a *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire*. Travelled in Egypt and Greece.

was in Sanscrit, but as Sanscrit was at that time considered the most mysterious language of the East, Balzac may have been tempted to make this change for the sake of effect. There is of course another conjecture, namely that Balzac wrote the text in French, and had it translated into what he thought was Sanscrit, and consequently was the dupe of the translator.

The most interesting fact, however, is that Balzac's translation of the original is deliberately "touched up" in order to suit the plot. In the original Arabic the skin *does not shrink itself*, but merely causes the days of the wisher to shrink, or decrease. There are also two typographical errors, namely: *satananālu* instead of *satanālu*, and *qassin* instead of *qassim*, but they are of minor importance.

The correct translation of the Arabic text into English, as close as I can make it, is as follows:

- Shouldst thou become my possessor, thou wilt possess all.
 But thy life will be my property.
 Verily, God had willed thus.
 Ask, and thy wishes will be granted.
 5 But measure thy wishes on thy life.
 It is here within.
 AND BY EACH OF THY WISHES I SHALL DIMINISH THY DAYS.
 Dost thou want me?
 God will answer thee.
 10 Amen.

Balzac translates:

- Si tu me possèdes, tu posséderas tout.
 Mais ta vie m'appartiendra.
 Dieu l'a voulu ainsi.
 Désire et tes désirs seront accomplis.
 5 Mais règle tes souhaits sur ta vie.
 Elle est là.
 A chaque vouloir,—je décroîtrai COMME tes jours.
 Me veux-tu? PRENDS.
 Dieu t'exaucera.
 10 Soit!

It will be noted that by inserting "comme" Balzac changes the meaning of the original to suit the plot, and also adds "Prends!" which the Arabic text does not mention at all.

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REVIEWS

El Alcalde de Zalamea, por Calderón de la Barca, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by JAMES GEDDES, JR., Ph. D. New York, D. C. Heath & Company, 1918. xxxviii + 198 pp.

(Continued)

II, 30. *A ti te dé mal de muelas*: The assonant *retruécano* in *muelas* and *nuevas*, the antithesis in *buenas* and *mal*, the reason for the statement in v. 31, all contribute to the effect. To say, that the "meter requires *mal*" is to put the cart before the horse; the expression *mal de muelas* is a euphemistic reminiscence of *mal de muerte*.

II, 137. *Alcaida*: This word is not in the dictionary; for that matter, neither is *jacarandaina* of III, 610, which the vocabulary lists as the regular form, of which *jacarandina* is given as a variant! Otherwise the "not likely," "might substitute," "seemingly more common," "appears to be," of the note denote considerable uncertainty.

II, 140. *gira*: Another note written for the Hartzenbusch version. The etymology taken from the Academy is no better guess than *gírar*.

II, 157. *Téngase*: It is vain to speculate what Hartzenbusch had in mind with his emendation. The reading of the text is a regular formula in such situations.

II, 161. *Sobre hacerme alicantina*: The meaning of the passage is obvious; not so, however, the reason for the information, which may, or may not, be true. The word *alicantina*, also in connection with gambling, appears in *Vida y Hechos de Estebanillo González*, V, but in neither case is there any explanation for its form. The whole note could have been written from the passage as easily as for it.

II, 167. *Mientras que con el barbero*: (1) There is no reason to believe that there is any pun on *puntos*; there had been no dispute about the score, but merely over the gaming fee, and Krenkel's suggestion may well be disregarded. (2) The expression under discussion is not *poniéndose con el barbero*, but *queda con el bar-*

bero, and means: 'While he's at the barber's getting sewed up, let's go to guard headquarters.'

II, 193. *que el viento süave: trastes de oro* are not 'larger pebbles,' but 'the bed of golden sand.' It is regrettable that the edition, with time available to give the history of the barber's pole and to list characters of Goethe and Wycherly, should have neglected the only real difficulty of the passage:

De músicos que deleiten,
Sin voces que os entretengan,

of vv. 203-204, the most violent hyperbaton in the play.

II, 215. *Sentaos, Crespo*: Krenkel to the contrary notwithstanding, it is by no means clear that rank had anything to do with this courtesy. This deference was shown to any guest. Cf. *Don Quijote*, II, 31, for two examples.

II, 328. *¿Fuérades con gusto*: The note is correct enough except that *-des* forms are comparatively rare in Calderón; neither is it evident whether this form was chosen to add a syllable, or whether the rest of the line was built to fit it.

II, 361. *Pues . . . cómo . . . lo es!* (1) The reading of the text is not the one given in the note heading. (2) Either reading may stand; they have the same meaning. (3) Both of the interpretations of the note are absolutely wrong. In either form the passage means: 'Well, I should say so!' The passage is not debatable, and the "seems to mean" beclouds the issue.

II, 372. *Quién estuviera*: The translation given for the expression is correct. Not so, however, the explanation: (1) there is nothing in the phrase to correspond to "not want"; the *quién* is a compound relative, 'he who,' 'one who,' which passed early into a clear-cut equivalent for 'if any one.' (2) It is not so evident that this expression implies the first person, as the note would convey. The following example will show that the syntactical basis of the turn is a third person, and not a first:

Quién hiciera de sí otra
Mitad, con quien él pudiese
Descansar.

Calderón, *A Secreto Agravio Secreta Venganza*, II, 3.

The following:

. . . quién supiera

Explicar lo que estimo a tu hermosura.—Calderón, *Viña del Señor*,

is about as near as the expression ever approaches a first person. (3) Although this expression almost always takes the *-ra* subjunctive, the *-se* form occasionally occurs. (4) This subject should have been treated at I, 313, which has not even been noticed, with a reference also to II, 842, which has been likewise overlooked. (For the curious, be it said in passing, the users of this expression are consigned in Hell to a special dungeon, according to Quevedo, *Las Zahurdas de Plutón*.)

II, 386. *Disimulan que les pesa*: The error in this note arises from ignorance of the impersonal use of *pesar*, whose construction is *me pesa de eso*. Render: 'How poorly they hide their anger!'

II, 402. *jinete de la costa*: Don Quijote is a poor example for *jinete de la costa*, as may be seen from *Don Quijote*, I, 2. These were light-armed coast-guards, while Don Quijote had done his best to arm himself *de brida* (in heavy armor).

II, 420. *Si ya no es que ser ordena*: (1) Not 'walking about in purgatory,' but 'walking about on earth.' The belief was that souls which were not at rest were compelled to walk about on the earth. (2) *Cañas* was by no means a sinful occupation that would lead to purgatory, but was of the highest repute. (3) It is not for any "serious engagements" that the captain supposes that Mendo is likely to continue walking, but because he is probably sore from riding horseback at *cañas*. (It should be borne in mind that this sort of tourney was ridden *a la jineta*, the mount used by Mendo.) The same quip appears at the expense of the *hidalgo* of Calderón's *Guárdate del Agua mansa* at I, 14. (4) Render: 'Unless he purposes to walk about uneasily, with his shield on his back, from the tourneys which he has been riding.' The *adarga* was carried *embrázada* when in use, not *a cuestras*. For a detailed contemporaneous description of the sport, see *Guzman de Alfarache*, Rivad., III, 211 ff.; for Quevedo's satire, see Rivad., LXIX, 38.

II, 430. *Y el rufo de mayor lustre*: *rufo* means both 'red-haired' and 'bully,' although there is no need of the apparatus by which the information was procured. Of the play on *jaque* and *porte* in v. 429 the note offers not a suspicion: *jaque* means (1) 'ruffian' and (2) 'each side of a pair of *alforjas*.' The meaning of v. 429, therefore, is: 'the braggart (bag) of greatest weight (content).' Neither note nor vocabulary has seized the play on *entre dos luces*, v. 436: 'at twilight, but well lit up.'

II, 433. *que el asonante*: (1) Assonance is not limited to the last syllable, but to the last accented syllable plus whatever vowels follow. (2) Nothing could be farther from the truth than the statement that "Calderón is fond of pleasantry at the expense of his assonance." Quite the contrary! (3) The note to the contrary, we are certainly to suppose that Sampayo is a deceived lover. (4) It is not Monday, but Tuesday, which is the unlucky day. *En martes ni te cases ni te embarques!* (5) The whole point to the passage is that this unlucky event, which should have happened on Tuesday, must be put on Monday for assonance.

II, 437. *El Garlo*: Little can be inferred from this proper name made from a common noun of the underworld; cf. *supra* on *La Chispa*. For the curious, be it said in passing, Calderón not only has used *La Chillon* elsewhere (Rivad., XIV, 651), but has made *Garlo* do verb service for her (*ibid.*, 651).

II, 446 ff. *Acuchillan Don Lope y Crespo*: There is no need to supply *en fuga* (an unfortunate suggestion, at best, as an ordinary connotation of *meter en fuga* is 'to start something going'). *Métenlos* may stand as it is, 'drive them in' (into the wings). Cf. also Cervantes, *Entremeses*, Madrid, 1868, Gaspar y Roig, *meténdolos*, etc.; p. 182 *et passim*, as stage directions.

II, 523. *Del océano español*: The *mar océano* of the note is of no aid to *océano español*.

II, 532. *Puedo yo mostrar gordura*: There is no question of any "hope of acquiring" fatness; the passage means: 'How can I display what I haven't got, plumpness.' Nuño is starved to the point of emaciation. The play can almost stand in English: 'Don't display weakness!' 'How can I display stoutness?' Calderón has used the same word-play in *Bien venga, Mal*, III, 3.

II, 534. *Porque tengo prevenida una criada*: (1) 'All ready' hardly gives the value of *prevenida*. (2) Although usual, the presence of a direct object with a compound of *tener* is not essential; e. g., *Don Quijote*, II, 25, *como dicho tiene*.

II, 537. *A aquesta hermosa homicida*: The note seems to take *homicidio* of I, 705, as masculine of *homicida*, "noting the gender of *homicida* in both cases."

II, 596. *el que dió Al barbero que coser*: The note has failed to bring out the play on the two forms of *dar*: 'if the one gets me who got something the barber had to sew up!'

II, 641. *La litera*: Praiseworthy are the honesty and modesty of this note in giving the German edition credit for this contribution, which is merely that of the Academy, first taken over by Krenkel and then translated from German into English.

II, 650. *Esta venera*: It is by no means certain that this sort of a souvenir "was frequently presented by the guest." The *venera* of Calderón's *No Hay Cosa como Callar*, I, 1, was given to a young man at the occasion of his departure. We do not need Krenkel's information that the *patena* was a peasant's locket; it is so defined in the Academy, and was confined to *labradoras* already in the time of *Don Quijote*, II, 21. *Venera* was already a generic word for 'medallion,' 'locket,' and the information of the vocabulary that it was a shell worn by pilgrims is quite impertinent.

II, 674. *Quién nos dijera aquel día*: *aquel* does not necessarily imply "far distant time," and may even be used of *ayer*, cf. Alarcón, *La Verdad sospechosa*, II, 7. Until further attested, the statement of the note concerning Calderón's "double time" may be held in abeyance, although it looks safe enough from a distance.

II, 685-743. *Estucha lo que te digo*: Although the opinions of Schmidt, Krenkel, and Klein are probably correct enough, the reader would have been grateful here as elsewhere for an original appreciation.

II, 715. *en el indio*: The editor is misinformed as to the "general application of *indio* to the West Indies"; the expression for "Indian soil" as applied to the New World may be found in Alarcón, *La Verdad sospechosa*, I, 4:

Cuando del indiano suelo
Por mi dicha llegué . . .

cf. also Santos, *Día y Noche de Madrid* (Rivad., XXXIII, 390a): *oro de Arabia y el indiano metal*, 'gold from Arabia and silver from the New World.' Calderón gives us the meaning of his *indio* in *Médico de su Honra*, III, 1, by an analogous expression:

Pedro a quien el indio polo
Coronar de luz espera . . .

II, 716. *Suelo y que consume el mar*: (1) There is no reason for giving the German edition credit for telling us that *consume* forms a contrast to *engendra*. (2) It may be assumed that Hartzenbusch changed the original because he did not understand the

passage as it stood. (3) No one familiar with Calderón need make the "criticism that the passage does not make sense." (4) The real difficulty in the passage, *viz.*: the production of gold by the sun's rays has not been touched.

The passage means: 'The gold begotten by the sun in India, or swallowed up by the sea, etc.' The thought in form to tell us the exact meaning may be found in Calderón, *La Niña de Gómez Arias*, III, 2:

No engendra del sol la pura
Luz . . .
Ni el mar guarda . . .
Tanto oro . . .

As to the birth of gold by the influence of the sun's rays, the idea is an alchemistic commonplace derived from antiquity, dating from Proclus, and is a favorite theme, *e. g.*: Calderón, *Antes que Todo es mi Dama*, II, 7; Lope, *Dorotea*, II, 1; Guillén de Castro, *Las Mocedades del Cid*, I, Act II. For technical alchemistic references, cf. the following: Rhasis (in Lacinio, *The Pearl of Great Price*, London, 1894): "The sages call gold the product of the sun." Michael Scotus, *ibid.*: "... gold is properly generated in the bowels of the earth."

II, 886. *Uno . . . otro*: The misinformation of this note is due to ignorance of the regular substantive values of *uno* and *otro*, which do not require antecedents.

III, 1-67. The point of view of this note, from *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1841, is singularly unfortunate, as Hartzenbusch has pointed out (Rivad., XIV, 689, note, and IX, 319c, note), and as will be felt by those familiar with the *Siglo de Oro*. The whole point of the passage lies in the fact that Isabel is a *lady* in spite of being of the third estate. The editor, with Viel-Castel and the Captain, expected to find *una villana que no acierta a responder a propósito jamás* (I, 190-192), whereas her personality is an alliance of beauty and intelligence (I, 719), and the author is running true to form. Any attempt to judge the poetical style of Calderón in the light of the realism of the century of Balzac is comparable only to judging a character by the plumes and slashed doublets of a bygone age.

III, 3. *Porque a su sombra*: *sombra* refers to "daylight" by implication, as in the author's *El Médico de su Honra*, I, 10:

. . . el farol
 Del cielo, y a su arrebol
 Todo a sombra se reduce;

render: 'in the shadows (which proclaim the light of day).'

III, 5-6. *tu . . . Primavera*: The annotation could not have been worse with malice aforethought. *Primavera* means 'sky,' as in Calderón's *La Banda y la Flor*, I, 10:

. . . el cielo.
 Primavera es su azul velo,
 Donde son las flores bellas
 Vivas luces.

If translation be still needed: 'O sky, fleeting springtide of so many starry flowers, permit not the dawn which is entering thy blue field to hide thy peaceful countenance by its smiles and tears.'

III, 9. *Para que con risa y llanto*: (1) Although the morning dew is the 'weeping of dawn,' *risa* has reference to the 'smile of brightening dawn.' (2) *Esperar a que ría el alba* (not 'for the dew to fall') in the mouth of Sancho (*Don Quijote*, I, 20) makes doubtful this usage as "merely conventional."

III, 55. *Vengo . . . malicia*: The wording of the note makes it extremely likely that neither construction nor meaning has been understood: *malicia*, of course, is the object of *hacer*, and the real meaning is: 'I am going to make innocence subject (debtor) to slander,' or, literally, 'I am going to make slander the creditor (master, dictator) of innocence.'

III, 98-99. *te miras Con manos*: Although there is not the slightest doubt that Crespo still has hands, to supply *libres* spoils both hyperbole and antithesis.

III, 179. *Es querer una belleza*: The emendation of Hartzenbusch is distinctly not a "better reading," and the passage shows every indication of reading as Calderón desired.

III, 212. *Si no alumbra, ilumina*: The information given in the note is exceedingly interesting but false! The curious may consult the Academy or the following: *el sol . . . iluminar el topacio*, and *todo . . . ni arde ni alumbra ni luce*, Calderón, *El Médico de su honra*, I, 8 and 10; *alumbrando Con unas pajas quemadas*, *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, I, 6.

III, 299-305. *Vive Dios que: Que pienso que* is not an insertion, but the direct complement of *Vive Dios que*, and the trans-

lation is: 'As God lives, if the captain's need has brought him back to the village, I think it is best for him to die from his wound to avoid worse!' The *que* of v. 299 governs *pienso* of v. 303, before which it is repeated; in English it is best omitted in both cases; there is no anacoluthon.

III, 374-378. *Mejor: Llegando a saber*, etc.: As to the policy of choosing a reading "to bring out the sense of the passage," nothing need be said. The text means: 'When they find out that I am here and do not come under (*temer*) local jurisdiction, the authorities must necessarily hand me over to my military court.' This infinitive need not startle one; it occurs in Calderón's *Hijos de la Fortuna*, I, 3: *¿Quién te dijera . . . Ir tu Tisbe dada a negros?* and is hardly more striking than *la justicia Remitirme* of the present passage; the omission of the subject of *temer* is no more difficult of explanation than *debáis (vos) No andar (yo)* of III, 523-524, or *podiera (yo) al decirlo (vuestros extremos)* of III, 453 (also not understood by the corresponding note); for *temer* in the sense of 'have reason to fear,' see Cejador y Frauca, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, s. v. *temer*; for parallelism of clause and infinitive see Calderón, *Peor está que estaba*, II, 7:

Y esto confirma estar siempre tapada
Y que el Gobernador . . .
Tuvo . . .

III, 385. *Y no me salga . . . estuviere*: 'Might by any chance be here' is incorrect. Spanish has no potential subjunctive; the tense is future, and this subjunctive is used regularly for designation of an otherwise indefinite antecedent, *soldado que . . . estuviere*, being equivalent merely to *soldado alguno*.

III, 415. *tienen*: The reading is correct, the subject being not *prisiones*, but indefinite for passive as at I, 126, III, 586; render: 'without the irruption from silence of all the pangs which have been kept. . . .'

III, 425. *entre mis iguales*: The note is utterly erroneous; *tratarse* means 'to be treated,' not '*conducirse*,' as *como . . . se trataban los caballeros*, *D. Q.*, I, 32.

III, 453. *al decirlo*: Hartzenbusch and his emendation along with the note should be disregarded; the omitted subject is *vuestros extremos*.

III, 484-485. *Sino quedarnos*: Not parallel with *sin que . . .*

Reserve but its object. Here, as at I, 792, the annotation has taken *sino* as synonymous with *sin*.

III, 510. *mesmo*: The note is true enough, except that the form is not confined to assonance, nor to Calderón, nor to verse, and remains in untutored speech to the present day.

III, 515. *Mirad*: There is no "appears to be" about the passage; the antecedent of *le* being *honor* of 509.

III, 523-524. *que debáis*: The relative frequency of the omission of the subject of an infinitive may not be assumed without further data than is offered by the passage and its note. Without change of subject the omission is almost *de rigueur*; so also in those cases of general application as III, 167, *querer*.

III, 549. *Juro a Dios*: The verse is correct as it stands, as an elementary knowledge of versification would have shown. The editor has been misinformed as to Morel-Fatio's intolerance of hiatus.

III, 553. *que manda*: Nothing can be inferred from this passage, nor from Krenkel's opinion as to the usage of pronouns in ordinary speech; see *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi, 100. The play under discussion offers about all the usages there are.

III, 561. *Capitán vivo*: This use of *vivo* is in the Academy; and we need have no recourse to Krenkel. The secondary meaning given by the note for *muerto* is purely hypothetical, and the only pun is on the two meanings of *vivo*.

III, 584-586. *Les tomen*: Not as rendered, but 'that the confession of all three be taken,' a substitute for the passive.

III, 593. *a los que*: Not a dislocation, but a regular syntactical norm for this type. The Spanish form given by the note is practically non-existent.

III, 597. *paso de garganta*: It is the whole expression, not *paso* alone which means 'trill'; *hacer un paso* is not the Spanish for 'take a step'; render: 'with this peep (confession, also hanging) he will have made his last (peep).'

III, 622. *paje de jineta*? Maccoll and the editor have no conception of this passage, not because it is an "obscure Calderonian point," but because neither of them knew the meanings of the words involved: *de jineta*, 'light,' *de brida*, 'heavy.' Render: 'Aren't you a light (armed) page?—On the contrary, I'm heavy (pregnant).'

III, 680-681. *su vida*: *su* does not refer to Isabel, but to Juan; render: 'I am really saving his life while I shall seem to be executing strict justice.' Cf. v. 694, *le hallaré la disculpa*. Crespo would not have to put his son in confinement—a word would have been sufficient.

III, 772. *se salga con ello*: The note is entirely incorrect; render: 'He is likely to be a lout of such sort as to carry out his plan if he gets it into his stubborn head to have him strangled!'

III, 775. *Decídme dó vive*: The verse is correct as it stands; further comment is unnecessary.

III, 779-781. *que lo sospecho*: This note, written for the Hartzenbusch, is entirely impertinent and should be disregarded.

III, 785. *acá le tengo preso*: The verse is short by one syllable; the guess of Hartzenbusch is as good as any other; no help on the subject of versification, however, will be found in the references given.

III, 815-816. *Que vais*: To this subjunctive add *va* for *vaya*, II, 425, which has not been understood, as the vocabulary shows. See *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi, 177.

III, 856. *a no entrar*: We have already a periphrastic conditional here, and the note is beside the point.

III, 867. *proceso en quien*: Not the text reading, and should be disregarded.

III, 884. *Que no escuchara*: Sense and assonance are consecutive, and no lacuna should be assumed; render: 'this would not be listening to my daughter, as the treatment of my son shows.' The German original of the note is incorrect; *escuchara* does not mean 'have listened'; 'not . . . because' for *no . . . pues* needs no comment. *Pues* may be rendered, 'and,' 'for,' or omitted; the thought is obvious.

III, 924. *lo menos*: Hartzenbusch is *not* better than Calderón, and the text should not be tampered with.

III, 925. *Pues . . . así*: Hardly hiatus; there are ten syllables already to account for.

III, 968. *A esto . . . obligar*: The note is utterly wrong; render: 'although his honor succeeded (*pudo*) in driving him to this act of violence, it might have proceeded differently.'

III, 972. *Las plantas*: Not limited to the feet of royalty, as a half-hour with Calderón would have shown.

III, 977. *instrumento*: 'Instrument' has the two senses necessary to keep the pun, and note and vocabulary have gone out of their way to conceal the pleasantry.

III, 978-980. *el autor*: Not stage-manager, nor anything approaching it, but 'author,' as in *El Mayor Monstruo los Celos*:

Como la escribió su autor,
No como la imprimió el hurto;

and a hundred examples could be adduced without difficulty. Krenkel's note borrowed by the edition under discussion was taken from Hartzenbusch, Rivad., LII, Lope, *Pobreza no es Vileza*, where *autor* is brought into contrast with *poeta*, and has no application here.

Space forbids calling attention to the difficulties in the text which have been passed over in silence. Withal, the availability of the text assures it a place and a welcome.

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Die hochdeutschen Schriften aus dem 15ten bis zum 19ten Jahrhundert der Schriftgiesserei und Druckerei von Joh. Enschede en Zonen in Haarlem [Haarlem, 1919]. Small 4°.

In 1703 Isaac Enschedé, born at Groningen in 1681, erected a printing-office at Haarlem, which was carried on and extended by his son Johannes. In 1777 the name of the firm was changed to *Joh. Enschedé en Zonen*, under which name it enjoys to this day an international reputation. No less than on the work turned out by its printing-presses and copperplate-presses, its reputation rests on its type-foundry, together with a rich collection of punches and matrices covering a period of several centuries, and on the interest manifested by Johannes Enschedé and his successors (i. e., his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons) in the history of printing and type-founding. New evidence both of this interest and of the up-to-date spirit in which the affairs of the firm are carried on, is furnished by the present publication.

Its immediate aim perhaps is similar to that of the *Proef van letteren, welke gegooten worden in de nieuwe Haarlemsche lettergieterij* (Specimens of type to be had at the new type-foundry in Haarlem), issued by Joh. Enschedé in 1768, except that it is con-

finer to the varieties covered by the term 'High German type,' especially the various kinds of *Schwabacher* and *Fraktur*.

More important, however, than the difference in scope, is another distinguishing feature of these specimens. "Schriftproben," we read in the preface, "zeichnen sich gewöhnlich durch ihren unbedeutenden Inhalt aus. Wir haben versucht, auch in diesem Punkt mit der Gewohnheit zu brechen." . . . "Wir wollen unsere Arbeit gerade für den Bibliophilen anziehend machen." This object is achieved by choosing as the text of the 'Schriftproben' a number of essays on the history of type-founding and printing, and by establishing a certain relation between the contents of these essays and the kind of type used (e. g., by using sixteenth-century type for the history of sixteenth-century type-foundries, and eighteenth-century type for the history of innovations made in the eighteenth century).

On the other hand, the various sets of type exhibited in the text of the historical essays are presented a second time in a belletristic division, so as to serve as the garb for one-page selections from German literature. These selections again are arranged in historical order, and by the same device that had been used in printing the essays, are printed so as to use sixteenth-century type for sixteenth-century literature, seventeenth-century type for seventeenth-century literature, and so forth. The correspondence between text and type is, for obvious reasons, even closer here than in the case of the historical essays.

It may be worth our while to consider somewhat more closely the very instructive treatises inserted in this publication. Though by no means intended as a systematic representation of the history of type-cutting and founding, yet they include some especially interesting chapters in the development of these arts.

The first two, entitled "Christian Egenolff, der erste ständige Buchdrucker in Frankfurt a/M." and "Geschichte und Entwicklung des Schriftgiesserei-Gewerbes in Frankfurt a/M.," were written by Gustav Mori, and appeared first in the *Archiv für Buchgewerbe*, August and October 1907. They are reprinted here together with an article "Von den ersten Franckfurter Buchdruckern," written in 1740, on the occasion of the third centennial of the invention of the art of printing, by Christian Münden, and continued by E. G. von Klettenburg; and with a brief contribution to the same subject, written by Johannes Enschedé.

Christian Egenolff is probably best known to the general public as the printer and publisher of one of the early reprints of Luther's translation of the Bible (Frankfurt, 1534, in folio).¹ This edition of the Bible, to be sure, was one of his most laborious and ambitious works; yet it was, after all, only one among many other enterprises. Nor were his interests confined to printing and publishing. By establishing his own type-foundry he introduced into Frankfurt a/M. a profession for which in that city a rapid development was in store.

Egenolff died at Frankfurt on Feb. 9. 1555. In 1571 his granddaughter Judith was married to the stamp-cutter Jacob Sabon, and after his death, to the type-founder Konrad Berner. A granddaughter again of the latter, Katharina Berner, was married, in 1629, to the type-founder Johann Luther, a great-grandson of Martin Luther, the reformer. In the possession of the Luther family the type-foundry remained for fully a century and a half. It soon developed into the most famous concern of its kind not only in Germany but in Europe generally,² and retained its leadership and its fame as a training school for die-cutters and type-founders till after the middle of the eighteenth century. After remaining in the Luther family for five generations, the type foundry was acquired in 1780 by K. K. V. Berner who, however, proved unable to re-establish the business on the old lines. Owing to the troubled times, the difficulties increased, and in 1810, after a career of nearly 280 years, the famous type foundry passed out of existence.

The name of the Luther type-foundry occurs again in the heading of the next essay, entitled: "Die Druckerei der Elsevier und ihre Beziehung zu der Lutherschen Schriftgiesserei," by Dr. Ch. Enschedé (the elder partner in the present firm of *Joh. Enschedé en Zonen*). This is not a reprint but an original contribution, written for this publication, though based on an earlier paper of the same author, published in 1896. The question treated by him

¹ See on this edition, e. g., G. W. Panzer, *Entwurf einer vollständigen Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung D. Martin Luthers, vom Jahr 1517 an, bis 1581*. Nürnberg, 1783, pp. 294-299.

² American readers will be interested in learning from G. Mori's paper that the first Bible published in this country (in 1743) was printed from type made by the Luther type-foundry, Christoph Sauer of Germantown having obtained from the Luthers in Frankfurt a/M. both the printing-press and the type for his Bible.

is one of general interest. The Elzevirs are the best known printers and publishers in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, probably the most famous publishing firm of the Netherlands generally. Their editions of ancient and modern classics, of the Bible, the Corpus juris civilis, and numerous other works (altogether above sixteen hundred publications) were much in demand at their own time, especially on account of the clearness and elegant design of the type, the neatness of the pages, and the excellent quality of the paper, and are famous for these same reasons to this day. The question, naturally, has been asked long ago, who was the artist or rather who were the artists employed by the Elzevirs for designing and cutting their type? Various guesses in this respect having been made by earlier authors, Alph. Willems in his well-known work *Les Elzevier: histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussels, 1880) advanced the opinion, apparently supported by documentary proof, that Christoffel van Dyk, a goldsmith of Amsterdam (1601-1671), had been in charge of cutting the type and adjusting the punches for the Elzevirs. Dr. Enschedé was in a favorable position for making a thorough investigation of the problem, for the reason that the type once owned by the Elzevirs had passed into the possession of his own firm, and that he had acquired the technical knowledge indispensable for researches of this kind. His result is in the nature of a surprise. He proves conclusively that the Leiden Elzevirs had no type-foundry of their own. The Amsterdam Elzevirs, to be sure, acquired, in 1673, a type-foundry formerly owned by Christoffel van Dyk. Yet there is unmistakable proof that the bulk of the type used by them had not been cut by Van Dyk, and at least partly procured—like that of the Leiden firm—from the Luthers at Frankfurt. These results are based above all on a careful analysis of the types found in the *Specimen typorum Johann's Elsevirii . . . quos in sua Typographia habet* (Leiden 1658), an analysis which culminates in the result that of the 25 varieties listed by Johannes Elzevir no less than 18 had been obtained from the Luther foundry.

A third division of historical treatises incorporated in this publication consists of a reprint of several papers written by the Berlin type-cutter, printer, and publisher Johann Friedrich Unger in 1791, 1793, and 1794, in recommendation and in defense of his attempts to devise a new kind of German *Fraktur*. The collective reproduction of these extracts is the more commendable as the

original publications³ are at present almost inaccessible. They present a vivid picture of the disappointments and struggles which the inventor experienced before he succeeded in creating a form of type satisfactory to himself and to others. The fact, moreover, that Unger's comments are printed here in his own type—or rather in the various stages through which his types passed in succession—lends additional interest to this reprint. While at present Unger's first experiments can hardly claim more than an historical interest, the types produced by him later on must be counted among the most successful attempts to reform the traditional *Fraktur* type, and may well compete with the most modern efforts in this direction. Works, certainly, like Goethe's *Neue Schriften* (Berlin, J. F. Unger, 1792-1800), *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (repr. from the *N. Schr.*, ib. 1795-96), Shakespeare's *Dramatische Werke, übersetzt v. A. W. Schlegel* (ib. 1797-1810), Schillers *Jungfrau v. Orleans* (ib. 1802) need not shun comparison, from a typographical point of view, with the editions of Cotta or any other German publisher of the same period.

In selecting the specimens of belletristic literature, the firm was able to avail itself of the aid of Prof. J. H. Scholte of the University of Amsterdam. His name is a sufficient guarantee that the selection was made with exquisite taste, and the texts reproduced with philological accuracy. It must be understood that these are not facsimile reproductions but specimens printed in historically correct type, i. e., a kind of type in which they might have appeared to advantage in their own time. From this point of view, additional charm is lent to them by their present garb.

The final pages are given to the reproduction—in various styles of script—of two eighteenth-century letters selected from the archives of the firm, and to an alphabet of special capitals ('*Missal-Versalien*').

We learn from the preface that the compilation of these specimens has been a costly and laborious undertaking. The expenditure and labor, we trust, may not have been in vain.

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³ E. g., Unger's pamphlet—here reprinted in full—*Probe einer neuen Art Deutscher Lettern* (Berlin, 1793), and the préface to his book *Die neue Cecilia* (Berlin, 1794).

English Literature During the Last Half Century. By J. W. CUNLIFFE. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

This book, though not so broad in scope as its title seems to indicate, for writers of great importance are entirely omitted, is, within certain limits—the novelists; the Irish Movement; the poets of the present generation; and Bernard Shaw—clearly thought out, lucidly arranged and written, and excellently suited to the needs of those for whom, as the preface notes, it was composed: “young people who are preparing themselves for the writer’s task” and who need guidance for first-hand study of the writers of the present generation and of the immediate past. An introductory chapter briefly surveys the progress of what may best be denominated Liberalism, in politics, society, science, and philosophy, thus furnishing the background against which the writers of the later nineteenth century and of our own time must be studied to be properly understood.

The chapters on individual writers begin with one upon George Meredith. Those who are acquainted with an earlier essay by Professor Cunliffe on aspects of modern thought in Meredith’s writings will have assurance of the adequacy with which, in brief space, the leading ideas in his works are treated. He is rightly approached as much from the point of view of his verse as from that of the novels. The estimate of his personality, a matter just touched on, needs some revision in the light of S. M. Ellis’s recent biography. The next chapter, on Mr. Hardy, is less excellent and has apparently been written with less sympathy. Hardy, like Meredith, properly to be understood, requires to be approached through the poems; and while Mr. Cunliffe by no means neglects them, he does not give them proportional consideration. Various statements invite correction. “The one thing that moves the poet to a kind of cheerfulness,” says Professor Cunliffe, “is triumphant indulgence in sexual desire.” To say this is to miss the note of “blessed hope” that recurs now and then in the poems, that is best expressed in the verses beginning “Long have I framed weak phantasies of thee,” and upon which *The Dynasts* closes. Of a piece with this error is the concluding remark that “it is strange that Hardy should not see the inconsistency” of ascribing to a blind and purposeless Will or Energy the production of beings

equipt with a moral sense. On the contrary, Mr. Hardy is obviously well aware of the inconsistency.

Professor J. B. Fletcher contributes a very charming sketch of Samuel Butler's literary work (his achievements in painting and music being here beside the point), which does not enter so profoundly into Butler's biological theories and their place in his work as does the recent excellent study in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, but which, in method and treatment, fits very happily into Mr. Cunliffe's book. After these three "moderns" the chapter on Stevenson seems to lead us back into another world. Not so the study of Gissing, which is the more welcome because of the paucity of criticism upon that remarkable man. One comes often upon evidence of the existence today of something of a Gissing "vogue"; it is the more remarkable that in these days of inexpensive reprints copies of his works are so difficult to procure. Professor Cunliffe's harsh strictures on Morley Roberts's thinly disguised biography of Gissing might have been modified had he considered the circumstances that induced Roberts to present his material to the public in the manner that he chose. The chapters upon two men so much written about as Shaw and Kipling could not be expected to contain anything novel, and they may be passed over with attention called to a curious error in bibliography in a reference to Walter Pater. Mr. Leland Hall supplies a study of Mr. Conrad. One is glad to note the protest against the commonly accepted belief that *Lord Jim* is that writer's masterpiece. Mr. Hall duly stresses the difficulties inherent in the complex technique generally employed by Mr. Conrad and points to *Chance* as the novel in which he triumphed through—or perhaps one should say over—his method. This method, Mr. Hall acutely remarks, "has given to the novel not a little of the plasticity of sculpture."

Mr. Cunliffe's later chapters are not so thoughtful nor so thorough as the earlier, for the most part not much above the grade of first-rate "journalism." Rapid reviews of H. G. Wells and John Galsworthy are followed by a singularly unsympathetic account of Mr. Bennett's work. "The Irish Movement," a subject so far apart from the rest of the book as to seem almost out of place, is considered too briefly for one hitherto unacquainted with it to grasp its political and philosophic importance; to the separate sections on Yeats, Synge, and Moore should certainly have been added one upon the man with the clearest mind, most poetic spirit, and farthest-

reaching soul of all the writers produced by the Celtic Renaissance: George W. Russell, "A. E." The last two chapters, on the "new" poets and novelists, attempt to appraise writers who are too close to us for it to be possible to pass upon them judgments that one may hope to be lasting.

On the whole, a well-reasoned, impartial, stimulating, and welcome book. To each chapter brief bibliographies, guides to at least the beginning of further inquiries, are attached. The work is excellently printed and of pleasing appearance.

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VARIABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN MODERN FRENCH

Bastin's satirical remark—"si nos grammairiens avaient l'habitude de lire, ils nous donneraient certainement parfois d'autres règles que celles qu'ils trouvent chez leurs devanciers"¹—would seem to find a certain justification in the practical unanimity with which French grammars state that the present participle in modern French is always invariable. Even a scholar like Nyrop says bluntly: "De nos jours, le participe présent est toujours invariable quand il désigne une action. . . . Ces règles. . . . datent du XVII^e siècle: le 3 juin 1679, l'Académie décida qu'on ne déclinerait plus les participes actifs."² Here, as only too often, grammarians, ignoring actual usage, seem to think that because Vaugelas or the Academy decided thus and so, French writers have obediently followed directions.

That the verbal adjective in *-ant* still regularly varies in gender and number is not questioned.³ While the distinction between verbal adjective and present participle is sometimes fine, the form in *-ant* is considered true participle, not adjective, whenever the element of action predominates over the element of description.

¹ Jean Bastin, *Glanures grammaticales*, 1893, p. 25.

² K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, II, 69. The discussion of the Academy, which seems to have borne chiefly on transitive verbs, is summarized in *Les registres de l'Académie Française, 1672-1793*, IV, 95, Firmin-Didot, 1906. There is said to be a fuller discussion in *Opuscules sur la langue française, par divers Académiciens*, publiés par d'Olivet, Paris, B. Brunet, 1754. I have not seen this work. The vote of the Academy was 10 to 6 against varying "participes actifs."

³ Cf. Nyrop, *loc. cit.* A curious example of an invariable verbal adjective occurs in Hugo, *La conscience*, v. 13: "Il réveille ses fils dormant, sa femme lasse."

Frequently, though by no means always, this element of action is emphasized by adverbs or modifying phrases.

In the seventeenth century, of course, the present participles of transitive, reflexive, and intransitive verbs all varied freely for number, sometimes for gender.⁴ I have not noted any instances of varying transitive present participles later than that century. But has the present participle of intransitive verbs continued to vary since that time, despite the Academy's dictum of 1679?

The most casual examination of standard modern authors would seem to leave little doubt that such participles do frequently vary, both in poetry and in prose.

In the eighteenth century, to adduce only two cases, Diderot writes: "Des pythies écumanes par la présence d'un démon" (*Selections*, Heath, p. 3), and A. Chénier: "La lune, sur les prés où son flambeau vous luit, | Dansantes, vous admire" (*Poésies*, ed. Becq de Fouquières, p. 156).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, examples are abundant. Following are a few instances taken from poetry: "Et que, les yeux flottants sur de chères empreintes" (Lamartine, *Le premier regret*, v. 136). "Tous errants, sans étoile, en un désert sans fond" (Vigny, *Les destinées*, v. 9). "Mieux que taureaux beuglants et loups hurlants de faim" (Leconte de Lisle, *Le massacre de Mona*, v. 27). "Quand une note au ciel retentissante | Comme un trait d'or soudain s'éleva" (Sully Prudhomme, *Le bonheur*, p. 203). "Ah! que ces notes sanglotantes . . . Caressaient nos âmes, flottantes | Du vœu stérile au vain regret!" (*Ib.*, p. 204). [Here the variable participle is called for by the rhyme with the variable verbal adjective.] "Cette verrière a vu dames et hauts barons | Étincelants d'azur" (Hérédia, *Vitrail*, v. 2). "C'est la senteur des sèves | Errante dans le vent" (Grehg, *Les sèves, les grèves, les rêves*, v. 16). [Here the meter is affected.]

Following are examples from prose: "A l'objection des divers partis existants encore dans l'Empire, il répondait" (Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, ed. Nelson, p. 152). "Partout des soldats errants parmi les cadavres et cherchant des subsistances" (Ségur, quoted *ib.*, p. 176). "Les fils de saint Louis sont errants sur la terre" (*Ib.*, p. 503). "En voyant ses livres errants, ses meubles disloqués" (Balzac, *Le Curé de Tours*, Holt ed., p. 59). "Nous demeurâmes frémissants de terreur" (Maupassant, *Mlle. Perle*). "Il était assis sur le billard, les pieds ballants" (*Ib.*). "Je restais là, bras ballants et bouche bée" (France, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt, p. 92). "Jeanne parut, essoufflée, . . les bras ballants" (*Ib.* p. 133). [In this common expression, I have never seen a case of "pieds (bras) ballant."] "Le cœur gros, les lèvres tremblantes, j'entrai"

⁴For numerous examples, cf. Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*, § 91.

(Daudet, *Le dernier livre*). "Puis se remet à coudre, les mains tremblantes" (Daudet, *Le mauvais zouave*). "Portes ouvertes, volets battants, des drapeaux aux fenêtres" (Pouvillon, *Hortibus*). [No verb in sentence.] "Jouait une bande d'enfants, cheveux ébouriffés, figures luisantes de santé et pieds nus" (Bordeaux. *La peur de vivre*, p. 106). "Les besoins croissants, nul doute . . . qu'elle ne s'attribue le monopole" (Faguet, *Le Culte de l'incompétence*, p. 214).

In the passages quoted above from poetry, are several in which the variation of the participle affects neither rhyme nor meter. In those from prose, the varying participle occurs in different constructions—as complement to the subject of the verb, complement to the object of the verb, and used absolutely. Any student of modern French can easily add to the list of instances. But if we abide by the usual distinction, stated above, between present participle and verbal adjective, even the examples here cited seem amply sufficient to stamp as untenable the belief that the present participle in modern French is always invariable.⁵

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A NOTE ON "A FRAGMENT OF A LORD MAYOR'S PAGEANT"

The interesting fragment (Trin. Coll. Cantab. ms. B. 15.39) printed by Miss Elizabeth D. Adams in *Modern Language Notes* for May 1917 deserves further investigation. I cannot feel satisfied that two of Miss Adams's assumptions are correct. If we do not question, for the moment, that the speech (or speeches) were addressed to a mayor, why must we assume that the magistrate was a London mayor, or that he was a Salter?

The London Lord Mayor's Show grew out of the Midsummer Show during the first half of the sixteenth century, and there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that these speeches were addressed to a mayor of the Salters Company in 1531 or 1542. The first definite description of a civic festival connected with the installation of a chief magistrate of London is Henry Machyn's

⁵ Less convincing cases, in which there might be reasonable doubt whether the word is participle or adjective, are the following: "Tandis qu'à leurs œuvres perverses | Les hommes courent haletants" (Gautier, *Premier sourire du printemps*, v. 2). "L'eau | Coulait de la fontaine comme haletante" (Régner, *Le vase*, v. 22). "La reine retrouve soudain les illusions de son arrivée à Paris, chantantes et planantes comme la musique des cuivres qui sonnait ce jour-là" (Daudet, *Les rois en exil*, in Brunetière, *Roman réaliste*, p. 87). "Une trombe, brillante des couleurs du prisme" (Chateaubriand, *Lectures choisies*, ed. Pellissier, p. 109). "Une enfant brillante d'intelligence" (France, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt ed., p. 153).

account of the 1553 show. It may well be that a mayor was greeted by some such address at an earlier Midsummer Show (which fact would make the reference to the change in season somewhat more appropriate than if the speech had been pronounced on 29 October); but it is not likely that a mayor would be addressed in the middle of his term as if he had just come into power.

At Norwich—where the mayor was elected on 1 May—there was civic pageantry in 1540, perhaps in 1546, and in 1556. In 1546 Robert Nichols received twelve pence, "for his horses caryeng a pageant of Kyng Salamon."¹ The pageantry in 1556 was very elaborate, and included Time, the Four Virtues and other characters, which welcomed the mayor from three different pageants.²

I do not mean to imply that the verses in question were delivered on any of these occasions; I wish merely to point out that there was civic pageantry in the provincial centres—or in one of them, at least—in the sixteenth century.

It is indisputable that the references to salt would be more appropriate for a Salter than for anyone else; but this does not mean that they were written for a member of that company. The verses would apply almost equally well to a Grocer, if, indeed, we had to regard the references to salt as other than purely figurative.

Miss Adams did not emphasize the fact that the verses, as she prints them, are composed of four seven-line stanzas, preceded and followed by couplets. The rime-scheme is, roughly, *ababbcc*—(and such rimes as *dome—sone*; *tyme—divyne* show a seventh-rate versifyer unworthy of the metropolis!). The Biblical element (which is marked in the verses) is another straw pointing toward the provinces, although it must be confessed that this element was not lacking in London shows.

Speeches, together with vocal and instrumental music, were part of the civic shows from 1553 on; and it is not unlikely that in the Midsummer Shows, from which the former sprang, there were also speeches. There was certainly music.

If the stanzas in question were not addressed to a London Lord Mayor at a Midsummer Show before 1540, or to a provincial mayor early in the XVI century, it is possible that they were used to greet some sovereign (either at the metropolis or in the provinces) during a royal progress. Such phrases as "youre citee" and "youre dome" apply as well to a king as to a mayor; "To youre honowre worship and ryall mageste" could hardly be used

¹ Chamberlain's Book (1541-50), fol. 249. Cf. Ewing, *Notices and Illustrations of the Costume, Processions, Pageantry, &c., formerly displayed by the Corporation of Norwich* (Norwich, 1850), p. 13.

² The 2d vol. of my book entitled *English Pageantry—an Historical Outline* will include a more detailed description of this occasion, taken from the Mayor's Book of Norwich (a rare MS. in the City Archives) which I have compared with the not-always accurate copy in the British Museum (Addl. MS. 27967, fol. 54).

to a mayor, and it is conceivable that in the troublesome ending: "duryng youre mayralte," the last word has been generalized to a synonym of *reign*. The royal use of the possessive in the final couplet, ("in oure absens,") lends color to this interpretation, although this couplet has, as Miss Adams notes, been added in a later hand.

The suggestion of strife lately over, which is found in the reference to the coming of spring after winter, and is made more specific in such phrases as "Eschewyng Ryot," and "all Odious Rancoure be rasyd from you sone," seems to point to more than a petty civic brawl, or even bloodless hard-feeling. The salt of Wisdom, which has the purifying power of cleansing the wormwood from the "waters that were absinthius"—and by which "ys swagyed all oure distress"—will be given to the ruler whom the speaker addresses. Unfortunately we have not all the texts of the speeches with which Henry VII was welcomed on his progress through York, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol after the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1486; but there were many pageants exhibited on this trip,³ and these verses may well have been spoken then. Is it too much to suggest that the troublesome phrase "your mayoralty" was inserted by the poet as a hint that the king was dependent on the good-will of his people, and that if he lost this, he might follow his predecessor Richard III?

The fact that the MS. is written in a hand of the early sixteenth century need not bar out the possibility that the show of which it is a fragment took place earlier.

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DID BRYANT TRANSLATE HEREDIA'S ODE TO NIAGARA?

The ode to Niagara written by the Cuban poet José María Heredia (1803-1839) is probably the finest poem that has ever been inspired by the famous water-fall. It is well known that this ode was published in the *Poesías de José María Heredia*, N. Y., 1825, and that the poet revised it and republished it in the *Poesías de José María Heredia*, Toluca (México), 1832. The majority of literary critics prefer the primitive version of the poem to the revised one. Thus, Menéndez y Pelayo gives the primitive version of *Niagara* in his *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, vol. II, Madrid, 1893; and Fitzmaurice-Kelly also chooses this version for *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, Oxford, 1913. Zerolo, however, chose the revised version of the poem for the *Poesías líricas de José María Heredia con prólogo de Eliás Zerolo*, París, Garnier, 1893.

³ Cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, IV; Hall; Grafton; Raine, *A Volume of English Miscellanies* (Surtees Society Publ., 1890); and *English Pageantry*, I, 157 ff. for accounts of this progress.

Recently I was reading the English metrical translation of this poem which has been attributed to William Cullen Bryant (this is easily accessible in Dr. Alfred Coester's valuable *Literary History of Spanish America*, New York, Macmillan, 1916), and I was curious to see which of the two versions Bryant chose for translation. A comparison of the translation with the two Spanish texts showed at once that the English follows the primitive edition. The question then arose whether Bryant chose the earlier edition because he preferred it, or made the translation before the poem was republished in revised form.

In an effort to discover the date of the first appearance of the translation I examined several collections of Bryant's poetical works and was puzzled by the fact that they did not contain *Niágara*. In answer to an inquiry, Dr. Axel Moth of the New York Public Library wrote me as follows: "One of my assistants has examined twenty-five editions of Bryant's works without finding the translation of Heredia's verses to Niagara."

In the meantime my colleague Professor Frank C. Senour called my attention to a volume he had in his private library, entitled *The Poets and Poetry of Europe by Henry W. Longfellow*, Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1845. This volume (pages 728-729) contains the English metrical translation of Heredia's *Niágara* which is attributed to Bryant, but Bryant's name does not appear. The name of the translator is not given. In the *Contents* it is stated that the verses were taken from the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, but the number of the review is not given. Mr. C. K. Jones and Mr. F. S. Hellman of the Library of Congress were good enough to have a search of the *United States Review* made for me, and the translation of *Niágara* was found in the issue of January, 1827, volume 1, pages 283-286, but without signature. It is found in the department of the *Review* that is entitled "Original Poetry," and it is the only poem in this department that is unsigned. Those that were done by Bryant have the signature B. The editors of the review were W. C. Bryant and Charles Folsom.

The name of the translator is not given, but someone has written on the margin of the review, with a pencil, "Bryant and somebody else." The Library has a duplicate copy of this number of the review, and on the margin of the duplicate copy someone has written, also with a pencil, "Part of it translated by W. C. Bryant."

This find made one point clear, namely that the translator did not choose the primitive version of Heredia's *Niágara* because he preferred it, but because there was at that time no other version in existence. The English translation was published two years after the Spanish poem first appeared, and five years before the revised version was published in Mexico.

But no answer was given to the question as to who made the English translation of the poem. If Bryant made all of it or any

part of it, he thought best for some reason not to attach his name to it or to include it in his published works. And when Longfellow made the anthology that is mentioned above, he did not attribute to Bryant the translation of *Niágara*.

The first time that Bryant's name appears in print as the translator of *Niágara* is, so far as I know, in Mrs. Gertrude (Fairfield) Vingut's *Selections from the Best Spanish Poets* [Translations], New York, F. J. Vingut, 1856.

When Mr. Godwin collected and published William Cullen Bryant's works, he did not include the translation of *Niágara*, and yet most people who are acquainted with this translation attribute it to Bryant. I do not know why this is so, unless there was an oral tradition to that effect, or it was assumed that Bryant made the translation because he was an editor of the review in which the translation first appeared. But thus far I have not found any valid evidence whatever that Bryant ever translated Heredia's odè to Niagara.

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THE THEME "LIFE IS A DREAM"

The two quotations given below may be added to the great number of occurrences of this theme cited in Farinelli's monumental work, *La Vita è un Sogno* (1916, 2 vols.). The first passage occurs in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Barca do Purgatorio*, being the first speech of the *Anjo* in the play.

Quem quer ir ó Paraizo?
 Á glória, á glória, senhores!
 Oh que noite pera isso!
 Quão prestes, quão improviso
 Sois celestes moradores!
 Aviae-vos, e partir;
 Que vossa vida he sonhar,
 E a morte he despertar
 Pera nunca mais dormir,
 Nem acordar.

Gil Vicente, *Obras*, Lisbon, 1843, I, 247-248.

The next quotation is a part of the *introito* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa de Santa Susaña*. The *introito*, like all those of Diego Sánchez, is recited by a *pastor*. This is one of the rare philosophical *introitos* of the extant plays of the period.

After developing the idea that God causes our being, the *pastor* continues:

Estos cuerpos en que andamos
 Mos hacen estar en calmas,
 Que aun no entienden nuestras almas

Lo que entre manos tratamos,
 Y en fin, tan bobos estamos
 Que, sin duda, no sabemos,
 Qué somos, ni qué hacemos
 Si dormimos ó velamos.
 La voz de espíritu devino
 Que allas veces siento acá,
 Dónde viene ó dónde va.
 ¿Quién sabrá tomalle tino?
 Y del espíritu malino,
 Que acá dentro nos retienta,
 Tampoco entendeis la cuenta
 Cómo va, ni an cómo vino.
 Ni aun tampoco me diréis
 Cuando en el vientre nacistes,
 De dónde ó cómo venistes
 Ni al morir por dónde iréis,
 Ni cómo vos manteneis,
 Como en sangre y carne y güesos
 Se convierte en vientres vüesos
 Lo que comeis y bebeys.
 Ni an cro que sabréis decir
 Son decir que sabe Dios
 Cuantas cosas ay en vos.
 ¿Quién vos las hace sentir?
 ¿Quién haz llorar y reir?
 ¿Quién haz callar y habrar?
 ¿Quién haz durmiendo soñar?
 ¿Quién haz velar y dormir?
 Sueño que estoy acordado
 Y téngolo por muy cierto;
 Hasta que despues despierto.
 Y veo que lo he soñado,
 Y cuanto ora, he yo habrado
 ¿Qué sé yo si lo soñé
 Y despues acordaré,
 Y me hallaré burlado?

Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,
Recopilación en metro, Madrid, 1886, II, 131-132.

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BRIEF MENTION

The English Sonnet, by T. W. H. Crosland (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co.). There is no preface, but merely a "Note" of five lines to commend this book to the attention of the reader; but that note consists of promises that are somewhat startling, and suggest a category that usually warrants the classification of an author with those who offer nothing more substantial than the gratification of curiosity in an idle hour. Here are the promises: "The main theory of the Sonnet set forward in the first sections of this book

has not before been propounded. The theory as to the true origin of the Sonnets of Shakespeare is also new." One sentence more completes the note: "The Sonnets printed on separate pages in Book II are the finest in the language." This last promise of a critical selection of what is finest in the abundant store of English sonnets gives the dominant note of the treatise, that of independent, confident judgments. Whatever may be novel in the two special theories advanced issues directly from Mr. Crosland's convictions as to the qualities demanded of the highest poetry. Undaunted by the fact that the sonnets have so often been culled, he confidently applies his tests, without exhibiting pride in originality that would avoid agreement with accepted decisions. In the following statement there is reflected at once the precision and the reasonable breadth of his view of literary excellence: "Out of the (probably) ten thousand sonnets which have been written in English, fewer than sixty can be accounted superlatively excellent, and nearly all even of these are more or less flawed, either technically or in some other respect. But from whatever point of view regarded, they are sufficiently perfect to stand for perfection, and their defects do not in the least reflect upon the sonnet as a vehicle for high poetry. The residuum is by no means negligible or base. We could easily assemble five hundred English sonnets, other than the finest, which have excellent poetry in them and belong to literature, if not to the highest sonnet literature. And for what would then be left, there is this to be said, namely, that its average quality both as poetry and execution transcends by far the average quality of minor blank verse and minor lyricism" (p. 79). Nothing common-place in that summarizing judgment; and the self-revelation it carries with it must also entice the reader to follow Mr. Crosland thru all his pages.

The theory of the sonnet here advanced and enthusiastically defended will not find wide acceptance without discriminating reservations. It cannot be possible to deny the conventionality of the sonnet-form. That by chance a conventional form has been evolved that is not only unsurpassed but unequalled for the expression of the highest flights and the deepest depths of poetic thought and emotion,—thus modified, Mr. Crosland's theory may win considerable favor. In a word, the theory consists of an argument for the supremacy of the sonnet and for its inevitable origin in high poetic impulse.

Standing in the way of the theory is the prevailing judgment that the sonnet is a "little musical instrument" on which the poets love to play on occasion. This judgment is here combatted vigorously and not without a touch of the truculence not habitually suppressed by Mr. Crosland. A conspicuous target is Wordsworth, who handled the instrument "with such consummate power and large spiritual effect," and who lifted the sonnet "clean out of its Ital-

ianate association and set it four-square on English ground past all dispute and for all time," and yet had but a "limited comprehension of the importance of the instrument." He calls it 'a melody,' 'a small lute,' 'a gay myrtle leaf,' 'a glow-worm lamp,' which is not to be 'scorned' because of its 'scanty plot of ground,'—all of which is apologetic; indeed the sonnet "has had nothing else but apologists from Mears and Gascoyne down." Mr. Crosland steps forward to prove that "the whole matter is entirely the other way about." His argument is orderly in plan. All that makes for high poetry subordinates lyric poetry as a type to the sonnet. The sublime transcends the lyrical quality in true evaluation, and the sonnet is the transcendent vehicle for sublimity, for "all that is greatest and finest." The lyric has a glory of its own, but it is by comparison a minor glory. Moreover, the sonnet in its meter is true to the highest demands of poetic utterance in the language: "Sublimity in English climbs on decasyllables." Here the author has to dispose of a collation of related forms. Blank verse at its best "amounts simply to a succession of high poetic flights on the decasyllable, all making for sublimity. Poetry in decasyllabic stanza is either a succession of high flights, or an attempted long high flight, on rhymed verse instead of blank; the mark being still the same . . . the Sonnet is neither more nor less than a swift high flight at the identical mark." From this collation Mr. Crosland rightly excludes indisputably great poetry in the decasyllable line that falls "under one of the three heads: unreflective description, plain relation or narrative, and sheer drama or exclamatoriness." These categories are excluded by the test of sublimity. But what does the collation prove? Nothing more than that the sonnet supplies a satisfactory form, a matchless *cadre*, for the effective isolation of a 'high poetic flight,'—a flight that is however not necessarily lowered in the contrasted forms, in which the rounded isolation of a short flight is less organically provided for.

Not content to rest his argument in the plain inference of his collation, Mr. Crosland insists on the inevitableness of the sonnet-form, denying its conventionality, its happily devised conventionality; and from this he branches off into a contention that a consciousness of this inevitable form is a steady influence in the poetry of all great poets, including those who have not essayed the form itself, as, for example, Chaucer. This novel contention rests on the assumption that "the loftiest poetry belongs essentially and by its nature almost as prescriptively to the sonnet form as to the forms in which it is cast." By this peculiar—and surely unwarranted—reading of the result of the collation, which shows merely that the loftiest poetry in the sonnet-form "belongs essentially and by its nature" to the loftiest poetry in the other evaluated forms, Mr. Crosland obtains the basis of his new theory. He turns for confirmation to the great poets and finds lines and groups of lines of essentially "sonnet stuff." For example, three groups of four lines

each, and in close sequence, are taken from Marlowe, with the comment, "Two more lines and the rhymes, and we should have had here a great sonnet." This may be granted, but it does not prove the point at issue. All possible citations of the "sonnet stuff" abounding in great poetry of other forms demonstrate the truth that sublime poetry is all akin and is best expressed in closely related forms. The sonnet is, of course, a superior school-master in sublimity and exact workmanship, but that does not prove the assumption that it has invariably been the school-master of the great poets. Mr. Crosland states the matter in this way: "all the finest poets have been either fine sonneteers or unconscious workers in the sonnet movement," for "it is the corner-stone of English poetry." He iterates the judgment that the sonnet-form is not a convention; "that without it we should not have attained to the blank verse line, or the blank verse passion"; that "when great sonnets cease to be produced, great poetry ceases to be produced"; "that there is no poetry of the highest which does not in some sort distinguishably ally itself with sonnet poetry," for "fine poetry generally (excluding pure lyric) is identical with sonnet poetry." The true meaning of "identical" in this connection, however, only reaffirms the result of the collation and sets the 'new theory' in the right light. The denial of the conventionality of the sonnet is contradicted in the very title and in many a well discussed detail of the following chapter on "Sonnet Legislation." Mr. Crosland must be supposed to assume that what is inherently essential in the sonnet is poetically and philosophically inevitable and therefore subordinates all details of history or tradition into extraneous and negligible factors; and that he has anticipated criticism at this point by the former statement (p. 30) that he believes it impossible "to find either in Shakespeare or any other high poet at his highest a passage of beauty and power which runs to more than fourteen lines." His fundamental proposition is that "the necessities of poetic and not the arbitrariness of example" begot and always will beget the sonnet. To the Italian sonneteers the form came "by nature and instinct, just as the sonnet content came their way"; in like manner "a great poet, who had never seen a sonnet" of the masters of the form, would "in certain circumstances of occasion inevitably re-discover something like the sonnet form for himself," and the greater the poet the closer his sonnet would agree with the established form (p. 57).

Space is not available for a further report of Mr. Crosland's discussion of "Sonnet Legislation" and for an analysis of his chapter on "Sequences and Subject Matter." In these divisions of his book (pp. 37-121), there is much of discriminating criticism and of originality of manner in an orderly and ample treatment of the various aspects of the sonnet-problem. To refer to but one of these aspects, the sonnet-sequence is declared to be, at least for modern use, "an unprofitable and even destructive device," for

"the sonnet is the preordained form for the complete expression of a certain special kind of poetical emotion," and is not adapted therefore to develop or advance an argument or a coherent story. "Even the inglorious tale which Shakespeare is held to unfold comes to us more through inference than direct or explicit relation." This awakens an anticipatory interest in Mr. Crosland's theory of Shakespeare's sonnets, which is set forth in "Book Two," consisting of the selected sonnets from Wyatt to Alice Meynell, with biographical and critical introductions of considerable merit.

The second 'new theory' here advanced shall be reported briefly as possible. To attain the highest possible eminence in poetry, from which the prejudice of his day debarred the purely dramatic poet, Shakespeare turned to the sonnet. Mr. Crosland is almost certain "that the *Sonnets* were indeed written out of a desire on the part of the author to make it evident to the world that he was something more than a successful playwright, and that he could compete with the best non-dramatic poets . . . on their own ground, and even outstrip them." Understanding the sonnet to be the form for single poetic flights, he composed these sonnets as a growing series, not as a coherent sequence, in inspired moments wrested from the dramatic work of eleven years of his prime. This plainly refutes the autobiographical theory, which is set aside also by more specific negations. The poems required a "good send-off," and were accordingly submitted to the public with a dedication that could have been written by no stationer, but only by the best artist in work of that class; and Shakespeare is "in every stroke" of it. "T. T." is surely a blind, justified perhaps by the reluctance of a poet "to praise himself in prose." As for the statement "To the onlie begetter . . . Mr. W. H.," that "would excite the curiosity of the town" while "promised by our *ever-living poet*" would delight his ambitious eye, . . . and duly impress the wise world." It would have been impossible to have signed "the ever-living poet" by W. S., whereas the substituted T. T. "looked plausible and proper and impressive." Contrasted with the attempts to identify the "two loves," this "pure conjecture" has the advantage of having "all the human and poetical probabilities on its side." The assumed story of the series abounds in improbabilities; for example, there is no "heart-unlocking" of the assumed character in the first twenty-six poems; altho it is admitted that, "in spite of himself," Shakespeare "had stumbled, after sonnet 26, into the old business of story-telling." A "sort of tale" had thus been evolved fortuitously, and the reader had to be helped to imagine it; whereupon sonnet 144 was devised to "knit up the ravelment." The story is fortuitous, that is to say "the sonnets were not written out of a story personal or impersonal; . . . Shakespeare recognized that when the pinion is at its sweep, story has to wait. He perceived that the finest poetry has no story"; and in this series of poems he strove to achieve the finest poetry.

J. W. B.

English > German Literary Influences. Bibliography and Survey. (Part I. Bibliography). By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 1-111. 1919.—Eine eigentliche Besprechung der vorliegenden Schrift kann erst erfolgen, wenn das Werk ganz erschienen ist; denn erst der zweite Teil—a Survey—dürfte das eigentlich Kritische bringen. Schon der erste Teil, die bare Bibliographie, verdient jedoch Erwähnung und Empfehlung. Bibliographische Werke dieser Art kann es garnicht genug geben, damit die Forschungsarbeit von dem mechanischen und zeitraubenden Zusammensuchen und Zusammenstellen möglichst befreit werde. Die rechte bibliographische Übersicht macht den Stand der Forschung klar und bereitet den wirklichen wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt vor. Ohne gründliche Kenntnis dessen, was bereits geleistet worden ist, lässt sich keine ehrliche Weiterarbeit tun. An dem grossen praktischen Wert von Prices Bibliographie lässt sich deshalb nicht zweifeln, und es kann dem Verfasser nur weiterer gedeihlicher Fortschritt seiner Studien sowie die Mitarbeit vieler Kollegen gewünscht werden.

Neue Titel und neue Namen lassen sich natürlich leicht von jedem Forscher beifügen, was jedoch an dieser Stelle nicht geschehen soll. Grundsätzlich wird zu sagen sein, dass die grosse Welterschütterung des Krieges von heute, der selbst in der Wissenschaft immer noch rast, auch die literarischen Begriffe und Methoden umwertet. In Deutschland z. B. ist man einer gewissen "internationalen" Literaturforschung müde geworden. Man vergleiche nur Ernst Elsters "Weltliteratur und Literaturvergleichung" von 1901 (bei Price S. 9) mit desselben Gelehrten Rektoratsrede vom Jahre 1915 über Deutschland und Dichtung, und man wird den Ernst des Problems verstehen. Auch Adolf Bartels Kampfschrift von 1915 über nationale oder universale Literaturwissenschaft gehört hierher. Diese Besinnung auf nationales Schrifttum ist 1919 noch nötiger als es 1915 schon war. Andererseits findet sich manche verheissungsvolle Arbeit in der Richtung auf propagandaloöse, d. h. wahre vergleichende, Literaturkunde, z. B. Else Beils Dissertation unter Albert Köster *Zur Entwicklung des Begriffs Weltliteratur* (Probefahrten, 28. Heft). Gerade dieser Begriff der Weltliteratur bedarf der gründlichen Untersuchung bis auf unsere Tage, wie denn überhaupt zur Theorie der sog. vergleichenden Literatur bis jetzt noch fast alles zu leisten ist.

Es ist fraglich, ob sich Price nicht sein Feld von vornherein dadurch verengt hat, dass er sich nur mit "English > German literary influences" beschäftigt, anstatt mit "literary relations" wie etwa C. H. Herford. Ich bezweifle auch stark, dass es möglich ist, den englischen Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur einseitig zu erfassen. Denn "Meredith in Deutschland," um nur ein auffallendes Beispiel zu nennen, ist ohne "Deutschland und die Deutschen bei Meredith" nicht zu begreifen.

F. S.

The Symbolist Movement in Literature, by Arthur Symons, first published in 1898 and reprinted with some revisions in 1908, has lately been reissued in greatly enlarged and somewhat revised form by E. P. Dutton and Company. Chapters, originally printed as separate essays, on Balzac, Mérimée, Gautier, Flaubert, Baudelaire, the de Goncourts, Léon Cladel, Zola (a "note" on his "method"), and the earlier Huysmans, have been added and the original order of the contents a good deal, and for the most part for the better, changed. The studies that formed the original work are practically untouched, though in the case of Verlaine the appended note is considerably expanded. It is not necessary at this date to review Mr. Symons' volume in detail; it is an authority in its way, though it would be difficult to controvert those who may remark that it is authoritative rather for the development of Mr. Symons' own mind and art than for Symbolism. The new chapters ("new," that is, to this volume) differ greatly in merit. By far the most interesting is that which now forms the first of two studies of Huysmans. "The Later Huysmans" (which was included in the original edition) needed the introduction afforded by Mr. Symons' essay on his earlier phases, an essay that has been too long buried in *The Fortnightly Review* for March, 1892. There is much to be said in justification of the choice of Balzac as the subject for the opening essay; the exact place of Mérimée in the Movement is not so clear; the excusably harsh judgment upon Zola's method finds place in the book only by that sort of casuistry of which Mr. Symons is a master. Others of the new essays are weak and thin; the few pages upon Baudelaire are quite unworthy of their author and, like the chapters on Flaubert and Gautier, are not much above the standard of the articles in *Vanity Fair*, upon which Mr. Symons wastes his subtle talents and delicate style. The omission of the original dedication to Mr. Yeats is significant, since in that dedication Mr. Symons had declared that he was gradually finding his way, "uncertainly but inevitably, in that direction which has always been to you your natural direction" (*i. e.*, the direction of mysticism). Does the omission from this new edition mean that the author's attitude towards what has been called Neo-mysticism has changed? Sixty pages of translation from Mallarmé and Verlaine (mostly from the latter) close this beautiful, subtle, often intangible book. Here Mr. Symons is at his best, and though much of this work will be recognized as old favorites by lovers of his verse, it was a happy thought to illustrate in this way the qualities upon which the critic comments in the body of the work. The rendition of Verlaine's "Clair de Lune" is quite marvelous; other pieces are done with scarcely less excellence. s. c. c.

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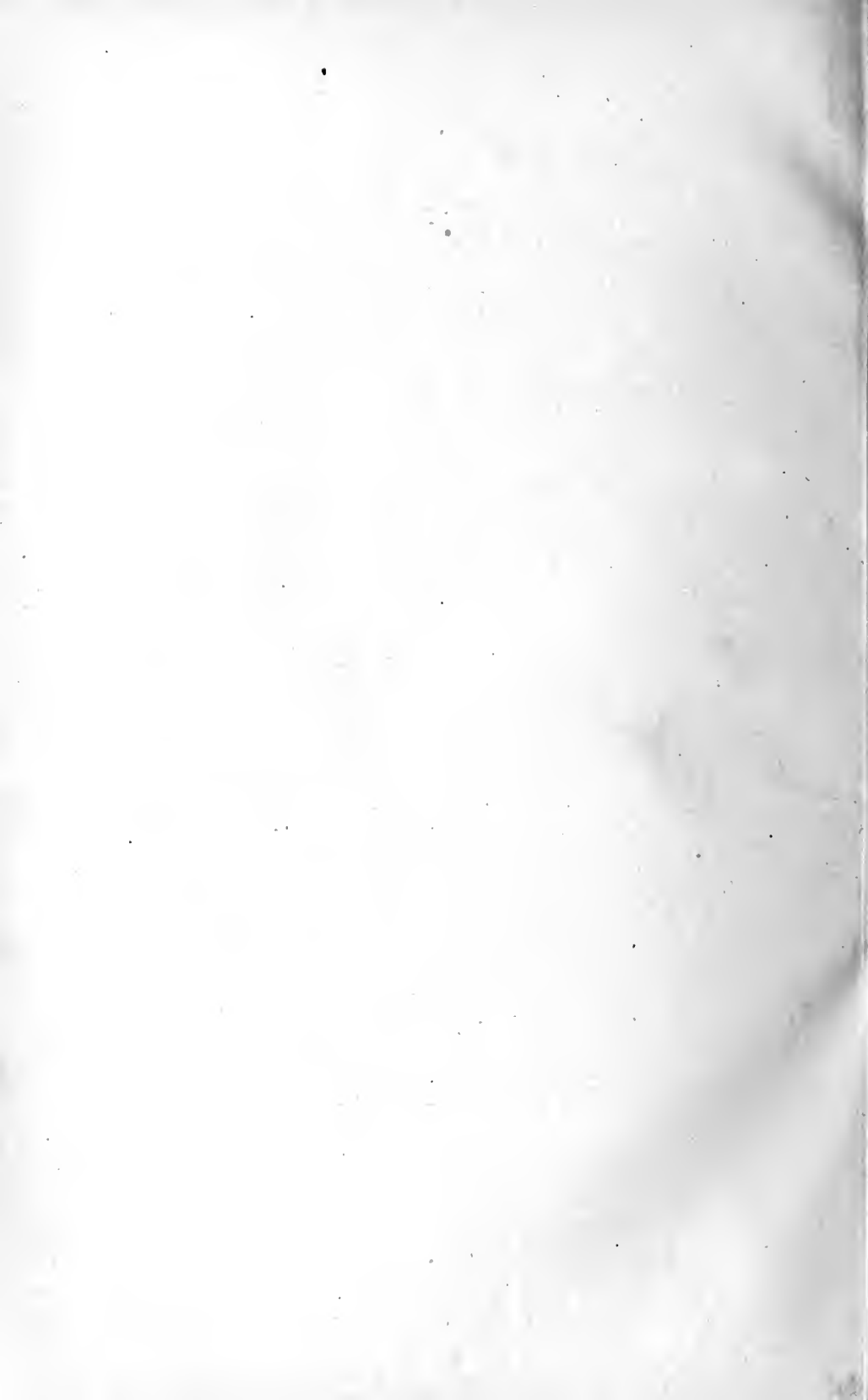
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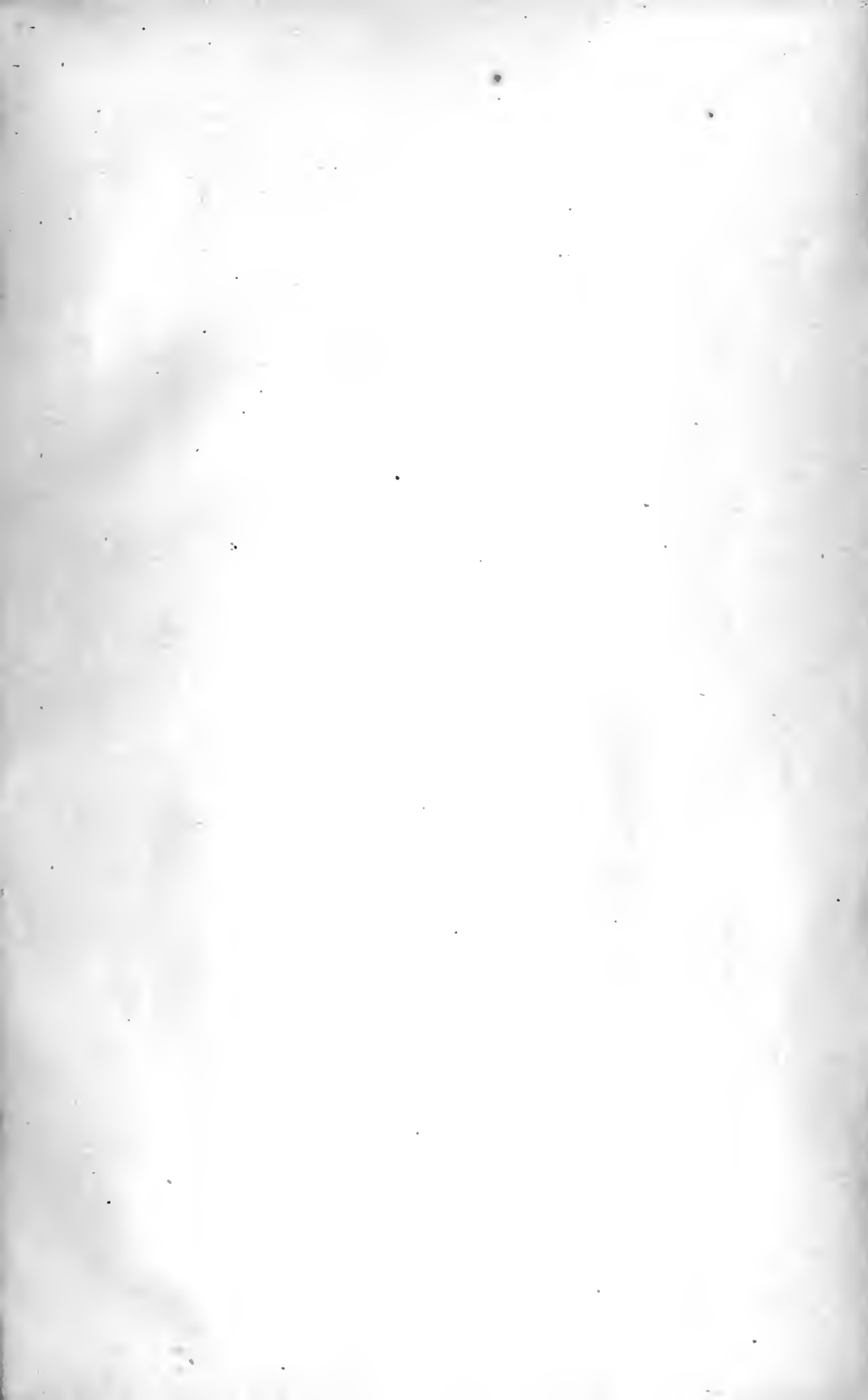
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